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A

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

TO

CHURCH HISTORY.

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HISTORY

OF THE

APOSTOLIC CHURCH;

WITH A
GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO CHURCH HISTORY

BY

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TRANSLATED BY

EDWARD D. YEOMANS.

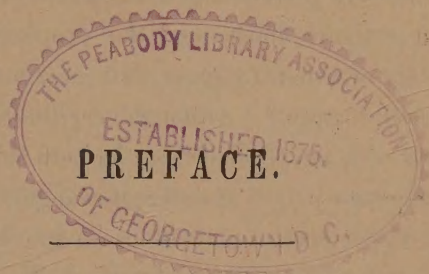
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PREFACE.

To present from original sources, in a faithful, clear and life-like picture, the history of the Church of Jesus Christ, the God-man and Saviour of the world; to reproduce, with ardent love of truth and with genuine catholicity, her inward and outward experience, her conflicts and triumphs, her sufferings and joys, her thoughts, her words and her deeds; and to hold up to the present age this panorama of eighteen centuries as the most complete apology for Christianity, full of encouragement and warning, of precept and example:—this is a task well worthy of the best energies of a long life, and offering in itself the amplest reward, but at the same time so vast and comprehensive, that it cannot be accomplished to any satisfaction, except by the co-operation of all varieties of talent. The individual must feel sufficiently fortunate and honored, if he succeed in furnishing a few blocks for a gigantic edifice, which, in the nature of the case, cannot be finished, till the church shall have reached the goal of her militant stage. For science grows with experience and with it alone becomes complete.

Two years ago I published in the retired village of Mercersburg, Pa., with discouraging prospects and at my own risk, the first volume of a General History of the Christian Church in the German language, and dedicated it to the memory of my late

honored teacher and friend, Dr. AUGUSTUS NEANDER, (by his permission granted to me with the kindest wishes for my success shortly before his lamented death), as a token of my high veneration for the profound and conscientious scholarship, the liberal and catholic spirit, and the deep-toned, humble and childlike piety of this truly great and good man, the "father of modern church history." Although very limited in circulation, it was received with unexpected favor on both sides of the Atlantic by most competent judges of different evangelical denominations; and I feel under special obligations to the Rev. Doctors J. A. Alexander of the Presbyterian church, J. W. Nevin of the German Reformed, C. P. Krauth of the Lutheran, J. M'Clintock of the Methodist Episcopal, C. E. Stowe of the Congregational, also to Prof. Dr. Jul. Müller of Halle and Dr. C. Bunsen, the learned Prussian ambassador at London, for their very flattering and encouraging public notices of my unpretending book. This favorable reception, and the earnest call expressed from various quarters, both publicly and privately, for an English translation, have induced me to issue it in that language, which alone can open to it a respectable circulation in this country and in England.

I have revised the whole work with reference to what has appeared in the same department since its publication, and have made some additions, especially in the fourth chapter of the General Introduction, and in the last chapter of the fifth book on the heresies of the Apostolic Age. The translation (including the re-translation of those portions which had been previously published, as separate articles, in various American Reviews) has been executed by my friend, the Rev. Edward D. Yeomans, a gentleman of excellent character and fine talents, who will no doubt make himself favorably known also in course of time by original contributions to our American theological literature. Having carefully revised the translation before sending it to the

press, I can vouch for its faithfulness; while at the same time the style, I think, will be found as free and easy as that of an original English work. By this arrangement the translation appears much sooner and to much better advantage, than if I had undertaken it myself. For the careful reading of the proof I express my grateful acknowledgments to my learned friend, the Rev. John Lillie of New York.

I prefer, for several reasons, to publish this volume as a separate work on the Apostolic Church, with a full General Introduction, which contains the outlines of a philosophy of Church History, and will supply, I hope, a defect in this department of our literature. It is my wish and intention, however, if God spares my life and strength, to bring the history down to the present time; and thus, so far as lies within my humble abilities, to give from reliable sources, under the guidance of our Lord's twin parables of the mustard-seed and leaven, a complete, true, and graphic account of the development of Christ's kingdom on earth, for the theoretical and practical benefit especially of ministers and students of theology. As regards content, I propose to steer midway between the synoptical brevity of a mere compend and the voluminous fullness of a work, which seeks to exhaust its subject and is designed simply for the professional scholar. Each of the nine periods, according to the scheme proposed in the General Introduction, § 17, will probably require a moderate volume.*

With these remarks, I send this book forth to the public, fully conscious of its many imperfections, yet not without hope, that under the blessing of Almighty God it may accomplish some good, so long as its time may last. With modest claims and the most peaceful intentions, polemical and uncompromising only towards rationalism and infidelity, whether of German or English origin, but

* I regret that the large and valuable work of Conybeare and Howson: "*The Life and Epistles of St. Paul*," 2 vols., London, 1853 (embellished with many splendid plates), did not reach me till after the greater part of the manuscript was already in the hands of the printer.

conservative, conciliatory, and respectful towards the various forms of positive Christianity, and reaching the hand of fellowship to all who love the Lord Jesus in sincerity and in truth, it sails into the ocean of a deeply distracted, yet most interesting and hopeful age, where amid powerful fermentations and keen birth-throes a new era of church history seems to be preparing. Whatever the future may bring, we know, that the Church of Christ is built upon a rock, against which even the gates of hell shall never prevail; that she must go on conquering and to conquer, until the whole world shall bow to the peaceful sceptre of the cross; and that all obstructions and persecutions, all heresies and schisms, all wickedness and corruption of men, will only tend at last, in the hands of infinite wisdom and mercy, to bring out her glorious attributes of unity, catholicity, and holiness in brighter colors and with more triumphant power. May the great Head of the Church use this representation of her history as an humble instrument to promote His own glory, to serve the cause of truth, unity and peace, and to strengthen the faith of His people in the divine character, immovable foundation and ultimate triumph of the kingdom of God!

PHILIP SCHAFF.

Mercersburg, Pa., September, 1853.

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THE APOSTOLIC CHURCH.

A. D. 30-100.

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO CHURCH HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORY.

§ 1. *Idea of History.*

THE object of this General Introduction is, to obtain a clear view of the nature and purpose of Church History, and thus to gain the proper position for the contemplation of its details. A perfect understanding of it can be attained, indeed, only at the close of the historical course; for the best definition of any science is the thing itself. But some preliminary explanation is indispensable, to give us, at least, a general idea of church history, and to serve as a directory for the study of the whole and its parts. Our best method will be, to resolve the compound conception into its two constituents, and to inquire into the nature, first of *history*, secondly of the *church*, thirdly of *church history*; with a fourth chapter on the *progress* of Church History as a *science*. Thus the introduction will be, at the same time, a sort of *philosophy* of church history.

By *history* in the *objective* sense we understand the sum of what has happened, or, more precisely, of all that pertains to the outward or inward life of humanity, and enters essentially into its social, political, intellectual, moral, and religious progress and development. It comprehends the thoughts, words, and deeds, and the prosperous and adverse events, which constitute the past, and which have produced the existing state of civilized society. Hence barbarians have no history of their own, and figure in that of the world merely as rude material, or as blind forces operating, as it were, from without.

History in the *subjective* sense is the science of events, or the apprehension and representation in language of what has thus taken place in

the course of time. Its value depends altogether on its faithfulness as a copy of the *objective* history; and requires that the historian surrender himself wholly to his object—be it the history of the world at large, or any portion of it—reproduce it in a living way in his own mind, and thus become a conscientious organ, a faithful mirror of the past, making the representation exactly answerable to the actual occurrence.¹

History in the objective sense, with which we are here mainly concerned, is either *secular* or *sacred*. The former comprehends the natural life of humanity, and those actions and events, which relate primarily to temporal existence in its external and internal aspect, under the general guidance of divine providence. The latter has to do with the special revelation of the triune God for the salvation of men, with the process of redemption, and the fortunes of regenerate humanity. Here again we must distinguish *sacred* history in the proper and narrow sense of the term, that is, the history of the revelation of God as deposited in an authoritative and infallible form in the books of the Old and New Testaments, from *church* history. The latter is the continuation of the former, though in perpetual contact with secular history, and more or less disturbed by it.

The general relation, then, between secular or profane, and sacred history (including church history), is substantially the same as that between nature and grace, reason and revelation, time and eternity. The former constitutes the natural basis and preparation for the latter. The "Father draweth to the Son" (John 6 : 44). All history before Christ prepared the way for the incarnation; all history since Christ must ultimately, either directly or indirectly, serve to glorify his name and extend his everlasting kingdom. Sacred history, on the other hand, exerts a regenerating and sanctifying influence upon secular, or, as it is frequently called, the world's history. It is the leaven, which is gradually to leaven the whole lump (Matt. 13 : 33). Both departments, however, are in continual conflict. The world, as far as it is under the influence of sin and error, still hates and persecutes the church, as it hated and persecuted Christ and his Apostles. But the final issue of the conflict, according to the infallible word of prophecy, will be the complete triumph of the kingdom of Christ over the dominions and powers of this world, so that he shall reign King of nations, as he now reigns

¹ The English word *history* refers primarily to this subjective meaning; being derived through the Latin from the Greek *istoria*, (from the verb *ιστορέω*), signifying first research, then what is known by research, then science generally, and in particular the science of events, or history proper. The corresponding German word, *Geschichte*, comes from "geschehen," to happen, to occur, and thus expresses primarily the objective sense.

King of saints. A representation of all history, both sacred and secular, making the fact of the incarnation the centre and turning point of the whole, would be *Universal History* in the widest sense. It is evident, that, as the life of the human race is a unit, and as, therefore the different departments of history have an intimate relation, no one branch can be fully understood, or satisfactorily presented, without reference to the whole.

For history, under any aspect, is not, as is frequently supposed even by a certain class of so-called historians, a mere aggregate of names, dates, and deeds, more or less accidental, without fixed plan or sure purpose. It is a living organism, whose parts have an inward, vital connection, each requiring and completing the rest. All nations form but one family, having one origin and one destiny; and all periods are but the several stages of its life, which, though constantly changing its form, is always substantially one and the same. History, moreover, while it involves, indeed, the freedom and accountability of man, is yet, as already intimated, even in its secular departments, under the guidance of divine providence; it proceeds on an eternal, unchangeable plan of infinite wisdom, and tends, therefore, as by an irresistible necessity, to a definite end. This end is the same as that of the creation at large, the glorifying of God, the Creator, Redeemer, and Sanctifier of the world, through the free worship of his intelligent creatures, who, at the same time, in this worship attain their highest happiness.

§ 2. *The Factors of History.*

History is thus to be viewed as always the product of two factors or agencies. The first and highest factor is *God* himself, in whom we "live and move and have our being," who turns the hearts of men "as the rivers of water," who worketh in the good "both to will and to do," and ruleth the wrath of the wicked to his own praise, yea, maketh Satan himself tributary to his will. In this view history may be styled a *self-evolution of God in time*—in distinction from nature, which is a revelation of the Creator in *space*—a continuous exhibition of his omnipotence and wisdom, and more particularly of his moral attributes, justice, holiness, patience, long-suffering, love, and mercy. A history, which leaves this out of sight, and makes God an idle spectator of the actions and fortunes of men, is *deistic*, *rationalistic*, and ultimately *atheistic*, and thus in reality without spirit, without life, without interest, without consolation. Such a history must be at best a cold statue, without beaming eye or beating heart.

God works in history, however, not, as in nature, through blind laws, but through *living persons*, whom he has created after his own image

and endowed with reason and will. By these endowments he has assigned to men a certain sphere of conscious, free activity, for which he holds them responsible ; intending not to force them to his worship, but to form them to a moral communion, the fellowship of love, with himself. Thus *men* form a relative, secondary factor of history, receiving the reward of their words and deeds, whether they be good or evil. To deny such subjective causality, and make men mere passive channels or machines of the divine activity, is to go to the opposite extreme of *pantheism* and *fatalism*, abolishing of course all human accountability, nay, in the end, all distinction between good and evil, virtue and vice.

These two causes, the divine and the human, the objective and the subjective, the absolute and the relative, are to be conceived, not in a mere abstract, mechanical way, as operating collaterally or independently, but as working *in* and *through one another*. With our present knowledge, which, though ever on the advance, must still be imperfect till we shall "see face to face" (1 Cor. 13 : 9-12), we may not be able to draw the line clearly between the finite and the infinite causes ; yet the general recognition of both is the first condition of any just conception of history. And it is this, that makes history a lofty, unbroken anthem of praise to divine wisdom and love ; an humbling mirror of human weakness and guilt ; and in either view the richest repository of instruction, encouragement, and edification. As the biography of humanity, which unfolds its relations to itself, to nature, and to God, it must of course embrace all that deserves to be known, all that is beautiful, great, noble, and glorious in the course of the world's life. In it are treasured all the outward and inward experiences of our race, all its thoughts, feelings, views, wishes, endeavors, and achievements, all its sorrows and all its joys. Divine revelation itself belongs to history. It forms the very marrow of its life, the golden thread, which runs through all its leaves. Thus, in the nature of the case, there can be no study more comprehensive, more instructive, and more entertaining, than the study of history in the wide sense. Of the two wonders, which filled the mind of the philosopher *Kant*, according to his own confession, with ever-growing reverence and delight, "the starry heavens above us" and "the moral law within us" the latter is certainly the greater. And the study of history, or of the progressive unfolding of this moral law, and of all the intellectual powers of man, is as far above the study of the *natural sciences* in importance and interest, as the immortal mind is above matter, its perishing abode ; as man formed in the image of God is superior to nature, his servant.

This co-operation of two factors holds good in *secular* or *profane* history, as well as in *sacred* ; but with a twofold difference. In the first

the human agency is most prominent ; in the second the divine takes the lead, and makes its presence felt at every step. Then again both the factors appear under different characters. There God acts as Creator, Préserver, and Ruler of the world, and man, in his natural, fallen state ; here God manifests himself as the Saviour and Sanctifier of the world, and man comes into view as an object of redeeming love, and as a member of the kingdom of grace. Secular history is the theatre of Elohim, or God under his general character, as the Father of Gentiles as well as Jews. Sacred history and its continuation, church history, is the sanctuary of Jehovah, the God of the covenant, the Lord of a chosen people.

§. 3. *The Central Position of Religion in History.*

Universal history, like the life of humanity itself, comes before us, of course, in various departments ; which, however, are all more or less connected, and form each the complement of the rest. There is a history of government, of trade, of social life, of the different sciences and arts, of morality, and of religion. Of these, the last is plainly the deepest, most central, and most interesting. For *religion*, or the relation of man to God ; the principle, which ennobles man's earthly existence ; the bond, which binds him to the fountain of all life and peace, to the invisible world of spirits, and to a blissful eternity, is the most sacred element of his nature, the source of his loftiest thoughts, his mightiest deeds, his sweetest and purest enjoyments. It is his sabbath, his glory, his crown, in the consciousness of all nations. It is the region of eternal truth and rest, where, as it is expressed by a profound German philosopher, all mysteries of the world are solved, all contradictions of the spirit reconciled, all painful feelings hushed. It is an ether, in which all sorrow, all care is lost, either in the present feeling of devotion, or in a hope, which transforms the darkest clouds of earthly tribulation into the radiance of heavenly wisdom and mercy. It cannot be expected that every man should be a scholar or an artist, a statesman or a warrior ; but every one *must* be moral and pious, or his life will end in a failure. It is only by piety, without which there can be no pure morality, that man fulfills the end of his being, and actually shows himself the image of God. Without it he can neither be truly happy in time nor blessed in eternity ; and, unless he secure the righteousness of the kingdom of heaven, it were better for him, if he had never been born. Religion, communion with God, is the morning, noon, and evening of history ; the paradise, from which it starts ; the haven of peace, into which, after a course of many thousand years on the storm-lashed ocean of time, it shall at last be conducted, to rest forever from its labors, where God shall be

“all in all.” Even the other departments of history become most luminous and attractive only in the celestial light of religion.

All this, however, is properly applicable only to *Christianity*, the absolutely true and perfect religion, which is destined to absorb all others. As the world of nature looks to man, its head and crown, its prophet and king ; so man is originally made for *Christ*, and his heart is restless until it rests in Him. *Jesus Christ*, the Godman, the Saviour of the world, has brought humanity to its perfection in himself, reconciled it to God, and raised it to a permanent vital union with Him. Take Christ away,—and the human race is without a ruling head, without a beating heart, without an animating soul, without a certain end,—an inexplicable enigma. He, the great founder of Christianity, is the vital principle and the guide, the centre and turning point, and at the same time the key, of all history, as well as of every individual human life. His entrance into the world forms the boundary between the old and the new. From Him, the Light and the Life of the world, light and life flow backward into the night of Paganism and the twilight of Judaism, and forward in the channel of his church through all after ages. Even in ancient history, what is most remarkable and significant is the preparation for Christianity by the divine revelation in Israel, and by the longings of the benighted heathen. As to all later history, Christianity is the very pulse of its life ; its heart’s blood, its central stream. This is most clearly visible in the Middle Ages, when all science and art, all social culture, and the greatest political and national movements received their impulse from the church, and were guided and ruled by her spirit, however imperfect the form may have been, under which Christianity then existed. But the history of the last three centuries also, in all its branches, rests throughout upon the great religious movements of the sixteenth century ; and in the process of its development we ourselves are still involved. From this we may readily see the comprehensive import of *church history*.

CHAPTER II.

THE CHURCH.

§ 4. *Idea of the Church.*

CHRISTIANITY, which, as the absolute religion, holds this central, ruling position in history, and on which depends the salvation of the human race, exists not merely as something subjective in single pious individuals, but also as an objective, organized, visible society, as a *kingdom of Christ on earth*, or as a *church*.¹ The church is in part a pedagogic institution to train men for heaven, and as such destined to pass away in its present form when the salvation shall be completed; in part the everlasting communion of the redeemed, both on earth and in heaven. In the first view, as a visible organization, it embraces all, who are baptized, whether in the Greek, or Roman, or Protestant communion. It contains, therefore, many hypocrites and unbelievers, who will never be entirely separated from it until the end of the world. Hence our Lord compares the kingdom of heaven, Matt. 13., to a field, where wheat and tares grow together until the harvest; and to a net, which “gathers of

¹ The word *church*, like the Scotch *kirk*, the German *kirche*, the Swedish *kyrka*, the Danish *kyrke*, and like terms in the Slavonic languages, must be derived, through the Gothic, from the Greek *κυριακόν*, (i. e. belonging to the Lord,) sc. *δῶμα*, or *κυριακή*, sc. *οἰκία*, Dominica, as Basilica from *βασιλεύς*, Regia from *rex*. It may signify the material house of God, or the local congregation, or, in the complex sense—which is the original one (Matt. 16: 18), and in which it is used in the text—the organic unity of all believers; but it always involves etymologically the close relation of the church to the Lord as its head, by whom it is ruled, and to whom it is consecrated. Some derive the word, with less probability, from the old German *kueren*, *kiesen*, to elect, to call. Then it would nearly correspond to the Greek term, *ἐκκλησία*, (the Hebrew *קָהָל*), an assembly or congregation, legally called or summoned, used in the N. T. mostly in a religious sense, to denote (1) the whole body of believers, (Matt. 16: 18. 1 Cor. 10: 32. Gal. 1: 13. Eph. 1: 22. 3: 10. 5: 23, 24, 27, 29, 32. Phil. 3: 6. 1 Tim. 3: 15. etc.); (2) a part of this whole, a particular congregation, as that at Jerusalem, or at Antioch, or at Rome, (1 Cor. 11: 18. 14: 19, 33, *ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῶν ἁγίων* Philem. 5: 2, etc.). In both cases, it involves the idea of a divine call and election to the service of the Lord, and to eternal life.

every kind." The true essence of the church, however, the eternal communion of saints, consists only of the regenerate and converted, who are united by a living faith with Christ the head, and, through him, with one another.

Though the church is thus a society of men, yet it is by no means on that account a production of men, called into existence by their own invention and will, like free-masonry, for instance, temperance societies, and the various political and literary associations. It is founded by *God* himself through *Christ*, through his incarnation, his life, his sufferings, death and resurrection, and the outpouring of the *Holy Ghost*, for his own glory and the redemption of the world. For this very reason, the gates of hell itself can never prevail against it. It is the ark of Christianity, out of which there is no salvation; the channel of the continuous revelation of the triune God and the powers of eternal life.

St. Paul commonly calls the church the *body of Christ*, and believers the *members* of this body.¹ As a *body* in general, the church is an organic union of many members, which have, indeed, different gifts and callings, yet are pervaded by the same life-blood, ruled by the same head, animated by the same soul, all working together towards the same end. This is set forth in a masterly and incomparable manner, particularly in the twelfth and fourteenth chapters of the first epistle to the Corinthians. As the body of *Christ*, the church is the dwelling-place of Christ, in which he exerts all the powers of his theanthropic life, and also the organ, through which he acts upon the world as Redeemer; as the soul manifests its activity only through the body, in which it dwells. The Lord, therefore, through the Holy Ghost, is present in the church, in all its ordinances and means of grace, especially in the word and the sacraments; present, indeed, in a mystical, invisible, incomprehensible way, but none the less really, efficiently, and manifestly present, in his complete theanthropic person. "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I,"—not merely my spirit, or my word, or my influence, but my *person*—"in the midst of them" (Matt. 18 : 20). "Lo, I am with you"—the representatives of the whole body of saints—"always, even unto the end of the world" (Matt. 28 : 20). Hence Paul calls the church "the fulness of Him, that filleth all in all" (Eph. 1 : 23).

We may justly say, therefore, that the church is the *continuation* of the life and work of Christ upon earth, though never, indeed, so far as men in their present state are concerned, without a mixture of sin and error. In the church, the Lord is perpetually born anew in the hearts

¹ Rom. 12 : 5. 1 Cor. 6 : 15. 10 : 17. 12 : 20, 27. Eph. 1 : 23. 4 : 12. 5 : 23
 20 Col. 1 : 24, etc.

of believers through the Holy Ghost, who reveals Christ to us, and appropriates his work and merits to the individual soul. In the church the Lord speaks words of truth and consolation to fallen man. In and through her he heals the sick, raises the dead, distributes the heavenly manna, gives himself, as spiritual food, to the hungry soul. In her are repeated his sufferings and death ; and in her, too, are continually celebrated anew his resurrection and ascension, and the outpouring of the Holy Ghost. In her militant state, like her Head in the days of his humiliation, she bears the form of a servant. She is hated, despised, and mocked by the ungodly world. But from this lowly form beams forth a divine radiance, "the glory as of the only-begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth." In her womb must we be born again of incorruptible seed ; from her breast must we be nourished unto spiritual life. For she is the Lamb's bride, the dwelling of the Holy Ghost, the temple of the living God, "the pillar and ground of the truth." Those ancient maxims : *Qui ecclesiam non habet matrem, Deum non habet patrem* ; and *Extra ecclesiam nulla salus*, though perverted by the church of Rome, and applied in a carnal and contracted sense to herself as the church, are yet perfectly correct, when we refer them not simply to a particular denomination but to the holy catholic church, the mystical body of Christ, the spiritual Jerusalem, "which is the mother of us all" (Gal. 4 : 26). For since Christ, as Redeemer, is to be found neither in Heathenism, nor in Judaism, nor in Islamism, but only in the church, the fundamental proposition : "Out of Christ no salvation," necessarily includes the other : "No salvation out of the church." This, of course, does not imply, that mere external connection with it is of itself sufficient for salvation, but simply, that salvation is not divinely guaranteed out of the Christian church. There are thousands of church members, who are not vitally united to Christ, and who will, therefore, be finally lost ; but there are no real Christians any where, who are not, at the same time, members of Christ's mystical body, and as such connected with some branch of his visible kingdom on earth. Church-membership is not the principle of salvation—which is Christ alone—but the necessary condition of it ; because it is the divinely-appointed means of bringing the man into contact with Christ and all his benefits.

§ 5. *The Development of the Church.*

The church is not to be viewed as a thing at once finished and perfect, but as a historical fact, as a human society, subject to the laws of history, to genesis, growth, development. Only the dead is done and stagnant. All created life, even the vegetable, and especially animal and human life, though always in substance the same, is essentially

motion, process, constant change, unceasing transition from the lower to the higher. Every member of the body, every faculty of the soul exists at first merely potentially or virtually, and attains its full proportions only by degrees; just as the tree grows from the germ, unfolding first the root and trunk, then the branches, leaves, blossoms, and fruit. The same law holds in the case of the new man in Christ. The believer is at first a child, a babe in Christ, born of water and of the Spirit, and rises gradually, by the faithful use of the means of grace, unto perfect manhood in Christ, the author and finisher of our faith, until this spiritual life reaches its perfection in the resurrection of the body unto life everlasting. As the church is the organic whole of individual believers, it must likewise be conceived as subject to the same law of development, or, to use the expressive figure of the Saviour, as a grain of mustard-seed, which grows at last to a mighty tree, overshadowing the world. The church, therefore, like every individual Christian, and, indeed, like Christ himself in his human nature,¹ must be viewed, under her historical form, as having her infancy, her childhood, her youth, and her mature age.

To avoid misunderstanding, however, we must here make an important distinction. The church, in its idea, or viewed objectively in Christ, in whom dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily, who is the same yesterday, to-day, and forever, is from the first complete and unchangeable. So also the revealed word of Christ is eternal truth and the absolute rule of faith and practice, which the Christian world can never transcend. The doctrine of an improvement on Biblical Christianity, of an advance on the part of men beyond revelation, or beyond Christ himself, is entirely rationalistic and unchristian. Such a pretended improvement were but a deterioration, a return to the old Judaism or Paganism.

But from this idea of the church in the divine mind, and in the person of Christ, we must distinguish its *actual manifestation* on earth; from the objective revelation itself we must discriminate the *subjective apprehension and appropriation of it in the mind of humanity at a given time*. This last is progressive. Humanity at large can no more possess itself at once of the fulness of the divine life in Christ, than the individual Christian can in a moment become a perfect saint. This complete appropriation of life is accomplished only by a gradual process, involving much trouble and toil. The church on earth advances from one degree of

¹ Comp. Luke 2: 52; "And Jesus *increased* in wisdom and stature, and in favor with God and man." Heb. 5: 8; "Though he were a Son, yet *learned* he obedience by the things which he suffered; and being made *perfect*, he *became* the author of eternal salvation unto all them that obey him."

purity, knowledge, holiness, to another ; struggles victoriously through the opposition of an ungodly world ; overcomes innumerable foes within and without ; surmounts all obstructions ; survives all diseases ; till at last, entirely purged from sin and error, and passing, at the general resurrection, from her militant to her triumphant state, she shall stand forth eternally complete. This whole process, however, is but the full actual unfolding of the church which existed potentially at the outset in Christ ; a process by which the Redeemer's Spirit and life are completely appropriated and impressed on every feature of humanity. Christ is thus the beginning, the middle, and the end of the entire history of the church.

The growth of the church is in the first place an *outward extension* over the earth, till all nations shall walk in the light of the gospel. It is with reference mainly to this, that our Lord compares the kingdom of God to a grain of mustard, which is the least of all seeds, yet grows to be a great tree, in whose branches the fowls of heaven lodge (Matt. 13 : 31, 32). In the second place, it consists in an *inward unfolding* of the idea of the church, in *doctrine, life, worship, and government* ; the human nature, in all its parts, coming more and more to bear the impress of that new principle of life, which has been given in Christ to humanity, and which is yet to transform the world into a glorious and blessed kingdom of God. To this our Lord refers in the parable of the leaven, "which a woman took and hid in three measures of meal, till the whole was leavened" (Matt. 13 : 33). St. Paul, also, has this in view in numerous passages in his epistles, where he speaks of the *growth and edification* of the body of Christ, "till we all come, in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a *perfect man*, unto the measure of the *stature* of the *fulness* of Christ, that we henceforth be no more children," &c.¹

This development, moreover, is *organic*. It is not an outward, mechanical aggregation of facts, which have no living connection. It is a process of life, which springs from within, from the vital energy implanted in the church, and which remains, in all its course, identical with itself, as man through all the stages of his life still continues man. What is untrue and imperfect in an earlier stage is done away by that which follows ; what is true and essential is preserved, and made the living germ of further development. The history of all Christian nations, and of all times, from the birth of Christ to the final judgment, forms one connected whole ; and only in its totality does it exhibit the entire fulness of the new creation.

Eph. 4 : 12--16, comp. 3 : 17--19. Col. 2 : 19. 1 Pet. 2 : 2, 5. 2 Pet. 3 : 18

But as the church on earth is in perpetual conflict with the unbelieving world, and as believers themselves are still encumbered with sin and error, this development of the church is not a regular and quiet process, but a constant *struggle*. It goes by extremes, through all sorts of obstructions and diseases, through innumerable heresies and schisms. But in the hand of Him, who can bring good even out of evil, these distractions themselves must ultimately serve the cause of truth and piety.

History properly allows no pause. Single lateral streams of it, indeed, may dry up ; small sects, for instance, which have fulfilled their mission, or even large divisions of the church, which once played a highly important part, but have wilfully set themselves against all historical progress, may become stagnant, and congeal into dead formalism ; as is the case with most of the Oriental churches. But the main stream of church history moves *uninterruptedly onward*, and *must* finally reach its divinely appointed end. *Ecclesia non potest deficere*.

But together with the wheat, according to the parable already quoted, the tares, also, ripen for the harvest of the judgment. Accompanying the development of the good, of truth, of Christianity, there is also a development of the *evil*, of *falsehood*, of *Antichristianity*. Together with the mystery of godliness, there works also a *mystery of iniquity*. And the two processes are often in so close contact, that it requires the keenest eye to discriminate rightly between light and shade, between the work of God and the work of Satan, who, we know, often transforms himself into an angel of light. Judas was among the apostles, and Antichrist sits in the temple of God (2 Thess. 2 : 4). The hand of justice, indeed, rules even here, turning wicked thoughts and deeds to shame, and punishing the enemies of God ; but in the present world this retribution is only partially administered. The famous sentence of Schiller, "Die Weltgeschichte ist *das* Weltgericht," must, accordingly, be so far corrected : "The history of the world is *a* judgment of the world," distributing blessing and curse ; but not the final judgment, at which alone the curse and blessing will be complete. If *Goethe*, in his conversations with *Eckermann*, says of nature ; "There is in nature something approachable and something unapproachable ; many things can be only to a certain extent understood, and nature always retains something mysterious, which human faculties are insufficient to fathom ;" the same may be said, still more aptly, of history. Here, too, we encounter many mysteries, which eternity alone will fully solve. Here, too, we find everywhere the working of a revealed and a hidden God, who can be approached only by a mind reverently pious and deeply humble. All is calculated to stimulate man, who, even on the heights

of science, must "eat his bread in the sweat of his face," to renewed investigation, to greater faith. As prophecy can be perfectly understood only in the light of its fulfillment ; the Old Testament, only by the New ; so the history of the church can be perfectly comprehended, only when it shall have laid open all the fulness and variety of its contents, and shall have reached its goal. As the Jewish economy was a prophecy and type of the Christian dispensation, so the history of the church militant is but a prophecy and a type of the triumphant kingdom of God ; and eternity alone will furnish a complete commentary on the developments of time.¹

§ 6. *The Church and the World.*

The church, like Christianity itself, of which it is the vehicle, is a supernatural principle, a new creation of God through Christ, far transcending all that human intelligence and will can of themselves produce. As such, she appears at first in direct hostility to the world, which lieth in wickedness ; and so far, the history of the church and that of the world, (here taken in the sense of profane history), are in mutual conflict. But since Christianity is ordained for men, and is intended to raise them to their proper perfection, this opposition cannot be directed against nature as such, as it has come from God himself, and constitutes the true essence of man, but only against the corruption of nature, against sin and error ; and it must cease in proportion as these ungodly elements are overcome. Christianity aims not to annihilate human nature, but to redeem and sanctify it. It can truly say : *Nihil humani a me alienum puto*. Revelation is intended not to destroy reason, but to elevate it, and fill it with the light of divine truth. The church must finally subdue the whole world, not with an arm of flesh, but with the weapons of faith and love, the Spirit and the Word, and lay it as a trophy at the feet of the crucified Redeemer. Thus the supernatural becomes natural. It becomes more and more at home on earth and in humanity. In this view, also, the Word becomes flesh and dwells among us, so that we can see, feel, taste, and enjoy his glory.

Nor is it merely a single department of the world's life, which the kingdom of God proposes thus to pervade and control, but the world as a whole. Christianity is absolutely catholic or universal in its character ; it is designed for all nations, for all times, and for all spheres of human

¹ A more extended exposition of the idea of development, which properly coincides with the idea of history itself, and is indispensable to the treatment of history with any living spirit, has been attempted in our small work : *What is Church History? A Vindication of the idea of Historical Development*. Philadelphia : Lippincott & Co. 1846. See especially p. 80, sqq.

existence. The church is humanity itself, regenerate, and on the way to perfection. The whole creation groans after redemption, and after the glorious liberty of the children of God. No moral order of the world can ever become complete, without being permeated through out by the life of the Godman. Nay, even the body, and the system of nature, in which it belongs, are to come under the all-pervading and transforming power of the Gospel. The process of the new creation is to close with the resurrection of the body, and the manifestation of new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness. Hence our Lord compares the kingdom of God to leaven, which is destined to pervade the whole lump, the entire human nature, spirit, soul, and body (Matt. 13 : 33).

The several spheres of the world, in its good sense,¹ or the essential forms, ordained by God himself, for the proper unfolding of the human life, are particularly the *family*, the *state*, *science*, *art*, and *morality*.² On all these Christianity, in her course, exerts a purifying and sanctifying influence, making them tributary to the glory of God and the establishment of his kingdom, till God shall be all in all.

It recognizes the *family*, that seminary of the state and the church, as a divine institution, but raises it to a higher level than it ever occupied before. It makes monogamy a law, places the relative duties of husband and wife, parents and children, master and servant on their highest religious ground, and consecrates the whole institution by showing its reference to the sacred union of Christ with his church. It is in the history of Christianity, therefore, and particularly among the Germanic nations, that we behold marriage in its happiest forms, and meet with the most beautiful exhibitions of domestic life.

So also the *state* is regarded by Christianity as a divine institution for maintaining order in human society, for encouraging good and punishing evil, and for promoting generally the public weal. But the magistrate himself is made dependent on the absolute sovereignty of God and responsible to him, and subjects are taught to obey "in the Lord." Thus arbitrary despotism is counteracted ; obedience is shorn of its

¹ It is well known that the term "*world*" has various senses both in the Bible and in common parlance. It may signify : (1) the universe—e.g. "God created the *world*" —(2) humanity and the human life as a whole—e.g. "God so loved the *world*," &c. "Christ, the Saviour of the *world*"—(3) the unconverted part of humanity, the whole mass of human sin and error, the kingdom of evil—e.g. "the *world* lieth in wickedness," "Satan, the prince of this *world*" &c. A similar variety of meanings attaches to the word *nature*.

² We take this term here in the popular sense. In a wider view the life of the family, and of the state itself, nay, all scientific and artistic activity, falls into the sphere of ethics, and has either a moral or an immoral character and tendency.

slavish character ; cruel and hurtful institutions are gradually abolished, and wise and wholesome laws are introduced. History, in this view, is no end in a *theocracy*, in which all dominion and power shall be given to the saints of the Most High, all nations be united into one family, and joyfully yield themselves to the divine will as their only law.

To *science*, the investigation and knowledge of truth, Christianity owns no inherent opposition, but imparts a new impulse, and itself gives birth to the loftiest of all sciences, theology. It is always active, however, in purging science from error and egoism ; it leads her to the highest source of all wisdom and knowledge, to God revealed in Christ ; and will not rest, till it shall have transformed all the branches of learning into *theosophy*, and thus brought them back to the ground, from which they sprang. What Bacon says of philosophy is true of science in general : “*Philosophia obiter libata abducit a Deo, penitus hausta reducit ad eundem.*”

Art, also, whose object is to represent the idea of beauty, the church takes into her service, and herself produces the noblest creations in architecture, sculpture, painting, music, and poetry. For Christ is the fairest of the children of men, the actual embodiment of the highest ideal of the imagination, the complete harmony of spirit and nature, of soul and body, of thought and form, of heaven and earth, of God and man ; and the anthems of eternity can never exhaust his praise. The scope of history in this department is to spiritualize all art in *worship*, or divine service.

Lastly, Christianity transforms the whole *moral life* of individuals, and of nations ; breathes into morality its true life, love to God ; and ceases not till all sin is banished from the earth, and *holiness*, which is essential to the idea of the church, is fully realized in the life of redeemed humanity. God is the fountain of all law, truth, beauty, and virtue ; and as all created things proceed from him, so all must return to him at last through Christ. Christ is “the way, the truth, and the life,” by whom all must come to the Father ; the prophet, the priest, and the king of the world.

CHAPTER III.

CHURCH HISTORY.

§. 7. *General Definition.*

WE are now prepared to define *church history*. It is simply the progressive execution of the scheme of the divine kingdom in the actual life of humanity ; the outward and inward development of Christianity ; the extension of the church over the whole earth, and the infusion of the spirit of Christ into all the spheres of human existence, the family, the state, science, art, and morality, making them all organs and expressions of this spirit, for the glory of God, and for the elevation of man to his proper perfection and happiness. It is the sum of all the utterances and deeds, experiences and fortunes, all the sufferings, the conflicts, and the victories of Christianity, as well as of all the divine manifestations in and through it.

As we have distinguished two factors, a divine and a human, in general history ; so we must view church history as the joint product of Christ and of his people, or regenerate humanity. On the part of Christ, it may be called the evolution of his own life in the world, a perpetual repetition, or unbroken continuation, as it were, of his incarnation, his words and deeds, his death, and his resurrection, in the hearts of individuals and of nations. On the part of men, church history is the external and internal unfolding of the life of believers collectively, who live and move and have their being in Christ. But as these are not perfect saints this side of the grave, as they still remain more or less under the influence of sin and error, and as, moreover, the church militant is associated with the ungodly world, which intrudes into it in manifold ways, there appear, of course, in church history all kinds of sinful passions, perversions and caricatures of divine truth, heresies and schisms. We find all these in fact even in the age of the New Testament. For in proportion as the kingdom of light asserts itself, the kingdom of darkness also rouses to greater activity, and whets its weapons on Christianity itself. Judas not only stood in the sacred circle of the apostles but

wanders, like Ahasuerus, through the ecclesiastical sanctuary of all centuries. It is in opposition to the highest manifestations of the Spirit of God, that the most dangerous and hateful forms of human and diabolical perversion arise.

But, in the first place, church history shows that this opposition, and that all errors and divisions, even though they may have a long and almost universal prevalence, must, in the end, serve only to awaken the church to her real work, to call forth her deepest energies, to furnish the occasion for higher developments, and thus to glorify the name of God and his Son Jesus Christ. All tribulation, too, and persecutions are for the church, what they are for the individual Christian, only a powerful refining fire, in which she is to be gradually purged from all her dross ; till at last, adorned as a bride at the side of her heavenly spouse, upon the renovated earth, she shall celebrate the resurrection morning as her last and most glorious pentecost.

In the next place, however, this dark side of church history is only, as it were, its earthly and temporary outwork. Its inmost and permanent substance, its heart's blood, is the divine love and wisdom itself, of which it is the manifestation. Church history first of all presents to us Christ, as he moves through all time, living and working in his people, cleansing them from all foreign elements, and conquering the world and Satan. It is the repository of the manifold attestations and seals of his Holy Spirit in that bright cloud of witnesses, who have denied themselves even unto death ; who have battled faithfully against all ungodliness within and without ; who have preached the gospel of peace to every creature ; who have bathed in the depths of the divine life and everlasting truth, and have brought forth and unfolded the treasures of revelation for the instruction, edification, and comfort of their contemporaries and posterity ; who, with many tears and prayers, willingly bearing their master's cross, but also rejoicing in faith and hope, and triumphing over death and the grave, have passed into the upper sanctuary, to rest forever from their labors.

§. 8. *Extent of Church History.*

The *beginning* of church history is properly the incarnation of the Son of God, the entrance of the new principle of light and life into humanity. The life of Jesus Christ forms the unchangeable theanthropic foundation of the whole structure. Hence Gieseler, Niedner, and other historians embrace a short sketch of this in their systems, while Neander has devoted to it a separate work. But since the church, as an organic union of the disciples of Jesus, comes into view first on the day of Pentecost, we may take this point as the beginning ; and this is preferable,

because the mass of matter to be handled is so great that there could be no room to do full justice to so difficult and momentous a subject as the life of Christ. At all events, however, the history of the apostolic age must be preceded by an introductory sketch of the condition of the Jewish and heathen world at the time when the church entered it as a new creation ; for only thus can we obtain any clear conception of the comprehensive historical import of Christianity.

The *relative goal* of church history for any given time is the then existing present, or rather the epoch, which lies nearest the historian ; since what is passing before his eyes, and is not yet finished, cannot well be freely and impartially treated. Its *absolute goal* is the final judgment. But what is for us future, can, of course, be only the object of prophetic representation, and is, therefore, out of the range of any simply human history. The inspired Apocalypse only, the exposition of which belongs to exegetical science, is a prophetic church history in grand symbols, which, like the Old Testament prophecies, can never be fully understood, until all are fulfilled.

§. 9. *Relation of Church History to the other Departments of Theology.*

For us, then, church history embraces a period of eighteen centuries. This shows at once, that, of all branches of theology, it is by far the most copious and extensive. It is preceded by *exegesis* ; that is, the exposition of the canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, with all needful introductory and auxiliary sciences, as sacred philology, biblical archæology, hermeneutics, criticism, &c. The Bible being the storehouse of divine revelation, and the infallible rule of faith and practice for the church, this exegetical department may be styled *fundamental* theology. Much exegetical matter, however, enters into history, especially in the patristic age, and in that of the Reformation, to show how the Bible has been understood and expounded at different times, and by different theologians ; and thus exegesis itself has its history. Where exegesis stops, church history begins ; the two coming in contact, however, in the apostolic age. For the Acts of the Apostles and the New Testament Epistles are source and object for both sciences, only under different modes of treatment. The exegetical theologian may be compared to a miner, who brings to light the gold of scriptural truth ; the historian of the apostolic church is the artist, who works the gold, and gives it shape. Then, following historical theology in natural order, is *speculative*,¹ or as it is usually termed, *systematic* divinity (including

¹ We use this term here in a wider sense than "philosophical." There are two kinds of speculation, a *philosophical* and a *theological*, which will at last coincide, indeed in the absolute knowledge beyond the grave, but which start from different points, and

apologetic, polemic, dogmatic, and moral theology). The province of this is, to explain and vindicate scientifically the Christian faith and practice in their present posture. The whole organism of the science of religion is completed in *practical* theology, which, resting on exegetical, historical, and systematic divinity, gives directions for the advancement of the Christian faith and life in the people of God by means of preaching (homiletics), religious instruction (catechetics), the administration of divine service (liturgies), and church-government (theory of ecclesiastical law and discipline).

Exegesis, therefore, has to do with the *regulative charter*, with which the revelation begins; church history, with the continuation and apprehension of the revelation in time *past*; speculative theology, with the *present* scientific posture of the church; and practical theology looks to the *future*. But since the present and future are always becoming past, speculative and practical theology are continually falling into the province of church history, which, in this view again, appears as the most comprehensive department of theology.

§. 10. *Single Branches of Church History. History of Missions.*

Since the Christian religion, on account of its universal character, pervades and regenerates all the spheres of human life (§. 6), church history falls into as many corresponding branches, any one of which may be treated separately, and, in fact, will furnish study for a lifetime. To do anything like justice to the whole, requires, of course, the co-operation of innumerable learned minds; and even when a work of history rests upon the shoulders of many centuries of labor, it is after all but an imperfect fragment as compared with the objective history itself.

1. The first branch of church history, and the one, too, which is usually first treated, is the history of *missions*, or the spread of Christianity among unconverted nations. By some nations the Christian religion is embraced; by others, rejected; and again, different nations have very different degrees of religious susceptibility. The missionary work, which the Lord himself, before his departure, solemnly committed to his church, must continue so long as there are heathen, Jews, or Turks, or a pursue different methods. The philosophical speculation proceeds from the *self-consciousness* (*cogito, ergo sum*), and follows simply the laws of *logical thought*; the theological begins with the religious sense, or the consciousness of *God*, and seeks to understand God, man, and the world, not only in accordance with reason, but by the help of *revelation*, and in agreement with it. The measure of the first is consistency of thought; the rule of the second, harmony with the word of God. Although the wisdom of the world must be lost at last in the wisdom of God, or theosophy, and reason ultimately find its true home in revelation; yet, for the *present* stage of our knowledge, both stand in a relative opposition, and ought not to be confounded.

single soul on earth, to whom the sound of the gospel has not come. It is not carried on, however, at all times with the same zeal and success. The conversion of the heathen meets us on the grandest and most effective scale in the first and second centuries ; then on the threshold of the Middle Ages in the Christianizing of the Germanic nations ; and lastly in our own time, when Asia, Africa, and Australia are covered with a network of Protestant and Roman Catholic missionary stations.

But the church is often so much occupied with her internal affairs and conflicts, with her own purification, or self-defense, that she almost forgets the poor heathen ; as, for instance, in the age of the Reformation, and in the Protestant church of the seventeenth century. At such times, however, a *home* missionary activity, directed towards the waste or lifeless portions of the church itself, commonly takes the place of the *foreign* operations. Under the head of such internal or home missionary work may be reckoned the course of the Reformation through the Roman Catholic countries of Europe in the sixteenth century ; the labors of the Evangelical Society in France in favor of Protestantism, the operations of the American Home Missionary Society, and of other associations for providing the Western States of North America with evangelical ministers and the means of grace ; and properly also the Protestant missions among the Abyssinians and other Oriental churches.

2. A direct counterpart to the history of missions is the history of the *compression* of the church by *persecution* from hostile powers, as from the Roman empire in the first three centuries, and from Mohammedanism in the seventh and eighth. As the Lord predicted the growth of his kingdom (Matt. 13 : 31, sq.), so also he foretold its persecution.² But what appears, in one aspect, as a compression, is, in a higher view, a purifying and strengthening process, and promotes, in the end, even the outward extension of the church. Under the Roman emperors "the blood of the martyrs was the seed of the church."

Here, again, we may distinguish between *outward* persecution by unchristian powers, and an *inward* persecution of one part of the church by another. An instance of the latter we find in the suppression of the Reformation in Spain, Italy, Austria, and other regions, by the Roman

¹ Sometimes the phrase "interior or home missions" has been taken in a still wider sense, particularly of late, so as to embrace all self-denying exertions of the church, and of religious associations for allaying or removing the spiritual and temporal evils, which have crept into the church mainly in consequence of modern infidelity and indifference, and from various other causes. But an account of such benevolent operations, societies, and institutions, as sisters of charity, deaconesses, hospitals, orphan houses, asylums for the insane, the blind, &c., belongs not so much to the *history of missions*, as to the history of Christian life and practical piety.

² John 15 : 20. Matt. 5 : 10, 12 ; 10 : 23 ; 23 : 34. Comp. 2 Tim. 3 : 12.

Catholic Inquisition and the machinations of Jesuitism. Protestantism, too, has its martyrs, particularly in France, Holland, and England.

But when once Christianity has established itself in a nation, it commences the more tedious work of uprooting all the remains of heathenism, and re-casting thought and life, manners and customs, in the mold of the gospel. The church must take root, attain a vigorous growth, and bring forth its proper flowers and fruits. This leads us to other branches of church history, far more difficult of treatment, than the two now mentioned.

§ 11. *History of Doctrines.*

3. Christianity aims not to suppress the desire for knowledge and science, implanted by the Creator in the human mind, but rather favors it by giving it the right direction towards the fountain of all truth. Faith itself incites to knowledge. It is always yearning after a clearer view of its object. It feels the attainment of a still deeper apprehension of God, his word, and his relation to men, to be a sacred duty and a lofty satisfaction. To this is added, as an impulse from without, the opposition of secular science and learning; and still further, the perversions of Christian doctrine by heretical sects. As the church must be always ready to give an account of her faith to every man, these attacks force her to inquiry and self-vindication. Thus, under the impulse, on the one hand, of faith from within, on the other, of assaults from without, arises *theology*, or the science of the Christian religion; which first appears in the apologetic and polemic form, in opposition to pagan philosophy and Gnostic error. Theology is the conception of the faith of the church, as it lies in her more highly cultivated minds; and theologians are her leading intelligences, the eyes and ears, so to speak, of the body of Christ. It is in the most active and fruitful times of the church, that we find divinity most flourishing; as in the time of the Fathers, in the best period of the Middle Ages, and in the period of the Reformation; while the decline of theology is commonly attended with a relapse into ignorance and superstition, and with a general religious torpor.

The most prominent part of the history of theology is *doctrine history*, the history of the dogmas or doctrines of Christianity.¹ It constitutes

¹ There is no term in English, which exactly corresponds to "Dogmengeschichte." *Dogmatic History*, as it is generally called, would properly denote a history of dogmatic theology, or of the scientific treatment of doctrines, thus referring more to the form than to the contents. The phrase, "History of Christian doctrine," or the term "Doctrine history," founded on the analogy of "Church history," will, perhaps, express it best.

the most intellectual, and, in many respects, the most important branch of all church history, and has, therefore, of late been honored in Germany with a number of separate works by *Münscher*, *Engelhardt*, *Baumgarten-Crusius*, *Hagenbach*, *Baur*, and others. Besides this, German scholars have devoted extended and, in some instances, very valuable monographs to the history of the most important doctrines ; as those of *Baur* and *Meier* on the doctrine of the Trinity and the incarnation, that of *Baur* on the doctrine of the atonement, of *Dorner* on the person of Christ, of *Ebrard* on the Lord's supper, &c.¹ The New Testament, the living germ of all theology, contains the whole collection of saving doctrines ; not, however, in a scientific form, but in their original, living, popular and practical character. Only Paul, who had a learned education and a mind of the most dialectic cast, approaches, in his epistles, especially the epistle to the Romans, the logical and systematic method. A *Dogma* is simply a Biblical doctrine, brought, by means of reflection, into a scientific form, and laid down as a fixed article of religion. It becomes *symbolic*, when it is adopted by the whole church, or by a branch of the church, as expressing its view, true or false, of what the Scriptures teach, and is formally sanctioned as an authoritative doctrinal rule. Hence dogmas and dogmatic theology, in the strict sense, exist only from the time when the church awoke to the scientific apprehension and defense of her faith, as she did particularly under the influence of the early heresies and perversions of Christian doctrine. The dogma, of course, has its development, and is subject to change with the spirit and culture of the age ; whereas the Biblical truth in itself continues always the same, though ever fresh and ever new. Each period of church history is called to unfold and place in clear light a particular aspect of the doctrine, to counteract a corresponding error ; till the whole circle of Christian truth shall have been traversed in its natural order. Thus the Nicene period was called to assert particularly the doctrine of the divinity of Christ and of the Holy Ghost, or the doctrine of the Trinity, against the Arians and Semiarians ; and the Augustinian period, to vindicate the doctrine of human sinfulness and divine grace against the Pelagians. The doctrinal task of the Reformation lay in the field of soteriology. The work of that period was to set forth the doctrine of the inward appropriation of salvation, especially the doctrine of justification by faith, in opposition to the Roman idea of a legal righteousness. In our times the doctrine concerning the church seems to be more and more challenging the attention of theologians. And finally, eschatology, or the doctrine of the Last Things, will have its turn. But

¹ There is also an extended, philosophical, instructive and suggestive *Introduction to Doctrine History*, by *Theodore Kliefoth*, 1839.

since all the doctrines of Christianity form a connected whole, no one of them, of course, can be treated without some reference to all the rest.

As theology in general is connected with the secular sciences ; exegesis, with classical and oriental philology ; church history, with profane ; Christian morality, with philosophical ethics ; homiletics, with rhetoric, &c. ; so doctrine history stands in special relation to the history of philosophy ; and dogmatic theology, though it ought never to compromise its own dignity and independence, must always be more or less under the influence of philosophy. The theological views of the Greek Fathers were modified to a considerable extent by Platonism ; those of the mediæval schoolmen, by the logic and dialectics of Aristotle ; those of later times by the systems of Des Cartes, Spinoza, Bacon, Locke, Leibnitz, Kant, Fries, Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel. Few scientific divines can absolutely emancipate themselves from the influence of the philosophy and public opinion of their age ; and when they do, they have commonly their own philosophy, which is the less valuable in proportion as it is subjective, arbitrary, and out of the line of history and of the wants of the age. The history of philosophy and doctrine history move forward side by side, alternately repelling and attracting one another ; till at last the natural reason shall come into perfect harmony with revelation, and the wisdom of the world be lost in the wisdom of God.

§ 12. *History of Morality, Government, and Discipline.*

4. The next branch of our science is the history of *Christian practice*, or of *religious life and morality*. This very important and most practical part has been thus far but too much neglected. *Neander*, who throws it into one section with the history of worship, has bestowed upon it more than the usual attention ; and it is this especially, which gives his celebrated work its peculiarly spiritual and edifying character. The doctrine of Christianity requires a corresponding holy walk. Faith must work by love. Since the Christian religion is wholly of a moral nature, having always in view the glory of God and the sanctification of the whole man, all church history is, indeed, in a wide sense, a history of morality. The formation of dogmas, theology, church government, and worship, are all moral acts. But we here use the term in a narrower sense, to denote what is directly practical. To this branch of church history, then, belongs the description of the peculiar virtues and vices, the good and evil works, the characteristic manners and customs of leading individuals in the church, and of whole nations and ages. It falls to this branch to describe the influence of Christianity upon marriage, the family, the female sex, on slavery and other social evils. In this division.

■ large space is occupied with the history of monachism, especially in the Middle Ages, when the institution split into many orders, each of which presents a more or less peculiar type of morality, and is liable, also, to corresponding dangers and temptations.

5. Again, the church must have a form of government, and exercise discipline on her disobedient members. Hence arises the *history of church polity* and *church discipline*. These two subjects have been commonly thrown together in one section ; but they may as well be treated separately, or (as seems to us most natural), the latter in connection with the history of religious life. The constitution of the church, like its doctrine, has an unchangeable substance and a changeable form. The former is the spiritual office, established by Christ himself, to which belongs the power of binding and loosing in the name of the Lord. The latter varies with the necessities of the time, and with the particular circumstances. At first we find the apostolic constitution, where the apostles are the infallible teachers and leaders of the church. In the second century the episcopal system appears, which grows naturally into the metropolitan and patriarchal forms. The Eastern churches stop with the latter ; while the Latin church in the Middle Ages concentrates all the patriarchal power in the Roman bishop, and develops the papal system. This degenerates at last into an intolerable spiritual despotism, when the Reformation produces new forms of church constitution, corresponding better with the free spirit of Protestantism, and with the idea of universal priesthood ; in particular, the Presbyterian form of government, with lay representation.

Discipline is at one time strict ; at another, lax ; according to the prevailing spirit of the church, and the nature of her relation to the temporal power.

It is chiefly in the sphere of government and discipline, that the church comes into connection with the state ; and this relation of church and state, also, appears under very different forms, and has its peculiar history. The state, for example, may take a hostile attitude towards the church, and oppress her with persecutions, as did the heathen power in the first three centuries, before the conversion of the emperor Constantine. Or the church, as a hierarchy, may rule the state, as did the Western church in the Middle Ages, and as she does to this day, where the papacy is in full power. Or the Christian state, as an imperial papacy, may rule the church, on the false principle : *cujus regio ejus religio* ; as in the case even of the Byzantine emperors, who interfered very much with the external, and also with the internal affairs of the Greek church ; and again, in a number of Protestant establishments since the sixteenth century. Or, finally, state and church may be

mutually independent, and leave each other undisturbed ; this order prevails in the United States, and seems to be latterly introducing itself also into some parts of Europe, as in the case of the Free Church of Scotland.

§ 13. *History of Worship.*

6. Finally, we have to notice the history of *divine service*, or *worship*. The essential elements of it, as appointed by Christ himself, are the preaching of the word and the administration of the sacraments. And here again, the manner of preaching, of giving religious instruction, of administering the sacraments, has its history. In addition to this, the church appoints sacred places and sacred times ; produces prayers, liturgies, hymns, chorals, and all sorts of significant symbolical forms and actions ; enters into alliance with the fine arts, especially architecture, painting, music, and poetry, and makes them tributary to the purposes of worship. The service may abound with these artistic forms, and indeed be overladen with them ; as in the Greek and Roman church, which seeks to work upon the imagination and the feelings by imposing symbols, by outward show and pomp, especially in the service of the mass. Or it may be simple and sober, making all of the pulpit and nothing of the altar ; as in the Puritan churches. Then again, each single branch of worship has its peculiar history. There is a history of the pulpit, of catechetical instruction, of liturgies, of church architecture, of religious sculpture and painting, of sacred poetry and music, &c. Here, too, much still remains to be done, especially in the department of Christian art. *Hase* is properly the only one among the writers of general church history, who has given it a place in his system ; and even with him, the small compass of the manual confines the treatment to short, though spirited sketches.

The history of church government and the history of worship are often combined, under the name of Christian *archæology*, which is usually limited to the first six centuries, as the period of the origin and development of ecclesiastical forms and laws. The most important works on this subject are *Bingham's* Antiquities of the Christian Church, of which there is also a Latin translation ; and the later Archæologies of *Augusti* (complete in twelve volumes, abridged in three), *Rheinwald*, *Böhmer*, and *Siegel*.

From all this, we may readily see the copiousness and variety of church history, and, at the same time, the difficulty of mastering its immense material.

In the detailed treatment, however, we cannot strictly carry out this six-fold division without becoming pedantic, and interrupting the natural

order of things. In the period of the Reformation, for example, the different departments, especially the course of outward events and the development of doctrine, are so interwoven that a strict distribution of the matter among the several heads would do violence to the history, and would rather hinder, than assist, a clear view. Nor will it do to follow always the same order. In each period, that department should be placed first, which is found to be really most prominent. The development of doctrine, for instance, from the seventh century to the tenth, is almost at a stand ; and hence this subject must occupy but a subordinate place in the history of that period. In some periods it is desirable to add new heads ; as, in the Middle Ages, for the history of the papacy, the monastic orders, and the crusades. The peculiar disposition and views of the historian, however, and his particular object, also, have, of course, great influence on the plan and treatment of the material in the different periods.

§ 14. *Sources of Church History.*

Whatever furnishes information, more or less accurate, respecting the outward and inward acts and fortunes of the church, may be reckoned among the *sources* of her history. The credibility of this information must be determined by criticism on external and internal grounds. We may make a general division of these sources into *immediate* and *mediate*.

A. The IMMEDIATE OR DIRECT SOURCES, being the pure, original utterances of the history itself, are the most important. They may be divided into :

a. *Written.* Here belong

1. *Official reports and documents.* Of special importance among these are the *acts of councils*.¹ Then the *official letters of bishops*, particularly the *bulls of the popes*.² These decrees and bulls refer to all departments of church history, but especially to doctrine and government. Then again, for particular branches, there are special documentary sources. In doctrine history, for example, we have, first of all, the *confessions of faith*, which set forth the church doctrine in an authoritative form.³ In the department of Christian life, we have the various

¹ Of these there are several collections ; the best, by *Mansi* ; *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*. Florent. et Venet. 1759, sqq. in thirty-one folio volumes. (For the history of our American churches, the transactions of synods are, likewise, the most authentic immediate sources).

² Of these, also, there are various collections ; one of special note by *Cocquelines*. *Bullarum amplissima collectio*. Rom. 1739. 28 t. fol., and *Magni bullarii continuatio* (1758-1830), collegit Andr. Advocatus *Barbieri*. Rom. 1835, sq.

³ A collection of the older symbols is given by *C. W. F. Walch*, in his *Bibliotheca symbolica vetus*, Lemgo, 1770 ; and more recently by *A. Hahn* : *Bibliothek der Sym*

monastic rules ;¹ in that of worship, the *liturgies* ;² in that of government, the civil laws of the Byzantine, Frank, and German princes relating to the church.³

2. *Inscriptions* ; particularly upon tombs. These frequently throw light upon the birth and death, the deeds and fortunes of distinguished men, and are exponents of the spirit of their age. They are not so valuable, however, for church history, as for some parts of profane.⁴

3. The *private writings of personal actors in the history*. The works of apologists and church fathers, for instance, are of the greatest importance for the history of the ancient church ; the correspondence of popes and princes, of bishops and monks, the works of the school-men and mystics, for the history of the Middle Ages ; the writings of the Reformers and their Roman adversaries, for the history of the Reformation. These records give us the liveliest image of their authors and their age. Here, however, we must first weigh, in the scales of a careful and thorough criticism, the genuineness of the writings in question, so as not to be misled by a false representation. This is especially necessary in the written monuments of the second and third centuries, when a multitude of apocryphal writings were fabricated. These fraudulent productions are characteristic, indeed ; not, however, of the pretended authors, but only of the heretical tendencies, out of which, for the most part, they sprang. Then again we must have correct and complete editions.⁵

bole und Glaubensregln der apostol. kath. Kirche. Breslau, 1842. The Confessions of the Lutheran church are found complete in the editions of *J. G. Walch*, *Rechenberg*, and *Hase* ; those of the Reformed church in the *Collectio Confessionum*, &c., by *Niemeyer*. Leipzig, 1840, and in " *Bekenntnisschriften der evang. reform. Kirche*," with Introduction and notes, by *E. G. A. Böckel*. Leipzig, 1847.

¹ *L. Holstenius* : *Codex regularum monasticarum*, Rom. 1661, 3t., enlarged by *Brockie*, 1759, 6t.

² Comp. *Assemani* : *Codex liturgicus ecclesiæ universæ*. Rom. 1749, 13t.—*Renanot* : *Liturgiarum orientalium collectio*. Par. 1716, 2t.—*Muratori* : *Liturgia rom. vetus*. Venet. 1748, 2t.

³ The laws of the Roman emperors may be found in the *Codex Theodosianus* and *Cod. Justinianus* ; those of the Frank kings, in *Baluzii Collectio capitularium regum Francorum* Par. 1677 ; those of the German emperors, in *Heiminsfeldii Collectio constitutionum imperialium*. Frcf. 1713.

⁴ Among the collections of such inscriptions are, *Ciampini Vetera Monumenta*. Rom 1747, 3t. fol., *Jacutii Christ. antiquitatum specimina*. Rom 1752, 4t. ; *F. Münter's Sinnbilder und Kunstvorstellungen der alten Christen*. Altona, 1825.

⁵ Of all the important church fathers good editions have been published, especially in the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth. (See *Walch's Bibliotheca patristica*). We have, also, valuable collections of patristic literature ; as for instance, *Maxima bibliotheca veterum patrum*, etc. Lugd. 1677, 28t. fol. ; *Gallandi: Bibliot. eca vett. patrum antiquorumque scriptorum ecclesiast.*, postremâ Lugdunensi locupletior. Venet. 1765—88, 14t. fol. ; and *Migne: Patrologiæ cursus completus, sive*

b. *Unwritten*. These consist of works of art ; particularly church edifices and religious paintings. The Gothic domes of the Middle Ages, for instance, embody the gigantic spirit of that period. They are exponents of the prevailing conception of Christianity, and of the church ; and, on this account, are of the greatest moment for the historian.

B. The MEDIATE OR INDIRECT SOURCES are :

a. First of all, the *accounts* and *representations of historians*. These give us, not the history itself in its original form, as the immediate sources present it, but the view of it as apprehended by particular individuals, in the form of compilation and commentary. Among these productions, those, of course, take the first rank, which come from eye and ear witnesses, whether friends or foes. Such are almost the same as immediate sources (a. 3). Their value depends on the credibility and capacity of their authors. Thus the Acts of the Apostles by Luke, even aside from its canonical character, is of great importance for the history of the apostolic age ; the reports of the churches of Smyrna and Lyons, for the history of the early persecutions ; the historical works of Eusebius, for the age of Constantine ; the annals and chronicles of the monks, for the Middle Ages ; Spalatin's *Annales Reformationis*, the biographies of Luther by Melancthon and Mathesius, Sleidan's *Commentarii*, Beza's *History of the Reformed Church in France*, &c., &c., for the Reformation

Historians, who have lived *after* the occurrence of events they relate, may be considered sources, when they have drawn upon reliable documents, monuments, and the reports of eye-witnesses, which have since been either entirely lost, like several of the writings used by Eusebius, or placed beyond our reach, as is partially the case with the treasures of the Vatican library. Important documents of this kind are the biographies of prominent individuals in the church. Such biographies, especially of the saints and martyrs, we have in great numbers.¹

b. Finally, we may place among the mediate sources, though in a very *Bibliotheca universalis integra, uniformis, commoda, œconomica, omnium S. S. patrum, doctorum scriptorumque ecclesiast. qui ab ævo apostolico ad usque Innocentii III. tempora floruerunt, etc.* Paris (Siron), 1844, sqq.

¹ The most important collection of this kind, which, however, on account of the fables interwoven with it, must be very cautiously used, is the *Acta Sanctorum*, quot-quot toto orbe coluntur, edd. Bollandus et alii (Bollandistæ). Antwerp, 1643—1794, in fifty-three folio volumes. It is composed by Jesuits, and arranged according to the days of the month, reaching to the 6th of October. The apparatus for this work alone embraces about seven hundred manuscripts, found in a castle in the province of Antwerp. A similar work, though far less extensive, and better adapted for popular use, is "The Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs, and other principal saints, compiled from original monuments and other authentic records, by the Rev. *Alban Butler*," of which several editions have been published in England and America.

subordinate rank, oral *traditions*, *legends*, and *popular sayings*, which are often characteristic of the spirit of their age ; the saying, for example current throughout the Middle Ages, that the church, since her union with the state under Constantine, had lost her virginity ; and that which arose in the time of the Hohenstaufen dynasty, that Frederic II. would return, or that an eagle would rise out of his ashes, to destroy the papacy ; showing, in a portion, at least, of the German people, an early opposition to Rome.

For the professional historian a critical study of at least the principal sources is indispensable ; and this, again, requires a vast amount of preliminary knowledge, especially an intimate acquaintance with the Greek and Latin languages, in which most of the direct sources are written. For the general need, however, and for practical purposes, such works will answer, as are based on a thorough study of sources. The most valuable Protestant works of this kind are the church histories of *Neander* and *Gieseler*, which, however, are both as yet unfinished. Neander unites with the most extensive reading, especially in the patristic literature, the finest sense of truth and justice, an inward sympathy with all forms and types of the Christian spirit and life, a great talent for apprehending and genetically unfolding the spirit of leading persons and tendencies, and a lovely, childlike disposition—qualities which have justly gained him the title, “father of modern church history,” and which make us almost forget the defects of his immortal work. One of his greatest faults is the carelessness and often wearisome diffuseness of his style. Gieseler’s text is very meagre, and betrays rather an outward, spiritless, rationalistic conception of history ; but his work is invaluable for its copious extracts from sources, selected with vast diligence and skill, which occupy by far the largest space, and enable the reader to see and judge for himself.

But, besides such general works, there are also many exceedingly instructive and interesting monographs by modern German scholars on distinguished theologians and their times. These especially should be consulted, on account of their minuteness of detail, which, in many cases, almost supersedes the necessity of a study of sources. Such monographs we have, for instance, on Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, Hippolytus, Tertullian, Cyprian, Origen, Athanasius, Gregory of Nyssa, Chrysostom, Augustine, Gregory the Great, Anselm, Bernard of Clairvaux, Hugo of St. Victor, Gregory VII., Innocent III., Alexander III., on the Forerunners of the Reformation, on almost all the Reformers, on Spener, Franke, Zinzendorf, Bengel, &c. ; as also on the most important parts of doctrine history, and on single branches and periods of the church. This monographic literature is continually increasing. German diligence, especially since Neander

has led the way in this department also, is almost every year adding some new and valuable work, and is not likely to rest, till every nook and corner of church history is explored, and the entire past is reproduced before us.

§. 15. *Auxiliary Sciences.*

Science, in its widest sense, or the investigation and knowledge of truth, is, like truth itself, an organic whole, having its origin, its centre, and its end in God. It is impossible, therefore, absolutely to separate any one science from the others. All the sciences are, directly or indirectly, more or less connected, each preparing for, illustrating, completing, and confirming the rest. Historical theology in particular, presupposes the knowledge of the following auxiliary sciences :

1. Ecclesiastical *Philology*, or the knowledge of those languages, in which the sources of church history are written. These ancient records are by no means all translated ; and even though they were, the scientific and critical scholar cannot rely upon translations, but must go as much as possible to the original. Among the ecclesiastical languages the most important are the *Greek* and *Latin*, in which a great majority of the documents of the Eastern and Western churches have been composed. The Latin especially, throughout the Middle Ages, and even down to the seventeenth century, was the learned language of Europe, and is, to this day, extensively used in the Roman Catholic church for theology, government, and worship. The ecclesiastical Greek and Latin, however, differs somewhat from the classic, as it is adapted to a new world of ideas, lying far beyond the horizon of the ancient heathen authors. Hence the necessity of having special Greek and Latin dictionaries for the elucidation of the older ecclesiastical writers.¹ But ecclesiastical philology, in a wider sense, includes also all the other oriental, mediæval, and modern European languages, whose literature is more or less important to church history. Since the Reformation of the sixteenth century the Latin has gradually ceased to be the exclusive, or even the principal medium of literary and ecclesiastical communication, and has given way to the living and popular languages. The German, French, and English are the languages now most prominent, and most generally used in the modern history of the church as well as of the world.

2. Ecclesiastical *Geography*, the description of the locality or stage,

¹ The principal works of this kind are, *Suicer's* Thesaurus ecclesiasticus e patribus Græcis ; and *Carol. du Frésne's* (Domin. du Cange) Glossarium ad scriptores mediæ et infimæ Græcitatatis, (Lugd. 1688, 2 tom. fol.) ; also his Glossarium ad scriptores mediæ et infimæ Latinitatis (Par. 1733-36, 6t. fol.), with Carpentier's supplement in 4 vols. fol. The last and most complete edition of Du Frésne's Latin Glossary is that of *Henschel*, Paris, 1840-50. 7 vols. 4to.

on which church history moves. The theatre of history is not in the air, but on the firm soil of this earth ; and the peculiarities of the place or country are not without their effect upon the national character, which, again, forms the natural basis of the religious complexion of the people. Who can deny, for instance, that the constitutional peculiarities of the Greek, Roman, French, German, Dutch, and English nations reappear in a higher form, in the Greek, Roman Catholic, Gallican, Lutheran, and Reformed churches ? Nor is it merely accidental, that Catholicism is still predominant in Southern countries, where feeling and imagination are strongly developed ; while Protestantism has established itself most firmly among the colder, but more energetic and active nations of the North.

Ecclesiastical geography differs from political, as church history differs from secular. It is governed throughout by the idea of Christianity. It describes countries from an ecclesiastical point of view, dividing the Christian portions from those occupied by false religions, marking the territorial limits of different confessions and denominations, the number and boundaries of patriarchates, dioceses, synodical districts, and charges, and pointing out those places, which are memorable for distinguished persons or events of church history. The history of the primitive church is confined almost entirely to the limits of the old Roman empire, i. e. to the countries lying around the Mediterranean sea. But as fast as the kingdom of Christ spreads, the field of ecclesiastical geography and statistics widens ; and the modern missionary operations carry us into the most distant parts of the world.¹

3. Ecclesiastical *Chronology*, i. e. the science of the various systems of chronology (ab urbe condita, æra Selencidarum, æra Hispanica, æra Diocletiana, æra Dionysiana, etc.), and of determining the dates of ecclesiastical events.²

4. Ecclesiastical *Diplomatics* (diplomatica, ars diplomatica), i. e. the science of diplomas or documents, teaching the value, the criticism, and the right use of the different documentary instruments, such as bulls, breves, statutes, patents, &c. This department includes the special sciences of Palæography, the science of ancient writings and manu-

The best work in this department is the *Handbuch der kirklichen Geographie und Statistik von den Zeiten der Apostel bis zum Anfang des 16ten Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols. Berlin, 1846, by *J. E. Th. Wiltsh*, in connection with the same author's *Atlas sacre sive ecclesiasticus*, Gotha, 1843. fol. On the geography of Palestine in particular we have a number of excellent books and maps, among which those of *Raumer*, *Ritter* and *Robinson* merit special praise.

² The general works on chronology, by *Gatterer*, *Ideler*, *Brinkmaier*, are mentioned in *Gieseler's Ch. Hist. Int.* § 3. note 7. A special work on ecclesiastical chronology is furnished by *Piper* : *Kirchenrechnung*. Berlin, 1841.

scripts of the Bible, church fathers, &c. ; Sphragistics, the science of seals ; Numismatics, of coins ; Heraldics, of weapons.¹

5. *General History* of the world. This is intimately connected, nay interwoven with church history, and is indispensable to a clear view of it.² The church exists, not outside of the world and humanity, but in the midst of them. At every step it comes into contact, either friendly or hostile, with the manners, institutions, deeds, and fortunes of men. Without an acquaintance with Judaism and heathenism, and with the external and internal condition of humanity at the time of Christ's appearance on earth, we can form no adequate estimate of the position and importance of Christianity in the history of the world. In the first three centuries the church gives most striking exhibitions of her moral power in her victorious conflict with the Roman empire, and with heathen philosophy. During the Middle Ages the history of the papacy is interwoven throughout with the history of the German empire. The Reformation was not merely a religious, but also a political and social convulsion, particularly in France, Holland, England, and Scotland, and most of its champions and opponents figure in secular history as well as in ecclesiastical. Hence theological and secular writers are constantly meeting on this field, as may readily be observed in any of the histories of England, for instance, by Hume, Lingard, and Macaulay. Even in the United States, whose church and state are separate, it is impossible to understand the religious life, without an insight into the national character, and the political and social condition of the country.

The special branches of church history correspond, then, more particularly to special departments of secular history. In the history of mis-

¹ The science of diplomatics was started by the Belgian Jesuit, *Daniel Papelroth*, one of the principal authors of the *Acta Sanctorum*, in his *Propylæum antiquarium*, A. D. 1675. This called forth the most important work on general diplomatics, by the learned French Benedictine, *Mabillon*, *De re diplomatica libri VI.*, in quibus quidquid ad veterum instrumentorum antiquitatem, materiam, scripturam et stilum, quidquid ad sigilla, monogrammata, subscriptiones ac notas chronologicas, quidquid inde ad antiquariam historicam forensemque disciplinam pertinet, explicatur et illustratur, etc. Par. 1681; then 1709; and with additions by others, Naples, 1789. It is illustrated with more than two hundred documents, from the fifth century to the twelfth, and a great number of excellent impressions. Respecting the later diplomatic works of *Mommsen* (*Palaeographia Graeca*, etc.), the Benedictines, *Tassin* and *Tonstin*, (*Mabillon's commentators*), *Gatterer*, *Schönemann*, &c., the reader is referred to the comprehensive article *Diplomatik*, in Ersch and Gruber's large *Encyclopædia*, Sec. I. Part 25. p. 441, sqq.

² Universal history, in its widest sense, includes church history as its most important part, representing the deepest life of humanity (comp. § 5). Some modern writers still seem to have the childish notion, that history is simply an account of outward facts; kings, dynasties, wars and bloodshed; as if the infinitely more important intellectual, moral, and religious life of humanity had no history at all!

sions a knowledge of the false religions of the respective nations will be of good service, to show their contrast with Christianity. The history of church government and discipline frequently comes in contact with the history of politics. The history of theology and Christian doctrines and that of philosophy and general literature run parallel, and exert a reciprocal influence. The history of divine worship is intimately connected with the history of the fine arts ; and in the Middle Ages, when architecture, sculpture, painting, music, and poetry stood almost exclusively in the service of the church, the two nearly coincide.¹

§. 16. *Method of writing Church History.*

We come now to consider the way of arranging and presenting the material of church history.

1. As to the *external* method, or the disposition of the matter ; it is best to combine the two modes of dividing, by *time*, and by *subjects*. The *chronological* method, which has hitherto been in much favor, has its advantages, but is very external and mechanical, when carried out by itself, especially in the form of Annals. It degrades history to a mere chronicle, and interrupts the flow of events, so that things, which should go together, are sundered, and not unfrequently a heterogeneous mass is crowded into one section, because it belongs in one chronological division. This is the case, to some extent, even with the division into *centuries*, adopted by the celebrated *Mosheim*, and others. For though we may attribute to each century a peculiar spirit, yet the epochs of history by no means coincide with the beginnings and ends of centuries.² The apostolic period commences with the year 30 ; the age of Constantine, A. D. 311 ; that of Hildebrand, A. D. 1049 ; that of the Reformation, A. D. 1517. The divisions ought never to be arbitrarily made, upon a preconceived scheme ; they should grow out of the history itself. But it is equally inconvenient to arrange rigidly and exclusively by *subjects*, distributing the material under certain heads, as missions, doctrine, government, &c., and following out each single head, irrespective of the others, from the beginning to the present time. This would make history a number of independent, parallel lines. It would afford no view of the inward connection and mutual influence of the different departments, no complete general view of any one period.

In view of these disadvantages on either side, the best way will be so

¹ It is impossible here to enumerate even the most important works on general history, which have more or less bearing on church history. See *Gieseler*, Intr. § 3 note 1-6.

² *Goethe*, also, remarks, in his *Farbenlehre*, II, 169 : "To divide a historical work according to centuries, has its inconveniences. With none are the events formally closed ; man's life and activity reach from one into the other."

to combine the two methods, as to have the benefit of both. While we follow the course of time, we may make our division of it depend upon the character and succession of events, and pursue those things, which naturally belong together, to their relative goal, whether this goal coincide with the end of a year or century, or not. Thus, by dividing the entire history into periods, which correspond to the stages of the development itself, we meet the chronological demand; while, by arranging the material, within these periods, under particular sections or heads, as many as each period may need, we conform to the order of things.

2. The *internal* method of the historian is that of *genetic development*, i. e. the natural reproduction of the history itself, or the representation of it exactly as it has occurred. This method differs, on the one hand, from simple *narration*, which arranges facts and names in a mere outward juxtaposition, without rising to general views and a philosophical survey; and, on the other hand, from a *priori construction*, which adjusts the history to a preconceived scheme, and for the spirit of a past age substitutes that of the writer himself.¹ The historian must give himself up entirely to his object; in the first place, accurately and conscientiously investigating the facts; then identifying himself, in spirit, with the different men and times, which have produced the facts; and then so presenting the facts, instinct with their proper spirit and life, that the whole process of development shall be repeated before the eyes of the reader, and the actors stand forth in living forms. History is neither all body, nor all soul, but an inseparable union of both; therefore both the body and the soul, the fact and the idea, in their mutual vital relation, must be recognized and brought into view. The older historians have done invaluable service in the accumulation of material, but their works lack generally the character of impartial criticism and living freedom. Historians of the modern school penetrate more to the marrow of history, discover the hidden springs of its life, and lay all open to our view. The two methods do not of necessity absolutely exclude each other, though they call for different kinds of talent; but each completes the other, and only by the intimate union of the two can the entire fulness of the history be presented.

Truth and fidelity are, therefore, the highest aim of the historian. As a fallible man, he can never, indeed, perfectly attain it; yet he is bound to keep it always before his eyes. He must divest himself of all prejudice, of all party interest, so as to present the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. Not, as some have unreasonably de-

¹ Against such historians the couplet of the poet holds good

“Was sie den Geist der Zeiten heissen,
Das ist der Herren *eigner* Geist.”

manded, that he should lay aside his own mental agency, his character, nay, even his religion, and become a mere *tabula rasa*. For, in the first place, this is an absolute impossibility. A man can know nothing, without the exercise of his own thought and judgment ; and it is plain, that those very persons, who make the greatest boast of their philosophical freedom from all prepossession, as *Strauss*, for instance, in his notorious "Leben Jesu," are most under the dominion of preconceived opinions and principles, with which they seek to master history, instead of sitting, as modest learners, at her feet. Then again, the very first condition of all right knowledge is a pre-existing sympathy with the object to be known. He who would know truth, must himself stand in the truth ; only the philosopher can understand philosophy ; only the poet, poetry ; only the pious man, religion. So also the church historian, to do justice to his subject, must live and move in Christianity. And as Christianity is the centre of the world's life, and is truth itself, it throws the clearest light on all other history. Nor can it be said, that, according to the same rule, only a heathen can understand heathenism ; only a Jew, Judaism ; only a rationalist, rationalism. For it is from above that we survey what is below, and not the reverse. It is only by means of truth that we can comprehend error ; whereas error understands not even itself. *Verum index sui et falsi*. Paganism, as opposed to Christianity, is a false religion ; and whatever of truth it may contain, such as its longing after redemption, is found complete in Christianity. The same is true of sects in their relation to the Biblical truth in the church. And as to Judaism, it is but a direct preparation for Christianity, which is its completion ; and hence the Christian can obtain clearer views of Judaism than the Jew, just as the man is able to understand the child, while the child can have no proper apprehension of himself. Hence Augustine, with perfect propriety, says : *Novum Testamentum in Vetere latet, Vetus in Novo patet*.

The object, then, after which the historian must always strive, though he may never, in this life, fully attain it, is truth itself, which can be found only in Christ. In him are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge, and he is the soul of church history. This truth is, at the same time, inseparable from justice ; it allows no partiality, no violation of the *suum cuique*. Such impartiality, however, as springs from a self-denying, tender sensibility to truth, and from a spirit of comprehensive love to the Lord, and to all his followers, of whatever name, time, or nation, is totally different from that colorless neutrality and indifferentism, which treats all religions, churches, and sects with equal interest, or rather want of interest, and is, in reality, a hidden enmity to the truth and moral earnestness of Christianity.

§. 17. *Division of Church History.*

The development of the church has various stadia, or stages, called *periods*. The close of one period and beginning of the next is an *epoch*, literally a stopping place (*ἐποχή*). It marks the entrance of a new principle ; and an event or idea, which forms an epoch, is one, which turns the course of history in a new direction. Such events were the first Christian Pentecost ; the conversion of Paul, the apostle of the gentiles ; the destruction of Jerusalem ; the union of church and state under Constantine ; the rise of Gregory VII. ; the posting of the ninety-five theses by Luther ; Calvin's appearance in Geneva ; the accession of queen Elizabeth ; the landing of the Puritan pilgrims at Plymouth ; the appearance of Spener, Zinzendorf, Wesley ; the outbreak of the French Revolution ; the year 1848 ; &c. A period, then, is the circuit (*περίοδος*) between two epochs, or the time, within which a new idea or view of the world, and a new series of events unfold themselves. Among periods themselves, again, we may distinguish greater and smaller. The larger periods may be called, for the sake of perspicuity, *ages*. A new age will commence, where the church, with a grand and momentous revolution, not only passes into an entirely new outward state, but also takes, in her inward development, a wholly different direction. Such an age then falls into several sections or smaller periods, each of which presents some particular aspect of the general principle, which rules the age.

The whole history of the church down to the present time may be divided into three ages, and each age into three periods ; as follows :

FIRST AGE.

The PRIMITIVE or the GRAECO-LATIN (Eastern and Western) UNIVERSAL CHURCH, from its foundation on the day of Pentecost to Gregory the Great (A. D. 30-590) ; thus embracing the first six centuries.

First Period : The *Apostolic* church, from the first Christian Pentecost to the death of the apostles (A. D. 30-100).

Second Period : The *Persecuted* church (*ecclesia pressa*), to the reign of Constantine (311).

Third Period : The *established* church of the *Graeco Roman empire*, and amidst the barbarian storms, to Gregory the Great (590).

SECOND AGE.

The CHURCH OF THE MIDDLE AGES, or the ROMANO-GERMANIC CATHOLICISM, from Gregory the Great to the Reformation (A. D. 590-1517) ;

Fourth Period : The commencement of the Middle Ages, the planting of the church among the Germanic nations, to the time of Hildebrand (1049).

Fifth Period : The flourishing period of the Middle Ages, the summit of the papacy, monachism, scholastic and mystic theology, to Boniface VIII. (1303).

Sixth Period : The dissolution of the Middle Ages and preparation for the Reformation, to 1517.

THIRD AGE.

The MODERN, or EVANGELICAL PROTESTANT CHURCH, in conflict with the Roman Catholic Church, from the Reformation to the present time.

Seventh Period : The Reformation, or productive Protestantism, and reacting Romanism, (sixteenth century).

Eighth Period : Orthodox-confessional and scholastic Protestantism, in conflict with ultramontane Jesuitism, and this again with semi-protestant Jansenism, (seventeenth century and first part of the eighteenth).

Ninth Period : Subjective and negative Protestantism (Rationalism and Sectarianism), and positive preparation for a new age in both churches, (from the middle of the eighteenth century to the present time)

This division differs somewhat from that of other historians. Neander, as well as nearly all modern writers, commences new epochs, it is true, with Constantine, Gregory the Great, Gregory VII., and Boniface VIII. But what forms, with us, the fourth period, and the transition from the Patristic to the Middle Age, he divides into two periods ; the first extending from Gregory the Great to Charlemagne ; the second, from Charlemagne to Gregory VII. (1073). These two sections, however, are so much alike in their general character, that such a division seems uncalled for. And besides, it occasions a great disproportion, in the amount of contents, between these periods and the others ; as appears in the fact, that each of these two sections occupies but one volume (in the German edition), while each of the other periods, so far as the work extends, fills two large volumes. Gieseler makes four periods : (1) from Christ to Constantine, the church under outward pressure ; (2) to the beginning of the image controversy (which, however, is hardly of sufficient importance to constitute an epoch), Christianity as the prevailing religion of the Roman empire ; (3) to the Reformation, the development of the papacy ; (4) the development of Protestantism. These periods he subdivides into a great many smaller sections ; thus cutting up the

whole too much, and making it very difficult to take a comprehensive survey. His lines of demarcation, moreover, are sometimes rather arbitrarily drawn. He dates new epochs, for instance, at the time of Adrian (117), and Septimius Severus (193), in the first period; at the council of Chalcedon (451), and the appearance of Mohammed (622), in the second; at the pseudo-Isidorian decretals (858), and the transfer of the papal see to Avignon (1305), in the third. Hase's division is more simple—three ages, and in each age two periods; thus: (1) *Ancient* church history, to the formation of the holy Roman empire of the German nation, (a) to Constantine, (b) to Charlemagne (800); (2) *Mediæval* church history, to the Reformation, (a) to Innocent III. (1216), (b) to the Reformation (1517); (3) *Modern* church history, (a) to the treaty of Westphalia (1648), (b) to the present time. The last or sixth period he characterizes as a "struggle between ecclesiastical tradition and religious independence." Very similar to this is the scheme proposed, but not carried out, by the Roman Catholic theologian Möhler, in his *Introduction to Church History*.¹ He, too, distinguishes three ages, and in each age two periods, but differs somewhat in assigning their limits. He closes the first age with John of Damascus for the Greek church, and with Boniface, the apostle of Germany, for the Latin; and the second, he continues only to the end of the fifteenth century. Constantine the Great, Gregory VII., and the end of the eighteenth century mark his subdivisions. In modern church history he would, of course, make the development of the Roman Catholic church the basis of division; whereas the Protestant historian looks upon Protestantism as representing the main current of modern Christianity.

§ 18. *General Character of the Three Ages of Church History.*

Our division can be justified, in detail, only by the history itself. It may be proper here, however, in some degree, to verify the main division into three ages by a preliminary survey of their general character.

1. The *Ancient* church, from her foundation to the close of the sixth century, has her local theatre in the countries immediately around the Mediterranean sea; viz., Western Asia (particularly Palestine and Asia Minor), Southern Europe (Greece, Italy, Southern Gaul), and Northern Africa (Egypt, Numidia, &c.) Thus was she planted in the very centre of the old world and its heathen culture. Emanating from the bosom of the Jewish nation, Christianity, even in the days of the apostles, incorporated itself into the Grecian and Roman nationality; and this national substratum reaches through the whole first age.

¹ Published from his literary remains by Dollinger in Möhler's *Gesammelte Schriften und Aufsätze* 1839. Vol. II, 277.

Hence we have good reason to style this the age of the *Graeco-Roman*, or, which is here the same thing, the *Eastern and Western Universal* church. For the Grecian mind, at that time, ruled not only in Greece proper, but also in all the East, and in Egypt; nay, in such cities as Alexandria and Antioch it was, in its later character, even more active and vigorous, and therefore more important for church history, than in the mother country. Western Asia and Egypt, since the conquest of Alexander the Great, had lost their former character, and become Grecian in language and culture. Even the Jewish nationality, stiff as it was, could not withstand this foreign pressure; as the writings of Philo and Josephus abundantly prove. Hence the oldest Christian literature is predominantly Greek. So, on the other hand, the Roman mind held sway not only over Italy, but over the whole Western portion of the empire.

Christianity, at first, had to sustain a mighty conflict with Judaism and heathenism; and with the latter, too, in its most cultivated and powerful form. Hence, together with the history of the spread of the church, an important place belongs also to the history of its persecution, partly by the Roman sword, and partly by Grecian science and art. But in this conflict, the church, by her moral power in life and in death, on the one hand, and by her new view of the world on the other, comes off triumphant. She appropriates the classic language and culture, fills them with Christian contents, and produces the imposing literature of the fathers, which has had a fertilizing influence on all subsequent periods. The Eastern or Greek church, as the main channel of the development, occupies the foreground. In this age she gives birth to her greatest heroes, as Clemens of Alexandria, Origen, Athanasius, Basil, Gregory of Nazianzen, and Gregory of Nyssa, Eusebius and Chrysostom. At this time she displays her highest power, and unfolds her fairest blossoms, especially in the field of theology proper. With great depth of speculation and dialectic skill, she establishes the fundamental doctrines of the divinity of Christ and the Holy Ghost, and of the Trinity; whence her complacency in the title of the *orthodox* church. The Latin church, also, enters the field, but moves more slowly and steadily, and exhibits a more practical spirit; bearing the impress of the old Roman national character, as distinct from the scientific and artistic turn of the Greek genius. For theology and general culture she, at first, depends altogether on the Greek church; but in government and religious life she pursues a path of her own. It is a remarkable fact, that the Romanized Punic nationality comes into view before the Roman proper. The North-African church, in the second period and part of the third, displays far more activity than the Italian

Through Tertullian she lays the foundation for a Latin theology. Through Cyprian she takes a prominent part in the development of the episcopal hierarchy. And finally, in St. Augustine, she furnishes the most pious, profound, and spirited of all the fathers ; one who took the lead in the doctrinal controversies of his time ; directed theological investigation in the most important practical questions, in anthropology, and the doctrines of sin and grace ; and, by his writings, exerted the greatest influence upon the whole Middle Age, and even upon the Reformation of the sixteenth century.

This first age forms, in dogma, polity, and worship, the foundation for all subsequent centuries ; the common ground, out of which the main branches of the church have since sprung. In this age, too, the church presents, even outwardly and visibly, an imposing unity, joined, at the same time, with great freedom and diversity ; and she commands our admiration by her power to overcome, with the moral heroism of martyrdom and with the weapons of the Spirit and the truth, not only Judaism and Paganism without, but also the most dangerous errors and schisms, within.

2. The church of the *Middle Ages*, though, in one view, the product and legitimate succession of the primitive church, is yet, both externally and internally, very different. In the first place, the territorial field changes. It moves west and north into the heart of Europe, to Italy, Spain, France, Britain, Germany, Scandinavia, Russia. The one universal church splits into two great halves. The Eastern church, separated from the Western, gradually loses her vitality ; a part of it stiffening into dead formalism ; a part yielding to a new enemy from without, Mohammedanism, before which also the North-African church, after having first been conquered by the Arian Vandals at the death of Augustine (A. D. 430), is forced to give way. This loss in the East, however, is amply compensated by a gain in the West. The Latin church receives into her bosom an entirely new national element, barbarian, indeed, at first, but possessed of most valuable endowments and vast native force. The *Germanic* hordes, pouring from the north like a flood upon the rotten empire of Rome, ruthlessly destroy her political institutions and literary treasures, but, at the same time, found upon the ruins a succession of new states full of energy and promise. The church rescues from the rubbish the Roman language and the remains of ancient culture, together with her own literature ; from Rome as her centre she Christianizes and civilizes these rude tribes ; and thus brings on the Middle Ages, in which the pope represents the supreme spiritual power ; the German emperor, the highest temporal ; and the church rules all social relations and popular movements of the West. This is, therefore,

the age of *Romano-Germanic Catholicism*. Here we meet the colossal phenomena of the papacy, in league or conflict with the German imperial power ; the monastic orders, the scholastic and mystic divinity, the Gothic architecture and other arts, vying with each other in adorning the worship of the church.

But in this activity the church gradually loses sight of her apostolical foundation, and becomes, like Judaism in the hands of the Pharisees, encumbered with all sorts of human additions and impurities, which made "the word of God of none effect" (Mark 7 : 13). The papacy becomes an intellectual and spiritual despotism ; the school divinity degenerates into empty forms and useless subtleties ; and the whole religious life assumes a legal, Pelagian character, in which outward good works are substituted for an inward living faith in the only Saviour. Against this oppression of the hierarchy with its human ordinances, the deeper life of the church, the spirit of evangelical freedom reacts.

3. Thus, after due preparation, not only outside of the medieval Catholicism, but still more, in its very bosom, comes the *Reformation* of the sixteenth century, which gives the stream of church history an entirely different direction, and opens a new age, in the progress of which we ourselves have our place. The *Modern* church has its birthplace in *Germany* and *Switzerland*, where the Reformation broke out in two simultaneous movements, and was inwardly matured. This gives it, in a national point of view, a predominantly Germanic character. It spreads, however, with rapid triumph, into the Scandinavian North, into France, the Netherlands, England, Scotland, and finally, by emigration, into North America. And this latter country, gradually rising into view from the beginning of the seventeenth century, filling up with both the good and the evil of the old world, particularly of Great Britain and Germany, and representing, in unbounded freedom and endless diversity, the various tendencies of Protestantism, together with the renovated life of Roman Catholicism, promises to become even the main theatre of the church history of the future.

As, in the second age, the Greek and Latin churches fell asunder ; so, in the beginning of the third age, the Latin church itself divides into the Roman and the Protestant, the latter separating again into the Lutheran and Reformed branches. As, in the Middle Ages, the Roman Catholic church was the spring of all great movements, while the Greek church, which now, indeed, seems to have a new future before her in the vast empire of Russia, had stagnated at an earlier stage ; so Protestantism is plainly the centre of life for modern history. The Roman church herself, though numerically the stronger branch, owes her activity mainly to the impulse she receives, directly or indirectly, from the Protestant

This third grand division of the history may, therefore, be fitly termed, as to its leading characteristic, the age of the *Evangelical Protestant* church.

§ 19. *Character of the Three Ages, continued.*

The most general mutual relation and difference of these three ages may be best described by means of the comprehensive philosophical distinction of *objectivity* and *subjectivity*.

The first age presents the *immediate union of objectivity and subjectivity*; that is, the two great moral principles, on which the individual human life, as well as all history, turns, the *authority* of the general and the *freedom* of the individual, appear tolerably balanced, but still only in their first stage, without any clear definition of their relative limits. In the primitive church we meet a highly productive activity and diversity of Christian life and Christian science, and a multitude of deformities, also, of dangerous heresies and divisions. But over all these individual and national tendencies, views, and characters, the mind of the universal church holds sway, separating the false element with infallible instinct, and, in ecumenical councils, settling doctrines and promulgating ecclesiastical laws, to which individual Christians and nations submit. The prevailing tendency of this early Christianity, however, in doctrine, government, worship, and practical piety, is essentially Catholic, and prepares the way for that system, which reached its full proportions in the Middle Ages.

Afterwards these two principles of objectivity and subjectivity, the outward and the inward, the general and the individual, authority and freedom, appear, each in turn, in disproportionate prominence. And in the nature of the case, the principle of *objectivity* first prevails. In the Catholic church of the Middle Ages Christianity appears chiefly as law, as a pedagogical institution, a power from without, controlling the whole life of nations and individuals. Hence this may be termed the age of *Christian legalism*, of *church authority*. Personal freedom is here, to a great extent, lost in slavish subjection to fixed, traditional rules and forms. The individual subject is of account, only as the organ and medium of the general spirit of the church. All secular powers, the state, science, art, are under the guardianship of the hierarchy, and must everywhere serve its ends. This is emphatically the era of grand universal enterprises, of colossal works, whose completion required the co-operation of nations and centuries; the age of the supreme outward sovereignty of the visible church. Such a well ordered and imposing system of authority was necessary for the training of the Romanic and Germanic nations, to raise them from barbarism to the consciousness and

rational use of freedom. Parental discipline must precede independence ; children must first be governed, before they can govern themselves ; the law is still, as in the days of Moses, a schoolmaster to bring men to Christ. This consciousness of independence awoke, even before the close of the Middle Ages. The more the dominion of Rome degenerated from a patriarchal government into a tyranny over conscience and all free thought, the more powerfully was the national and subjective spirit roused to shake off the ignominious yoke.

All this agitation of awakened freedom was at last concentrated in a decisive historical movement, and assumed a positive, religious character in the Reformation of the sixteenth century. Here begins the age of *subjectivity* and *individuality* ;—a name which may be given it both in praise and in censure. It is the characteristic feature of Protestantism, and its great merit, that it views religion as a *personal* concern, which every man, as an individual, and for himself, has to settle with God, and with his own conscience. It breaks down the walls of partition between Christ and the believer, and teaches every one to go to the fountain of the divine word, without the medium of human traditions, and to converse, not through interceding saints and priests, but directly, with his Saviour, individually appropriating Christ's merit by a living faith, and rejoicing in his own personal salvation, while he ascribes all the glory of it to the divine mercy alone. Evangelical Protestantism, in its genuine form, moves throughout in the element of that freedom, into which Christ has brought us, and naturally calls forth vast individual activity in literary culture, social improvement, and practical piety. What Germany, Switzerland, Holland, England, Scotland, and the United States have accomplished during the last three centuries in religion, literature, and politics, is all more or less connected with the memorable Reformation of the sixteenth century. We ourselves are all involved in its development. Our present Protestant theology and piety breathe in its atmosphere. The Puritanism of the seventeenth century, the Pietism and Methodism of the eighteenth, and most of the religious movements of our day are but continued vibrations of the Reformation ; essentially the same Protestant principle of religious subjectivity, variously modified and applied.

But, on the other hand, what thus constitutes the strength of Protestantism, may be called also its weakness. Every right principle is liable to abuse. Every truth may be caricatured, and turned into dangerous error, by being carried to an extreme, and placed in a hostile attitude towards other truths equally important and necessary. Thus, together with its evangelical religious life, the Protestant movement includes also revolutionary and destructive elements, and dangerous tendencies to

licentiousness and dissolution in church and state. True, the Reformers themselves aimed to free the Christian world only from the oppressive authority of human ordinances, and not by any means from the authority of God. On the contrary, they sought to make reason obedient to the word of God, and the natural will subject to his grace. They wanted no licentiousness, but a freedom pervaded by faith, and ruled by the Holy Scriptures. Nay, so many churchly and Catholic elements did they retain, that much of our present Protestantism must be considered an apostasy from the position of Luther, Melancthon, and Calvin. But, as history, by reason of human sinfulness, which is always attended with error, proceeds only by opposites and extremes, the Protestant subjectivity gradually degenerated, to a fearful extent, into the corresponding extreme of division, arbitrary judgment, and contempt for every sort of authority. This has been the case especially since the middle of the last century, theoretically in *Rationalism*, practically in *Sectarianism*.

Rationalism has grown, indeed, into a learned and scientific system chiefly among the Germans, a predominantly theoretic and thinking people, and in the Lutheran church, which has been styled the church of theologians. But, in substance, it exists also in other European countries, and in North America, under various forms, as Arminianism, Deism, Unitarianism, Universalism, Indifferentism, and downright infidelity; and it infects, to some extent, the theology even of the orthodox denominations. It places private judgment, as is well known, not only above the pope and the church, but also above the Bible itself, receiving only so much of the word of God, as can be grasped by the natural understanding or reason (*ratio*, whence *rationalism*).

The system of sect and denomination has sprung more from the bosom of the Reformed church, the church of congregational life, and owes its form to the practical English character, which has a tendency to organize every new principle into a party, and to substitute sects for mere schools. In North America, under the banner of full religious freedom, it has reached its height; but, in its essence, it belongs properly to Protestant Christianity as a whole. All our Protestantism is sadly wanting in unity, at least in outward, visible unity, which is as necessary a fruit of inward unity, as works are of faith. The sects, indeed, do not commonly reject the Bible. On the contrary, they stiffly adhere to it, in their own way. But they rely on it in opposition to all history, and in the conceit, that they alone are in possession of its true sense. Thus their appealing to the Bible, after all, practically amounts, in the end, to rationalism; since, by the Bible, they always mean *their own sense* of it, and thus, in fact, follow merely their private judgment.

Finally the principle of false subjectivity reveals itself in the fact,

that, since the Reformation, the various departments of the world's activity, science, art, politics, and social life, have gradually separated from the church, and pursue their own independent course. In this wide spread rationalism, in this frittering of the church into innumerable party interests, and in her consequent weakness in relation to all the spheres of human life, and especially in relation to the state, we see the operation of a bad, diseased subjectivity, which forms just the opposite pole to the stiff, petrified, and burdensome objectivity of degenerate Catholicism.

But against these evils the deeper life of the church, which can never be extinguished, again reacts. In opposition to Rationalism there arises victoriously a new evangelical theology, which aims to satisfy the demands of science as well as of faith. And, on the other hand, against the sect system there comes up a more and more painful sense of its evils, which calls forth a longing for church union. This practical want presses the question of the nature and form of the church prominently into the foreground. The deeper, though by no means the prevailing and popular tendency of the time is thus towards objectivity; not, indeed, towards that of the Middle Ages, or even of the Romanism of our day—for history can no more flow backwards, than a stream up hill,—but to an objectivity enriched with all the experience and diversified energies of the age of subjectivity, to a *higher union of Protestantism and Catholicism* in their pure forms, freed from their respective errors and infirmities. These yearnings of the present, when properly matured, will doubtless issue in a reformation far more glorious, than any the church has yet seen. And then will open a new age, in which human activity, in all its branches, shall freely come back into league with the church; science and art join to glorify the name of God; and all nations and dominions, according to the word of prophecy, be given to the saints of the Most High.

We may find a parallel to this development of the Christian church in the history of the Jewish theocracy, which is everywhere typical of the experience of Christ's people. The age of the Primitive church corresponds to the Patriarchal age, which already contained, in embryo, the two succeeding periods. Medieval Catholicism may be compared to the Mosaic period, when law and authority and the organization of the Jewish commonwealth were fully developed. And the Modern, or Evangelical Protestant church is not without resemblance to the age of the Old Testament prophets, in whom the evangelical element, the Messianic hope predominated, and who stood, to a certain extent, in a hostile attitude towards the unfaithful hierarchy, and towards the dead formalism and ceremonialism of the people. Law and prophecy, the two poles of the old Testament religion, after having been separately developed

appeared, at last, united, and, as it were, incarnate, in the person of John the Baptist immediately before the first advent of Christ. Perhaps in this point also the analogy will hold ; and then we might indulge the hope, that a union, or at least a friendly approach of the two greatest principles of church history, and of the pious portions of the two most hostile sections of Christendom, will precede the second coming of our Lord, and the perfection of his kingdom, when there shall be one fold and one shepherd. Such private speculations, however, must not be too much trusted, and by no means permitted to influence the representation of facts. Philosophy, instead of presuming to dictate the course of history, and to accommodate it to a preconceived theory, must be made to depend upon it, and must draw her wisdom from its teachings.

§ 20. *Uses of Church History.*

1. It is in the knowledge of her history, that the church has a sense of her own development ; and this knowledge, therefore, has an *intrinsic* value. On this we must lay stress, in opposition to a contracted utilitarian view, in which church history is cultivated only for certain party interests, and thus degraded to a mere tool for temporary purposes. The present is the result of the past, and cannot possibly be fully understood without a thorough knowledge of the past. The church cannot properly comprehend herself, without a clear view of her origin and growth. Her past deeds, sufferings, and fortunes belong to the substance of her life. They are constituent elements of her being, which requires the gradual course of time for its evolution. We wait no outward impulse to engage our interest in the history of the kingdom of God. Faith itself, in its nature, prompts every one to this investigation, according to his inward calling and outward opportunity. Continually striving after a clearer apprehension of its object, it takes the deepest interest in the ways of God, the words and deeds of his servants, the innumerable witnesses of the past. If man, as man, according to the old saying : *homo sum, nihil humani a me alienum puto*, is prompted and bound to take an interest in everything properly human ; the Christian, also, as a Christian, should cultivate the liveliest sympathy with the deeds and fortunes of all his brethren in the faith, with whom he is joined in one body. Theology, apprehended and cultivated in the right spirit, is in no department a mere theoretical matter, but divine worship. Church history, therefore, deserves to be studied for its own sake, as an essential part of that knowledge of the Triune God, which is life eternal (John 17 : 3).

From this high, intrinsic, and abiding worth of church history arise its practical utility and necessity for particular purposes and callings, espe-

cially for the teachers and leaders of the Christian community This science, like all human knowledge and action, should be made subservient to the glory of God and the advancement of his kingdom.

2. Thus, the knowledge of church history is, also, one of the most powerful *helps to successful action in the service of the kingdom of God*. The present is not only the product of the past, but the fertile soil of the future, which he, who would cultivate, must understand. But the present can be thoroughly understood only by an accurate acquaintance with the past. No one, for example, is prepared to govern a state *well*, and to advance its interests, who has not made himself familiar with its wants and its history. Ignorance can produce but a bungling work, which must soon again fall to pieces. History is, next to the word of God, the richest source of wisdom and experience. Her treasures are inexhaustible. Whence the ephemeral character of so many productions in church, and in state? Their authors were ignorant and regardless of history. That tree only defies the storm, whose roots strike deep. And that work only can stand, which is built on the solid foundation of the past.

3. Again; church history is the best and most complete *defence of Christianity*, and is, therefore, pre-eminently fitted to strengthen faith, and to minister abundant comfort and edification. It is a continuous commentary on the promise of our Lord: "Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." The Saviour moves along, with the fulness of his grace, through all the centuries of Christianity, revealing himself in the most diverse personalities, and making them organs of his Spirit, his will, his truth, and his peace. The apostles and martyrs, the apologists and church fathers, the schoolmen and mystics, the reformers, and all those countless witnesses, whose names are indelibly traced on the pages of church history, form one choir, sending up an eternal anthem of praise to the Redeemer, and most emphatically declaring, that the gospel is no fable, no fancy, but power and life; peace and joy; in short, all that man can wish, of good or glory. Such examples, bearing the actual impress of the life of the Godman, and, as it were, embodying Christ, speak far more forcibly, than any intellectual demonstration or abstract theory.

So, also, church history furnishes the strongest evidence of the indestructibility of Christianity. To the words of our Lord: "On this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it," every century responds, Yea! and Amen! There is no power on or under the earth, which has not sworn hostility to the band of the redeemed, and done its utmost to annihilate the infant community. But the church has vanquished them all. Stiff-necked and blinded Judaism

laid its hand upon the Anointed of the Lord and his servants. But the Saviour has risen from the dead ; his followers have beheld with adoration his wonderful judgments upon Jerusalem ; the chosen people are scattered, without a shepherd, and without a sanctuary, through all nations and times, a perpetual living witness to the truth of the divine threatenings ; and "this generation shall not pass away" till the Lord come again in his glory. Greece applied all her art and philosophy to confute the doctrine of the cross, and make it ridiculous in the eyes of the cultivated world. But her wisdom was turned into foolishness, or made a bridge to Christianity. Rome, proud mistress of the world, devised the most inhuman torments, to torture Christians to death, and root out their name from the earth. But tender virgins faced eternity more firmly than tried soldiers or Stoic philosophers ; and after two centuries of the most bloody persecution, lo, the Roman emperor himself casts his crown at the feet of the despised Nazarene, and receives baptism in His name. The crescent of Islam thought to outshine the sun of Christianity, and moved, blood-red, along the horizon of the Eastern and African churches, passing over even into Spain and France. But the messengers of the Lord have driven back the false prophet, and his kingdom is now a mouldering corpse. Heresies and schisms of all sorts arose in the bosom of the church itself, even in its earliest history, and seemed, for a long time, to have displaced the pure doctrine of the gospel. But the truth has always broken for itself a new path, and forced the hosts of error to submission. The Middle Ages loaded the simple doctrine of salvation with so many human additions that it could scarcely be discerned, and was made almost "of none effect" (Mark 7 : 13). But the inward energy of the church powerfully worked its way through the superincumbent mass ; placed the candle of the pure word again on its candlestick ; and set conscience free from the fetters of the hierarchy. Deists, materialists, and atheists, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, poured contempt upon the Bible ; nay, the heroes of the French Revolution, in their mad fanaticism, even set aside the God of Christians, and, in the midst of scenes of the most frightful cruelty, placed the goddess of Reason on the throne of the world. But they soon had to undo their own folly. The Lord in heaven laughed, and had them in derision. Napoleon, the greatest potentate and captain of modern times, proposed to substitute for the universal dominion of Christianity, the universal dominion of his own sword, and to degrade the church into an instrument for his own political ends. But the Lord of the church hurled him from his throne ; and the giant, who had thrown all Europe out of joint, must die of a broken heart, a prisoner on a lonely rock of the ocean. In the bosom of Protestantism has arisen

within the last and present century, a Rationalism, which, wielding all the powers of learning and philosophy, has gradually advanced to the denial of a personal God, and of immortality, and has turned the history of the Saviour into a book of myths. But it has been promptly met by a believing theology, which has triumphantly driven its objections from the field ; while division has broken out in the camp of the enemy itself, and one system of unbelief is found actively refuting another. Indifferentism and spiritual death have spread, in the train of Rationalism, over whole sections of the church. But the Christian life already celebrates its own resurrection. Banished from one land, it flourishes with fresh vigor in another, and pushes its activity even to the uttermost parts of the heathen world. The mightiest empires, the most perfect systems of human wisdom, have perished ; while the simple faith of the Galilean fishermen shows itself to-day as powerful as ever ; regenerating the most hardened sinners ; imparting strength to do good, joy in affliction, and triumph in death. The Lord of hosts has ever been a wall round about his Zion. The gates of hell, through eighteen centuries, have not prevailed against the church ; as little will they prevail against her in time to come. To have weathered so many storms, coming forth only purer and stronger from them all, she must, indeed, be made of indestructible material. Church history, studied with a truth-loving spirit, places this beyond a doubt. It is, therefore, next to the word of God, the richest and most edifying book of devotion, forbidding despair, even when thick darkness rests upon the present, and the walls of Zion are beset with foes.

4. Finally ; church history, in proportion as it strengthens our faith in the divine origin and indestructible nature of Christianity, must also exert a wholesome *moral influence* on our character and conduct, and thus prove a help to *practical piety*. It is morality in the form of facts ; divine philosophy taught by examples ; a preaching of Christ and his gospel from the annals of his kingdom.¹ Its shining examples of godly men powerfully challenge our imitation ; that we, like them, may consecrate our thought and life to the honor of the Lord and the welfare

¹ *Luther* strikingly says : "There is a rare value in histories ; for all that philosophy, wise men, and universal reason can teach or devise, which is profitable for an honorable life, history forcibly presents by examples in actual fact, and sets immediately before the eyes, as though we were by, and saw it acted. And, if we look at it deeply, almost all rights, art, good counsel, warning, threatening, terror, consolation, strength, instruction, providence, prudence, together with all virtues, gush forth from histories and annals, as from a living fountain. In this view, histories are but the advertisement, memorial, and token of the work and judgment of God, of the way, in which he upholds, governs, hinders, advances, punishes, and rewards the world and especially men, as each may deserve, be it evil or good."

of man, and may leave a lasting, hallowed influence behind us, when we die. The study of history is especially fitted to free our minds from all prejudice, narrowness, party and sectarian feeling, and to fill us with a truly catholic spirit ; with that love, which joyfully accords due praise to the most diverse forms of the Christian life, adores the wonderful wisdom of the heavenly gardener in the variegated splendor of the garden of the Lord, and feels itself vitally united with the pious of all ages and nations ; with that love, which must be poured out copiously upon the church, before her present mournful divisions can be healed, the precious promise of one fold and one shepherd be accomplished, and the prayer of our great High Priest be fulfilled : "That they all may be one ; as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us ; that the world may believe that thou hast sent me."

Here, of course, all depends on the spirit, in which church history is studied. Like every other science, and like the Bible itself, it may be, and often has been, scandalously perverted to the service of bad ends. This will sufficiently appear from the history of our science, to which we shall devote the last chapter of the General Introduction.¹

¹ On the subject of this section, compare the third division of our tract : *What is Church History?* p. 114, sqq.

CHAPTER IV.

THE PRINCIPAL WORKS ON CHURCH HISTORY, OR THE PROGRESS
OF CHURCH HISTORY AS A SCIENCE.§ 21. *Progress of Church Historiography.*

CHURCH historiography, like every other branch of science, has its history, in which its true object and proper method are continually coming more and more clearly to view. At first it existed merely as a collection of material. The next step was the addition of critical research and discrimination. Then came the pragmatic elucidation and combination of events, showing the nexus of cause and effect. And finally, the scientific mastery, artistic construction, and organic reproduction of the objective history itself. We shall not fatigue the reader with a dry catalogue of books, but confine ourselves to an account of the leading works, paying particular attention to the peculiar lights, in which the different historians, especially since the Reformation, view church history, and the method they pursue; and to the progress of church history as a science.* We may divide the historians into three classes: (1) *The old Catholic* church historians, from Eusebius to the Reformation; (2) *Roman Catholic* historians since the split of the Latin church; (3) *Protestant* historians; who again branch into various schools, particularly in Germany, reflecting, as in a mirror, the different theological phases through which Protestantism has passed.

I. CHURCH HISTORIANS BEFORE THE REFORMATION.

§ 22. *The Patristic Period.*

The old Catholic historians belong partly to the *Patristic* period, or the first six centuries; partly to the *Middle Ages*. In the Patristic period we must again distinguish the *Greek* fathers and the *Latin*.

* The same subject is treated on a somewhat different plan in the tract: *What is Church History? A Vindication of the Idea of Historical Development*, p. 41-80.

1. As in all other departments of theology, so also in church history, the *Greek* church leads the way. Leaving out of view the Acts of the Apostles by ST. LUKE, which belong to the canonical literature of the New Testament, and the five books of Ecclesiastical Memoirs by HEGESIPPUS, a Jewish Christian writer of the second century (150), of which only a few fragments have been preserved, the title, 'father of church history,' belongs undoubtedly to the learned, candid, and moderate EUSEBIUS (340), bishop of Caesarea in Palestine; in the same sense, in which Herodotus is called the father of profane history.¹ In his *Church History*, which reaches, in ten books, from the Incarnation to the year 324, he has made faithful use of the libraries of his friend Pamphilus of Caesarea, and of Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem; of the canonical and apocryphal writings; of the works of the apostolic fathers (the immediate disciples of the apostles), the apologists, and the oldest church writers, including many valuable documents, which have since been lost.² His *Biography of Constantine the Great* is not so trustworthy. He was too much blinded by the favor, which this emperor showed to the church, not to sacrifice the character of the historian frequently to that of the panegyrist. His *Chronicle* gives a short account of general history from the beginning of the world to Constantine the Great, with chronological tables. For a long time it was only partly known, through the free translation of Jerome; until found, in the year 1792, in a complete Armenian copy, and published in Latin and Greek by Angelo Mai (Rome, 1833), and others. The historical works of Eusebius are chiefly valuable for their material and antiquity, and for the interesting position of the writer, who lived while persecution was still raging, and also witnessed the great change caused by Constantine's conversion. As regards style and method, he is far surpassed by the classical historians of Greece and Rome. His mild disposition, love of peace, and aversion to doctrinal controversies and exclusive formulas of orthodoxy, have brought upon him the suspicion of having favored the Arian or Semiarian heresy; but without sufficient foundation. It is certain that he signed the symbol of Nice, and at least substantially agreed to it; though for himself he preferred the looser terminology of his favorite, Origen, concerning the divinity of Christ.

The work of Eusebius was continued in the fifth century, first, by two jurists of Constantinople; SOCRATES, who brought down the history, in seven books, from the accession of Constantine (306), to the year 439,

¹ Comp. the dissertation of Dr Baur: *Comparatur Eusebius Caes. historiae ecclesiasticae parens cum parente historiarum Herodoto Halic* Tübing. 1834.

² A detailed account of his sources, sixty in number, is given by Flügel: *Versuch einer Geschichte der theolog. Wissenschaften*. Halle, 1797. Part II. p. 321, sqq.

in unpretending, often careless style, but without prejudice, and with greater critical tact than Eusebius; and HERMIAS SOZOMENUS, a Palestinian, whose nine books embrace the same period (323–423), but have more regard to monasticism, of which he was an enthusiastic admirer. Then comes THEODORET, bishop of Cyrus in Mesopotamia, who wrote his *Ecclesiastical History* in five books, (covering the period 325–429), about the year 450, and excels both the last named authors, and even Eusebius, in style, spirit, and richness of matter. In his *Lives of Thirty Hermits* (*φιλότητος ἰστορία*), however, he relates sometimes the most wonderful things respecting his heroes, without leaving the least room for doubt. His *Fabulae haereticæ* are valuable for doctrine history.

Besides these Catholic authors, there was also PHILOSTORGIUS, who wrote in the interest of Arianism; but of his twelve books, (reaching from 318 to 425), we possess only extracts in the Bibliotheca of Photius.

In the sixth century we have THEODORUS of Constantinople, who continued the history to the year 518; and the Syrian lawyer, EVAGRIUS of Antioch, who brought it down to 594. Photius extols this latter author, as more orthodox than all his predecessors.¹ All these historians, except the heretical Philostorgius, view the history from essentially the same position, and follow the same general method. Where one breaks off, another commences, and continues the narrative in the same spirit. Their works all have an apologetical character, bearing the marks of the struggle of the youthful church against prevailing Judaism and Heathenism, and reflecting the moral glory of martyrdom.

The later Greek church, whose general course, since its separation from the Latin, may be styled a progressive stagnation, has done but little for our science. In the fourteenth century NICEPHORUS CALLISTI (son of Callistus), a monk of Constantinople (about 1333), compiled from the older historians a new church history, in twenty-three books; but only eighteen of them, (to A. D. 610), are preserved, in a single manuscript of the Vienna library, and edited by *Ducaeus* (le Due), Par. 1630. From the close connection between church and state in the Byzantine empire, however, all the so-called SCRIPTORES BYZANTINI, from the seventh century to the fifteenth, may also be considered as in part belonging to the literature of church history.²

¹ All these seven historians have been published together, in Greek and Latin, with notes, by *Valesius* (du Valois), in three volumes folio (Par. 1659–73. also Amstelod. 1695, and Cantabr. 1720). A spirited, but one-sided review of the Greek historians may be found in Dr. *Baur's Epochen der kirchlichen Geschichts schreibung*. Tübing. 1852 p. 7, sqq.

² *Historiae byzant. scriptores*. Par. 42t. fol. 1645–1711. *Corpus scriptor. hist. byz.* consilio Niebuhrii. Bonnae. 1828, sqq. They include the *Chronicon paschale*, the works of Syncellus, Theophanes, Nicephorus, Metaphrastes, Zonaras, Leo Diaconus, Acropeita, Pachymeres, and others.

2. The *Latin* church historians were wholly dependent on Greek models. RUFINUS, presbyter of Aquileia (†410), translated the church history of Eusebius, and added two books, extending it to the death of Theodosius the Great, A. D. 395. The learned JEROME (†419) furnished very valuable material for the biography of the early ecclesiastical writers, in his *Catalogus virorum illustrium sive scriptorum ecclesiasticorum*, which was afterwards continued by the Gallic presbyter, GENNADIUS (†490), and the Spanish bishop, ISIDOR OF SEVILLA (†636). SULPICIOUS SEVERUS, a presbyter of Gaul († about 420) wrote, in good Latin, a *Historia Sacra*, from the creation of the world to A. D. 400; but it scarcely merits the name of a history. Of still less account are the *Seven books of History against the Heathens*, by the Spanish presbyter, PAULUS OROSIUS, of the fifth century. CASSIODORUS, consul and monk († about 562), towards the close of his life, from the works of Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret, which were translated for him into Latin by his friend Epiphanius Scholasticus, compiled his *Historia tripartita*, in twelve books; and this extract served the Latin church as a manual through the whole Middle Age.

§ 23. *Historians of the Middle Ages.*

The Middle Ages furnished no independent works of general church history. The *Historiae ecclesiasticae* of HAYMO, bishop of Halberstadt (†853), in ten books, is a mere extract from Rufinus' translation of Eusebius; and the *Historia ecclesiastica, sive chronographia tripartita*, of the Roman presbyter and librarian ANASTASIUS († about 886), is in part a translation of the Chronography of Nicephorus, and in part an extract from the works of Syncellus and Theophanes. We have, on the other hand, in this period a multitude of chronicles, biographies of saints, histories of single convents and monastic orders, and of distinguished popes and bishops, which are mostly, indeed, simple, often uncritical narrations, but full of valuable material. Then, again, there are histories of the churches of particular nations; the history of the *Gallic church*, for instance, by GREGORY OF TOURS (†595), to the year 591; of the *Old British and Anglo Saxon church*, by the VENERABLE BEDE (†735), to the year 731; the four books of the canon, ADAM OF BREMEN, on the *Period from Charlemagne to the year 1076*, which give important information respecting the spread of Christianity among the Saxons and in Scandinavia, especially respecting the archbishopric of Hamburg-Bremen.

Most of the historians and annalists of the Middle Ages were monks, whose literary labors and missionary zeal give them, in other respects, a prominent place in the history of European civilization.

The revival of classical studies in the fifteenth century aroused here and there the spirit of critical research. An example of this we have in the Roman canon, LAURENTIUS VALLA (†1457), who ventured to prove the utter groundlessness of Constantine's donation to pope Sylvester, and also attacked the traditional opinion, that the apostles each composed a part of the Apostles' Creed. Such bold attempts at historical criticism and free investigation, were, however, though unconsciously, forerunners of the Reformation.

All these works of the time before the Reformation, invaluable as they are in their way, exhibit but the infancy or childhood of our science. The church was engaged more in making history, than in writing it. She had not yet begun to reflect, in an independent manner, on her own existence, her origin, her development. She was so firmly convinced of her divine character, that she left no room for skepticism or doubt. She enjoyed her wonderful legends in childlike faith and superstition, as though they were all pure historical realities. The old and the new, the distant and the near, poetry and truth, she combined, without discrimination, in one grand structure, which is itself, however, one of the most imposing creations of history, and a most worthy subject of historical research and representation. In a word, the power of tradition was yet unshaken. This occasioned an almost entire want of the spirit of free inquiry, and of genuine scientific method. The whole conception of what constitutes history, was imperfect. It properly embraced only facts, the outward activity of the spirit. Doctrine history, in any proper sense, was wholly excluded, as implying that the doctrine of the church itself passes through a living process of development. The only form, in which this most important branch of historical theology existed, and made its first appearance, was that of the history of *heresies*; as may be seen in the principal works of ecclesiastical antiquity on this subject, by EPIPHANIUS² and THEODORET.³

II. ROMAN CATHOLIC HISTORIANS SINCE THE REFORMATION.

§ 24. *General Character of Roman Catholic Historiography.*

From the old Catholic historians, we pass directly to those of the *Roman Catholic* church since the Reformation, as, in spirit and tendency, most nearly related to the former. In these also the idea of development is wanting, and, with it, all, free, unbiased criticism. Their position is

¹ In his book: *De falso credita et ementita donacione Constantini M.*

² In his Πανάριον, or Laboratory, written about A. D. 374, against eighty heresies where the intolerant zeal of a fanatical orthodoxy reaches its height.

³ Fabulae hæreticæ.

determined for them beforehand. It is that of *fixed orthodoxy* and *exclusive churchliness*. Their doctrine of the infallible authority of the papacy cramps inquiry in every direction ; and, since they conceive of the church as identical with the Roman church, they look upon every deviation from it as apostacy and corruption, as damnable heresy and schism. They cannot, therefore, be expected to do justice to non-Catholic and anti-Romanist movements. This exclusiveness comes out most harshly in the treatment of the last three centuries, which, it is plain, have been chiefly ruled by the spirit of the Reformation. The purely historical character of their works is here impaired by apologetic interest for the papacy and polemic zeal against everything anti-Roman. The constant effort is, to trace back the Roman doctrines and institutions into the earliest antiquity, and to claim for them, if possible, apostolic authority ; and this, of course, involves often the greatest violence to history. Yet among the Roman Catholic historians there is no lack of extensive learning. In what concerns their own church they have gone into the most ingenious and profound investigations, under the very impulse, mainly, of Protestant opposition ; and, in general, they have done our science much meritorious service, especially by laborious antiquarian research and collections, and by critical editions of the fathers, decrees of councils, papal bulls, and other valuable sources of church history. And then, too, they could not fail, particularly the most important of them in France and Germany, to proceed more cautiously than the older historians ; giving up many manifest fables and superstitions, which had before been received without question, as historical facts ; and accommodating themselves more, both in matter and in manner, to modern taste.

§ 25. (a) *Italian Historians. Casar Baronius.*

The first Protestant church history, the Magdeburg Centuries, made such a sensation, that the Roman church was forced to cast about in earnest for a reply in the same form. This service was undertaken by a Neapolitan, CÆSAR BARONIUS, properly BARONIO, at the instance of his teacher, Philip Neri, in a very learned and ingenious work, on which he labored for thirty years, till his death (A. D. 1607), with unwearied diligence ; and for which he was rewarded with the dignity of a Cardinal. His *Annales ecclesiastici*, which appeared first at Rome (1588–1607), and have since been many times reprinted, extracted from, translated, and continued, though with less skill, by others, embrace, in twelve folio volumes, as many centuries, from the birth of Christ to A. D. 1198. They furnish, from the papal archives, and from many libraries, particularly the Vatican, a host of documents and public papers previously unknown ; and in general, with all their faults, they are of so much value,

that even at this day, in a thorough course of study, they cannot well be dispensed with. The cardinal comes forward under the conviction, that he is presenting the first true church history. He censures Eusebius for leaning towards Arianism; Socrates and Sozomen, for favoring the Novatians; and all his predecessors, for going to work without critical discrimination. The Magdeburg Centuries he considers "Centuries of Satan;" though, in his profound contempt for them, he seldom refers to them directly, but rather lets history speak for itself, and refute his Protestant opponents in a positive way, by copiously unfolding its authentic testimonies. And in many instances he undoubtedly has the decided advantage, and is backed by an overwhelming mass of authorities. He wrote unconditionally in the interest of absolute Romanism. He endeavors to show, that the papacy was instituted by Christ; that it always remained, in doctrine and constitution, the same; and that the Reformation was an apostacy from the true church, and a rebellion against the ordinance of God. But for this purpose he is compelled to call in the aid of many fictitious or corrupted narratives and spurious documents, and, on the other hand, to suppress or distort important public records. This drew forth opposition, not only from the Protestants, particularly from *Casaubonus*, *Fr. Spanheim*, and *Sam. Basnage*, but, upon subordinate points at least, from the more liberal Catholics themselves, especially from the profoundly learned French Franciscan, ANTON PAGI, who paid special attention to the correction of chronological mistakes.²

In connection with the Annals of Baronius we should here mention those authors, who have continued them in the same spirit; especially ODORICUS RAYNALDUS, an Italian, who extended them to the year 1565; and HENR. SPONDANUS (Sponde), a Frenchman, originally of the Reformed church, who wrote two volumes, bringing the narrative down to 1640. CASPAR SACHARELLI, towards the end of the eighteenth century, wrote an independent work on church history, in twenty-five volumes.³

For single portions of church history, valuable collections of documents, and editions of older writers, special credit is due, among the Italians, to MURATORI, ZACCAGNI, ZACCARIA, MANSI, and GALLANDI; also to the three ASSEMANI, celebrated oriental and antiquarian scholars, originally from Syria, but residents of Rome in the last century, and, in our own age, to Cardinal ANGELO MAI, the indefatigable collector and

¹ Thus they are styled in the *Parentalia Justi Baronii in obitum Cæsaris Baronii*, prefixed to the first volume.

² In his *Critica historico-chronologica in Annales Baronii*. Antwerp. 1705. 4t. fol.—The best edition of the Annals of Baronius, including Raynaldi continuatio, Pagii critica, and other explanatory writings, was published by *Mansi*, at Lucca, between the years 1738–59, in 38 volumes folio.

Historia ecclesiastica. Rom. 1772–95. 25 vols. 4to.

editor of valuable unpublished manuscripts from the treasures of the Vatican and other libraries.¹ The most gifted and free-minded among the Italian historians was the Venetian monk, PAOLO SARPI (†1623); but from him we unfortunately have only a *History of the Council of Trent*. This work is written with almost Protestant boldness and independence, and in excellent style. The cardinal PALLAVICINI has only partially succeeded in his learned attempt to refute it.

§ 26. (b) *French Historians.*

The first merit, in Catholic historiography, belongs, on the whole, to the *French*, whose more independent posture in relation to the Roman see has here served a good purpose, however objectionable Gallicanism may be in other respects. It was in part, indeed, the very defence of the Gallican church freedom, which called forth the most interesting and thorough investigations. With this purpose appeared, first, the work of Bishop GODEAU, of Vence, in popular form (1635), but coming down only to the end of the ninth century; then that of the far more learned Dominican, NATALIS ALEXANDER (Noël), in twenty-four volumes (1676–86), reaching to A. D. 1600. The latter writer, in direct opposition to Baronius, vindicates the rights of the church, and of secular princes against the popes, and declares the reformatory councils of Pisa, Constance, and Basel to be ecumenical; yet he justifies the cruel persecution of the Albigenses, and is full of zeal against the Protestant heretics. Innocent XI., in 1684, prohibited this work on pain of excommunication; but thirty years later, Benedict XIII., himself a Dominican, set it free again. In 1690 CLAUDE FLEURY, abbot of a Cistercian convent, after 1716 confessor of Louis XV., but living as an anchorite at court, (†1723), began the publication of his *Histoire ecclésiastique*, which reaches, in twenty volumes, to the year 1414, and was continued by FABRE, though with no genius, down to A. D. 1595. Fleury writes diffusely, and in the spirit of a monk, but with taste, skill, mildness, and decided love for the church and Christianity, and with a view to edify, as well as to instruct. He follows the order of time, though not slavishly; and some volumes he prefaces with general views. He, too, defends antiquity and the Gallican ecclesiastical constitution, though without at all compromising the credit of the church, its general tradition, or the necessity of the pope, as its head. His principal concern is with doctrine, discipline, and practical piety. The spirited and eloquent bishop of Meaux, BOSSUET (†1704), also a Gallican, in his *Universal History* (*Discours sur l'histoire universelle*, 1681), reaching from the creation to Charlemagne, presents, with brilliant genius, religion and the church as

¹ Comp. Mai's *Collectio scriptorum veterum*, 1825, sqq.

the soul and centre of all history. In his polemic work on the *Variations of Protestantism* (*Histoire des variations des églises protestantes*), he appears more as a learned and skillful controversialist and partisan, than as an impartial historian.¹ The Jansenist TILLEMONT pursued a new plan. He composed a church history of the first six centuries, in sixteen volumes (1693-1712), purely from original sources, with the most accurate and conscientious fidelity; adding his learned investigations in the form of notes. The latest large French work on general church history is that of ROHRBACHER, Prof. in Louvain, in twenty-nine volumes, coming down to the present time, a second edition of which has been published, 1850, sqq. A Roman Catholic reviewer describes this work as "wanting method, sometimes a little crude and indigested, and not always consistent with itself, but at the same time as a work of extensive erudition, written from a truly Roman Catholic (ultra-montane) point of view, with great sincerity, earnestness and vigor."

But, in addition to these general works, many single portions of church history, costly editions of the fathers, and other valuable helps to our science have issued from the learned monastic institutions of France. Among the authors of such works, special mention is due to the St. Maur Benedictines, D'ACHERY, RUINART, MABILLON, MASSUET, MARTÈNE, DURAND, MONTFAUCON;² and to the Jesuits, SIRMOND and PETAU, (Peta-

¹ His argument against the Protestants comes to this: Your history is a history of constant changes and contradictions; therefore you cannot have the truth, which is, in its nature, unchangeable. The celebrated historian, Gibbon, when a student at Oxford, was converted to the Roman church by this work of Bossuet, but afterwards became an infidel. In his Autobiography, published by Lord Sheffield, ch. viii, he says: "I read, I applauded, I believed, the English translations of two famous works of Bossuet, bishop of Meaux, the Exposition of the Catholic doctrine, and the History of the Protestant Variations achieved my conversion, and I surely fell by a noble hand. . . . In the History, a bold and well-aimed attack, he displays, with a happy mixture of narrative and argument, the faults and follies, the changes and contradictions of our first reformers; whose variations, (as he dexterously contends), are the mark of historical error, while the perpetual unity of the Catholic church is the sign and test of infallible truth."

² In the congregation of St. Maur there was a complete system of study. In extensive literary enterprises, the general was authorized to assign parts to the different members according to their talents and tastes; to one, the collection of material; to another, the arrangement of it; to a third, the manufacture; to a fourth, the finishing; to a fifth, the charge of the press; &c. Each was required to labor, not for personal renown, but only for the good of the church and the honor of his order. The authors are often not even named. This co-operation of various scholars, who were free from all temporal care, and favored with wealth and the most ample literary helps, brought out vast works, such as even an Academy of sciences could hardly undertake. The best editions of the church fathers, Cyprian, Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome, Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, Athanasius, Basil, Chrysostom, Gregory the Great, Bernard of Clairvaux

vius), whose celebrated and very learned work, *De theologicis dogmatibus*, (1644-50), marks an epoch in doctrine history.

§ 27. *German and English Historians.*

No free and independent interest in church history showed itself among the Catholics of Germany, till the Josephine period; nor then was the spirit thoroughly aroused, till it received the impulse of the Protestant theology. The productions of Germany, therefore, in this department, are chiefly of recent date. General works, some of them, however, unfinished, have been furnished by ROYKO, DANNENMAYR, the well-known pious and amiable poet and convert Count FR. L. STOLBERG,¹ KATERKAMP, RITTER, LOCHERER, HORTIG, ALZOG, DOLLINGER; valuable monographs by the genial GOERRES, (*Geschichte der christlichen Mystik*), the distinguished convert and Austrian historiographer HURTER,² by HEFELE, STAUDENMAIER, and others. The finest endowments for a historian must be conceded to the spirited and pious MÜHLER, (†1838), the greatest Roman Catholic theologian since Bellarmine and Bossuet. He has aided his church in coming to herself again, and has inspired her with new polemic zeal against Protestantism; though, in truth, he himself every where reveals the influence of the Protestant theology, especially that of Schleiermacher and Neander, and of all the modern German culture, upon his own idealistic apprehension and defence of Catholic doctrine and usage. He wrote no complete church history, indeed; but his larger works, (*Symbolik*, *Patristik*, *Athanasius M.*), and his smaller tracts, (on *Anselm*, the *Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals*, *Gnosticism*, *Monasticism*, &c.), almost all have more or less to do with history, particularly with doctrine history; and in depth and freshness of spirit, as &c., we owe to the diligence of the St. Maurists, which, in literary matters, surpassed that of the Jesuits.

¹ *Geschichte der Religion Jesu*. Hamburg. 1806-19. 15 vols. continued by F. v. KERZ, vols. 16-38, coming down to the twelfth century. HASE strikingly says of *Stolberg*, that "he has written and poetically decked out, (*geschrieben und gedichtet*), the history of the Jewish nation, as well as of the ancient church, with the zeal, unction, and unreserved devotion of a proselyte, but also with a heart full of enthusiasm and love."

² HURTER, when he wrote his learned and ingenious work on Innocent III. (in four volumes), was, it is true, still Antistes of the Reformed church in Schaffhausen. But even in that history he unmistakably betrays his Romanizing tendency, in his unqualified praise of his hero and his age, and in his marked predilection for a brilliant hierarchy and a gorgeous ceremonial. It is everywhere visible, that the author, in his infatuated partiality for the Middle Ages, esteems the dome of St. Peter's above the manger of Bethlehem, and the decretals of the popes above the word of God. His dissatisfaction with the moral insecurity of the present age, and with the politico-religious confusion of his own country afterwards decided and fully justified to his own conscience a transition, which was inwardly complete long before

well as in graceful, animated style, they surpass all the productions of the authors now mentioned. Of his disciples, JOHANN ALZOG, whom we might call in some respects the Roman Catholic Hase, has made use, according to his own confession, of Möhler's unpublished lectures, and furnished a Manual of general church history (fifth edition, 1850), which commends itself highly by a comparatively liberal spirit, clear arrangement, vivacity and beauty of style, and may upon the whole be pronounced the best work of the kind which has issued from the Roman Catholic press of Germany. The Roman Catholic church-dictionaries (*Kirchenlexica*) lately issued, the one by ASCHBACH (1846-51), the other by WETZER and WELTE (1847 sqq.), contain also many learned and valuable historical articles, especially from the pens of Alzog and Hefele.

The Roman Catholics of ENGLAND have thus far contributed very little to historical theology. Quite recently, however, an author has arisen among them, who, for accurate study of sources, and calm, simple, clear, and dignified representation, takes rank with the first historians of the age. Dr. JOHN LINGARD, priest of the Catholic chapel of Hornby in England, (†1851), in his "Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon church," has furnished perhaps the most satisfactory and reliable work we have on the church history of England before the Norman conquest. His larger and excellent "History of England," which extends in thirteen volumes, (new ed. 1848, sqq.), from the first invasion by the Romans to the accession of William the Third, (1688), contains chiefly the political history of that country, but has its ecclesiastical history interwoven. The author, however, with all his love of truth, with all his comparatively mild and liberal spirit, and his general accuracy in the statement of facts, is by no means free from religious bias, and can, therefore, not always be trusted. In his accounts of distinguished Protestants, as Edward VI., Somerset, Cranmer, Knox, and especially Elizabeth, in whom he finds hardly anything praiseworthy but her talents, he involuntarily becomes polemical; while for the bloody Mary, Mary Stuart, (that "innocent and much injured woman," as he calls her), and other Roman Catholics, he always at least indirectly, and sometimes directly, apologizes. Thus he himself gives proof of what he says in the preface to the first volume; that the historian, "as he is always exposed to the danger, will occasionally suffer himself to be misled by the secret prejudices, or the unfair statements of the authors, whom it is his duty to consult."

A considerable addition to English Catholic literature may be expected from the recent Puseyite converts to Romanism, several of whom, especially Dr. Newman, are men of extensive learning and highly cultivated mind. Their productions, thus far, however, since their conversion, have been mostly of a polemical or devotional character, or translations and

compilations from older and continental Catholic works. It remains to be seen, whether the ingenious theory of development, which Dr. Newman brought forth in his "Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine" (1845) immediately before his conversion, and which he has not since retracted, will have a material influence upon the future literature of Roman Catholic historians.¹ His theory, however, comes only to this, that the Catholic system was not complete and fully unfolded from the start, but is the product of a living process of gradual evolution.² As to Protestantism, he excludes it entirely from the process, and treats it as an apostasy from historical Christianity and a progressive corruption which must ultimately run into infidelity.

¹ O. A. Brownson of Boston, the well-known convert from Puritanism and infidelity to extreme Romanism, has, in several articles of his able, but fanatically anti-protestant Review, vehemently opposed this theory of development as essentially anti-catholic, and as preparing the way for a new and dangerous heresy in the Roman church, unless it be checked in time by the proper authorities. We are inclined to believe, that he does personally great injustice to Newman, and seems to be unconsciously under the influence of jealousy of his distinguished fellow-converts of the ex-Puseyite school, but, at the same time, that the strictly ultra-montane standpoint which he occupies does not admit any theory of development, but rests rather on the principle of absolute immutability. Newman's theory, says Brownson (Quarterly Review for July 1846, p. 342, sq.) "is essentially anti-catholic and Protestant. It is not only not necessary to the defence of the church, but is utterly repugnant to her claims to be the authoritative and infallible church of God. . . . Newman forgets that she sprang into existence full grown, and armed at all points, as Minerva from the brain of Jupiter, and that she is withdrawn from the ordinary law of human systems and institutions by her supernatural origin, nature, character, and protection." It is easy to make such a bold assertion, but impossible to prove it historically. With Mr. Brownson, however, and his like, history must, nolens volens, bend to his preconceived creed and logic.

² "The following essay," says Newman, p. 19 (Americ. ed.), "is directed towards a solution of the difficulty which has been stated—the difficulty which lies in the way of using the testimony of our most natural informant concerning the doctrine and worship of Christianity, viz., the history of eighteen hundred years. The view on which it is written has at all times, perhaps, been implicitly adopted by theologians, and, I believe, has recently been illustrated by several distinguished writers of the continent, such as De Maistre and Möhler: viz., that the increase and expansion of the Christian Creed and Ritual, and the variations which have attended the process in the case of individual writers and churches, are the necessary attendants on any philosophy or polity which takes possession of the intellect and heart, and has had any wide or extended dominion; that, from the nature of the human mind, time is necessary for the full comprehension and perfection of great ideas; and that the highest and most wonderful truths, though communicated to the world once for all by inspired teachers, could not be comprehended all at once by the recipients, but, as received and transmitted by minds not inspired, and through media which were human, have required only the longer time and deeper thought for their full elucidation. This may be called the Theory of Developments."

III. PROTESTANT HISTORIANS.

§ 28. *General Character of Protestant Historiography.*

As the Reformation of the sixteenth century opens a new age for the church, and for theology in general, so also it forms an epoch in the history of our science. In fact we may say, it was only the Reformation, which made church history properly free and independent. Before that time, the historian was, so to speak, of one growth with his subject. Now, he rose, by reflection, above it; and instead of at once receiving on authority everything Catholic as true, and condemning everything not Catholic as false, he began to subject the whole development of the church itself to critical examination, judging it without regard to papal decrees, according to the word of God and common reason. This opened the door, indeed, to a false freedom and emancipation from lawful authority, to a negative tendency, an entire contempt and rejection of history, such as we meet with in Rationalism and among sects; but at the same time it prepared the way for such impartial research, as would bring the mind, by free conviction, into harmony with the objective course of the kingdom of God, as a truly rational and necessary unfolding of his plan of salvation. And to this result the most important labors in later historiography, at least in Germany, seem inevitably to tend.

It was a long time, however, before Protestant science here attained a clear perception of its mission. It had to pass, in its own history, through various periods, widely different in their mode of viewing and treating the past. We may distinguish five such periods: the *orthodox-polemical*, the *unchurchly-pietistic*, the *pragmatic-supranaturalistic*, the *negative-rationalistic*, and the *evangelical-catholic*. Of these periods, the first and the fourth are related to each other as opposite extremes; the second and third, as stages of transition from the position of church orthodoxy to that of rationalism; while the fifth seeks to combine the excellencies of all the others without their faults; and is, moreover, itself divided into so many different schools, that it cannot easily be brought under any general designation.

§ 29. (a) *Period of Polemic Orthodoxy. Flacius.*

This period embraces the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Reformers themselves did nothing directly for church history, except as they gave it a mighty impulse, and waked up a new spirit of inquiry; which, however, is of itself no small merit. They were too much occupied with polemics, and with the creation of new material for subsequent

historians, to possess the calmness and leisure required for the writing of history.¹ Besides, their theological activity was mainly directed to the settlement of articles of faith, and to the exposition of the Scriptures. But argument from Scripture alone could not permanently satisfy. As the Catholics continually appealed to the fathers, and declared the Reformation to be an innovation, which had no ground at all in the past, it became an object with the Protestants to wrest the historical argument from their opponents, by drawing ecclesiastical antiquity to their own side. For to admit that pure Christianity had vanished from the earth, and had not come to light again till the sixteenth century, was impossible for them in the face of their Lord's promise to be with his church always, even to the end of the world ; and they wished also to be counted not heretics, but true Catholics. Thus the apologetic interest in the struggle with Rome forced the Protestants to the study of history. This, however, gave their first productions throughout a character either directly or indirectly polemical. During the whole of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries church history was viewed exclusively from the standpoint of some particular confession or denomination, and made subservient to party ends. Not only the Roman Catholics, but also the Protestants, with the same zeal, and almost the same intolerance, converted history into an armory to furnish them weapons against their ecclesiastical opponents. The object of each party was always to show that *they* were truly orthodox, either, on the one hand, as the heirs, or, on the other, as the restorers of the pure catholic doctrine and practice ; and to represent the opposite party as heretics, who either, as the Romanists, corrupted the true faith, or, as the charge ran against the Protestants, set it aside, and substituted arbitrary innovations. In abhorring the heretics of the primitive church, as the Gnostics, Arians, Semiarrians, Sabellians, Nestorians, Monophysites, Pelagians, and others, both parties agreed ; for the Reformation had expressly endorsed the ecumenical symbols. But in the treatment of the Middle Ages they widely differed. The one extolled them as the ages of faith ; the other abused them as the period of growing darkness and superstition. Even such institutions and doctrines, as are now acknowledged to be of later origin, the Roman church tried, partly by means of spurious or at least suspicious documents, to date back to the remotest antiquity ; while it viewed the Reformation as having sprung from the most impure

¹ The Reformers of the second generation, however, could look back upon this great movement as an accomplished fact. Thus *Matthesius* wrote the life of Luther ; *Camerarius*, that of Melancthon ; *Bullinger*, Zuingli's successor, composed the history of the Helvetic Reformation ; *Beza*, with the skill of a master, the fortunes of French Protestantism down to the year 1563, and the life of his predecessor and friend, Calvin

motives, as a rebellion against God, and as the fruitful source of all disorder and confusion. The Protestants, on the other hand, misrepresented, with the same fanatical party zeal, the history of the Roman Catholic church. They refused to acknowledge her great merits in Christianizing and civilizing the Romanic and Germanic nations ; while, after the example of Flacius, they glorified, as heroes of faith and "*witnesses of truth*," (*testes veritatis*), even those of her opponents, who, on closer inspection, are found to have rejected the fundamental doctrines of the gospel, and of the Reformation itself.¹ The only defence of Protestantism, known in those days, was such as included a wholesale condemnation of Popery, as essentially anti-Christian. The noblest and most effectual way of opposing Catholicism is, to show that it was necessary in its time, and, in the hand of Providence, like Judaism before the advent of Christ, served high moral ends ; and, at the same time, to view the Reformation as the grand product of the Middle Ages themselves, representing a higher and more free, evangelical development in the life of Christianity. But this liberal and comprehensive view has only recently taken root in some portions of Protestantism.

The *Lutheran* and *Reformed* historians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, while they substantially agreed in their opposition to Romanism, as a corruption of the Dark Ages, differed between themselves. Each confession was anxious to find its own doctrinal system in the age of the fathers. But this effort rests, to a considerable extent, on an illusion. A full and unbiased investigation makes it more and more evident, that the church of the first six centuries was strictly neither Lutheran, nor Calvinistic, nor Anglican, but essentially Catholic in the reigning spirit of its theology and religious life, already containing the proper germs of scholasticism, monachism and the hierarchy and worship of the Middle Ages. This is shown by the Greek church, which is known to cling with the most obstinate tenacity to primitive traditions, and to be, in doctrine and discipline, much nearer akin to the Roman church, than to the Protestant.

But, irrespective of this defect in their historical standpoint, the polemico-historical works of the older Protestant orthodoxy, like those of its opponents, have great merits, and mark an important advance by their most industrious accumulation of material and laborious and minute

¹ It will not now be denied by unprejudiced scholars, that the older Protestant historians do still greater violence to history, than the Roman Catholic, who, in the most important points of controversy, have the weight of the church before the Reformation, up to the second century, plainly on their side. This is admitted even by Dr. *Baur*, a radical ultra-Protestant, in his comparison of Baronius with the authors of the *Magdeburg Centuries* : *Epochen der kirchl. Geschichtsschr.* p. 81.

investigation of ancient documents. Some of them, relating to particular points of controversy, are unsurpassed in this respect, even to this day. The *Reformed* church, especially in France, Holland, and England, furnished perhaps a greater number of thorough, persevering, and accurate scholars in the seventeenth century, than she has ever since done. The polemical and denominational party-interest, moreover, awakened the spirit of criticism; still leaving it, however, entirely under the control of dogmatism.

1. The *Lutheran* church takes the lead; and in this church, not the moderate and pacific school of Melancthon, but that party, which set itself stiffly against all attempts at reconciliation with the Catholics and the Reformed, and afterwards expressed itself symbolically in the Form of Concord. MATTHIAS FLACIUS, one of the most zealous and violent controversialists of his age, in the year 1552, while settled at Magdeburg, commenced, in connection with several rigid Lutheran divines, (Wigand, Judex, Faber, Corvinus, Holzhueter), and younger assistants, the celebrated *Centuriæ Magdeburgenses*, as the work is called; making use of a vast amount of published and unpublished sources, and supported in his undertaking by the liberality of princes and cities. This work, which marks an epoch in historiography, presents, in thirteen folio volumes, first published at Basle, (1559-74), as many centuries of the Christian era, each century in sixteen sections; the express design being, to vindicate the doctrines of the Reformation as catholic and orthodox, and to confute the papacy, as an innovation and apostasy.¹ Hence the controversial character of the work. The Centuries found so much favor, that, for a hundred years after, it was counted sufficient, in

¹ As the Preface states: "Est igitur admodum dulces pio pectori in tali historia cognoscere, quod hæc ipsa doctrinæ forma, quam nunc in ecclesiis nostris ex ingenti Dei beneficio habemus, sit illa ipsa vetus, non nova, germana, non adulterina, non commenticia," etc. Flacius had the same polemical and apologetical object in view in his previous work, entitled: *Catalogus testium veritatis*, (A. D. 1556), the materials for which he collected from all sorts of libraries and convents, with the most persevering industry, and at great expense. It was intended to prove, that, as God, in the times of the prophet Elijah, had seven thousand left, who had never bowed the knee to Baal, and who constituted the true Israel; so in the Christian church there had always been, even in the darkest ages, "witnesses of truth," who protested against the prevailing errors and corruptions, and saved the light of the gospel from extinction, till at last it broke forth in all its primitive splendor in the reformation of Dr. Martin Luther. But such a catalogue of all kinds of Anti-Romanists, including the Albigenses, Cathari, Paulicians, and other Manichæan sects, is a poor substitute for the unbroken succession of a holy catholic church. It is absolutely vain to try to make out such a succession, without including the Roman Catholic church of the Middle Ages. For the greatest saints of those times, Anselm, Bernard, Thomas a Kempis, and a host of others, are found not among the opponents, but among the very champions and heroes of this church.

the Lutheran church to compile text-books from their material, and in their spirit. Among these extracts and continuations, that of the Württemberg divine, LUCAS OSIANDER, (in nine quarto vols. Tübingen, 1592-1604), was most approved.

On the other hand, in the dogmatic works of the seventeenth century, especially in 'CHEMNITZIUS' *Examen Concilii Tridentini*, GERHARD'S *Loci theologici*, and QUENSTEDT'S *Theologia dogmatico-polemica*, all in the same controversial tone, we find a vast accumulation of material for doctrine history, some of which is still of great value. Among works on particular periods, the most important place belongs to the Latin *History of the German Reformation*, by LUD. A SECKENDORF, (died at Halle, A. D. 1692). It is a triumphant refutation of the history, or rather caricature, of Lutheranism, by Maimbourg, the French Jesuit, (Par. 1680).

Another Lutheran divine of the seventeenth century, GEORGE CALIXTUS, (†1656), merits honorable mention, as, in the spirit of his writings, an exception to the general rule, and a forerunner of a more liberal view of church history, the representative, in the midst of a polemic age, of a peaceful theology, which concerned itself with practical and essential points. In opposition to the intolerant party spirit and bigotry of his orthodox contemporaries, who vehemently cried him down as a dangerous Syncretist, he endeavored in various historical publications, to find elements of truth in all confessions, and to point out a truly catholic church as standing above the parties; going back, for this purpose, to the primitive age, as the common ground, from which the various visible churches sprang. He, and such men, as Arndt, the pious author of "True Christianity," sowed the seed of the Pietistic movement of Spener and Franke.

2. In the Reformed church, JOHN H. HOTTINGER, of Zürich, proposed to furnish a counterpart to the Centuries. His work¹ evinces great knowledge, particularly of the East, with love of order and justice. But it is unequal, devoting five volumes to the sixteenth century alone. It drags in, too, according to the taste of those times, much foreign matter; the history, for instance, of the Jews, Pagans, and Mohammedans; accounts of remarkable natural phenomena, earthquakes, locusts, famines, floods, monstrosities, eclipses of the sun and moon, &c., as foretokening the fortunes of the church. FREDERICK SPANHEIM, of Leyden, founded his *Summa historiæ eccl.* (A. D. 1689), upon a most accurate and conscientious use of sources and a searching criticism, with a view to the refutation of Baronius. The two Frenchmen, JAMES BASNAGE,² min-

¹ In nine vols. Tig. 1655-67.

² *Histoire de l'Église depuis Jésus Chr. jusqu'à présent.* Rotterd. 1699.

ister at the Hague, and SAMUEL BASNAGE,¹ minister in Zutphen, wrote, the former against Bossuet, the latter against Baronius ; both, especially James, with the purpose of showing, that the true church of Christ has never failed, and has, at all times, had faithful witnesses.

But from the latter part of the sixteenth century to the beginning of the eighteenth, the Reformed church, particularly in France, Holland, and England, was far more successful in cultivating, under the impulse of learned curiosity and antiquarian taste, as well as of opposition to Rome, *single portions* of history, shedding light on patristic antiquity, the course of the papacy, and of the Reformation, with profound learning and keen penetration, though not without a strong controversial bias. Such monographs, some of which are still highly valuable, have distinguished the names of BULLINGER, HOSPINIAN, J. JACOB HOTTINGER, (son of John Henry, and author of the *Helvetic Church History*), and HEIDEGGER, among the German Swiss ; BEZA, DU PLESSIS MORNAY, PIERRE DU MOULIN, DAVID BLONDEL, JEAN DAILLÉ (Dallaeus), CL. SAUMAISE (Salmasius), JEAN CLAUDE, and later, ISAAC BEAUSOBRE and J. LENFANT,² among the French ; FR. SPANHEIM, the elder VOSSIUS, GERDES, and later, VITRINGA, among the Dutch ; archbishop USHER, J. PEARSON, W. BEVERIDGE, GILBERT BURNET, STRYPE, JOSEPH BINGHAM, GEORGE BULL, W. CAVE, J. E. GRABE,³ WHITBY, PRIDEAUX, to whom we may add the dissenter NATH. LARDNER, of the eighteenth century, among the English. The Anglicans directed their attention chiefly to the government and antiquities of the church, with an eye to the Presbyterian controversy, as well as to that with Rome.

Before passing to the next period, we must mention also the name of the celebrated PETER BAYLE, son of a Huguenot minister, educated first by his father, then by the Jesuits. He was for eighteen months a Roman Catholic, but was afterwards re-converted to Protestantism, and died at Rotterdam, A. D. 1706. Though he defended Calvinism, with great success, against the aspersions of the French Jesuit, *Maimbourg*, who was master of the art of "turning history into romance and romance into history," yet he occupied an original position, very different from that of his orthodox contemporaries, and, in his skepticism, must be considered a forerunner of the French infidels of the eighteenth century. But, in extent of historical information, critical acumen, and bold research, he was inferior to none of his age. His large *Dictionnaire histo-*

¹ *Annales politico-ecclesiastici*, etc. 1706. 3 vols. (reaching only to A. D. 602).

² The last two, French Reformed preachers in Berlin, were already influenced, to a considerable extent, by *Arnold's* new view of the relation of the sects to the church, as may be seen in Beausobre's *History of Manichæism*.

³ Originally a German Lutheran, who passed over to the Episcopal church, (†1711).

rique et critique is almost a miracle of learning, and not without value even at the present time.

§ 30. (b) *Pietistic Period.* Arnold: Milner.

The next period in church historiography after that of the Magdeburg Centuries was introduced by the *Impartial History of the Church and of Heretics from the beginning of the New Testament to the year 1688*, (Frankf. 1699 sq.), by GOTTFRIED ARNOLD (†1714), a friend and follower of Spener, and a short time professor at Giessen. He precisely reversed the principle, which reigned before. He made, not the dominant church, but the *sects*, the main line of development, and the channel of the Christian life; and is, accordingly, the historian of *unchurchly*, *separatistic piety*. The great body of historical Christianity, before and after the Reformation, especially the ruling clergy, are, with him, the apostasy, predicted in the New Testament; whilst the persecuted minority, the dissenting sects and individuals constitute the true church, the bride of Christ; like the apostles in the midst of the reigning Judaism of their day, and the confessors and martyrs of the second century in the vast Roman empire.¹ This view of church history grew out of the one-sided practical tendency of pietism, and the violent resistance it met from Lutheran orthodoxy. Arnold placed the essence of Christianity in subjective, experimental piety. This, he thought, was to be found in the oppressed and persecuted minority; while the great visible church, Protestant as well as Roman Catholic, was looked upon as haughty, worldly, and intolerant. It is true, the orthodox church historians of the seventeenth century, also, took the part of the Albigenes and Waldenses, of

¹ The following passage from the Preface of his work, § 30 and 31, is but a mild specimen of its general tone: "Many may, perhaps, again bring forward the common objection: Our dear mother, the Christian church, ought not to be so prostituted, seeing she has already had so much to suffer. To this I reply, first, that it is hard for the inexperienced to see which of those outward church assemblies is to be counted the true church; since every one, according to his own inclinations and interest, will have that religion to be the true one, into which he himself has happened to be born. Besides, it is not a scriptural expression and opinion, that the church is a mother. The Scriptures know of but one mother of all saints, the Jerusalem above, Gal. 4: 26. Heb. 12: 22. But they have never given those ungodly pretenders and hypocrites, much less the apostate clergy, liberty to call themselves a mother, and in this way to intrench and secure themselves against all testimony, admonition, and improvement. The true, pure congregation of the Lord has been, from the beginning of the gospel and the times of the apostles, a virgin, and the bride of Christ. But the false, apostate church, according to the testimony of the first teachers and the report hereafter to follow in this history, has become a harlot; and by means of the miscellaneous and inconsiderate introduction of all hypocrites and wicked men, under Constantine the Great, as also by the natural increase and propagation of false Christians, has given birth to many millions of bastards, with whom, however, no true member of Christ has anything to do."

Wickliffe, Huss, and other "witnesses of the truth" in the Middle Ages, against the reigning Catholicism. But Arnold, making his own personal experience the measure and rule of all church history, carried the same way of thinking back even into the first six centuries, or at least to the age of Constantine, and forward into the Protestant church; which, of course, made a very material difference. He had the pious courage to become the patron and eulogist of all persons of ill repute in church history. Yet, after all, he could not carry out his own principle with absolute consistency. Being a pious man, and holding fast to the essential doctrines of the gospel, he stood, in reality, more in harmony with the ancient church orthodoxy, than with the Gnostics, Manichaeans, Arians, Pelagians, and other such sects; though, as far as possible, he espoused their cause.

But while Arnold thus endeavored, as no historian before him had done, to show fair play to all sorts of heretics and schismatics, enthusiasts and fanatics, particularly to the Mystics, for whom he had a special predilection, he did the grossest injustice to the representatives of orthodoxy. He imputed to them the basest motives. He passed over their merits in silence. He dwelt almost exclusively on their human imperfections, and aspersed their character in every possible way. His work, therefore, in contradiction to its own title, is but a production of passionate party spirit against the Catholics, still more against the orthodox Protestants, and above all against the Lutherans—simply a faithful mirror of his own one-sided subjectivity, and of the sympathies and antipathies of his own time. It makes a most gloomy impression, and is adapted to upset all faith in one holy apostolic church, to undermine all confidence in the presence of God in history, and in the final triumph of good, and thus to promote a hopeless skepticism. Many Pietists, it is true, were highly pleased with the *History of Heretics*; and the celebrated *Thomasius*, of Halle, who stood midway between Pietism and the rationalistic Illuminism, declared it, next to the Bible, the best of books. But *Spener*, the pious and amiable leader of the Pietistic movement, was by no means satisfied with it; and the orthodox Lutherans, *Cyprian*, for instance, *Veigel*, *Corvinus*, *Götz*, *Löscher*, *Faustking*, *Wachter*, exposed a mass of perversions and errors in it, by replies, which were, however, not only vehement, but in most cases equally one-sided.¹

With all these imperfections, Arnold must be awarded the decided merit, not only of having collected a great mass of material for the his-

¹ These writings are found quoted in the third volume of *J. G. Walch's Bibliotheca theologica selecta*, Jenae. p. 129 sqq. They appear at large, with replies and illustrations, in the third volume of the Schaffhausen edition of Arnold's *History* (1742)

tory of sects, especially in the seventeenth century,¹ but also of having introduced a new and more liberal treatment of the sects, and of having brought out the relation of church history to practical piety. He was, moreover, the first who wrote church history in the German language instead of the Latin; though in that tasteless periwig style, full of half and whole Latinisms, which characterizes the period from Opitz to Bodmer, and makes it the most gloomy in the history of German literature.

With Arnold may be named, as in some measure akin, the later English historian, JOSEPH MILNER (†1797), a pious minister of the English Episcopal Church. His *Church History*, in five volumes, following the current centurial division, comes down to the Reformation, which he treats with special minuteness. He, too, looked on the sects, even the Paulicians and Cathari, as the main depositories of piety; and hence, in the Middle Ages, which he handles with very little favor, he devotes by far the largest space to the Waldenses. He, too, wrote for edification, in the spirit of Methodistic piety, which bears a close affinity to that of the Pietists, though it has less sympathy with the inward, contemplative life, and with the various forms of Mysticism. Greatly surpassed by Arnold in learning and original research, Milner, on the other hand, excels him in popular style, and in fairness towards the reigning church of the first six centuries. Pope Gregory the Great, for example, fares much better at his hands. His object, also, is *exclusively* practical, and leads him, therefore, to omit entirely all subjects, which, in his own narrow view, serve not for edification; as, for instance, church government, most of the theological controversies, the scholastic and mystic divinity, ecclesiastical art and learning. His simple aim is, to exhibit the moral life of the *invisible* church.² Milner's work is, accordingly, almost en-

¹ On this point, *Schröckh*, who is by no means a friend of Arnold, says of him (*Kirchengeschichte*, Vol. I. p. 185, 2nd ed.): "If one wishes to know, what sorts of small sects, enthusiasts, dreamers, new prophets, senseless mystics, unlucky reformers, and other spiritual monsters there have been, especially within the last two centuries, in and out of our (Lutheran) church, he must betake himself to their common rendezvous, Arnold's *Ketzerhistorie*."

² Or, as he himself says, in his Introduction: "Nothing but what appears to me to belong to Christ's kingdom, shall be admitted; *genuine piety is the only thing, which I intend to celebrate.*" So far, he was assuredly right in styling his work, "An Ecclesiastical History on a new plan." But how one-sided were his views of piety, appears, for instance, in his judgment of Tertullian, of whom he says: "Were it not for some light, which he throws on the state of Christianity in his own times, he would scarcely deserve to be distinctly noticed. I have seldom seen so large a collection of tracts, all professedly on Christian subjects, containing so little matter for useful instruction," (Vol. I. Boston ed. p. 220). How vastly different the opinion of the equally pious and far more learned Neander! When, on the other hand, Milner so highly extols Cyprian, defending him against the reproaches of Mosheï a, and placing him far above Origen,

tirely free from the polemic spirit, with which Arnold's overflows, and is, so far, much better adapted for practical and popular use, and still well worthy of commendation. Nay, it may be said to have been the best church history of *this* sort, till *Neander* asserted anew the claims of practical piety, and fully carried out the good intentions of Pietism and Methodism ; but with incomparably greater knowledge, and on a scale so much more liberal, as to require no sacrifice of other interests to this.

§ 31. (c) *Pragmatic Supranaturalistic Period.* Mosheim. Schröckh. Planck.

From a combination or compromise of the Old Orthodox and the Pietistic principles, now arose the third form of Protestant historiography, which may be called the *pragmatic supranaturalistic*. By *supranaturalism*, in the historical sense,¹ we understand the last product of the Protestant orthodoxy ; that is, that theological system, which, under the influence of Pietism and the liberal tendencies in philosophy and general literature beginning to spread simultaneously in England, France, and Germany, materially relaxed from the strict, exclusive orthodoxy of the seventeenth century, gave up the strong-hold of church symbols, and fell back simply upon the Bible, and, in a number of its representatives, approached the very threshold of Rationalism. Thus in the church historians of this period, including some, who date before the proper supranaturalism, we no longer observe the rigid exclusiveness, which had formerly prevailed. The polemic zeal for particular confessions, and the horror of heretics, in whom Arnold had found so much to praise, gradually disappear, and give place to a peaceful, conciliatory spirit, in which

he is inconsistent, for Cyprian molded himself throughout on the model of Tertullian's writings, and made them his daily food ; and he contributed more than any of the older fathers, to the development of the principle of Catholicism, especially of the hierarchy. He was, in fact, the first to look upon, or, at least, distinctly to speak of the Roman bishopric, as the *Cathedra Petri*, and the centre of church unity (*unde unitas sacerdotalis exorta est*). Augustine, Anselm, and Bernard, Milner recognizes as truly pious men, and dwells upon with delight ; yet, after all, his view of them is imperfect and contracted, taking in only those features, in which they seem to fall in with *his own* notions of religion. Their decidedly Catholic traits he either altogether overlooks, or considers as merely accidental, outward appendages, which must be excused in them on account of the prevailing spirit of the age ; whereas, in truth, those traits have an intimate and most influential connection with their whole system of doctrine and mode of life.

¹ For in the theological and philosophical sense, the old orthodoxy, as well as every form of Christian theology, is likewise supranaturalistic ; i. e. it rests upon the view, that Christianity is strictly a supranatural revelation, and a new moral creation, altogether transcending the powers of mere nature ; whereas Rationalism allows no such revelation, either denying its possibility, or in an over estimate of the human powers particularly of reason, declaring it useless.

the monographs of *Calixtus*, so vehemently condemned by the orthodox zealots of the seventeenth century, had already led the way. The great effort now is, to do justice to all parties; and there must certainly be admitted, in the works of a Mosheim, a Schröckh, and a Walch, an *impartiality*, which belonged to neither of the preceding schools. This virtue, however, it must be owned, runs out, at times, into doctrinal laxness and indifference,¹ and is, in part, connected with a very low and essentially rationalistic conception of the church. Even with Mosheim, and still more with Schröckh, Spittler, and Planck, the church, at least after the apostolic age, is, in reality, stripped of her divine, supernatural character, and degraded to the common level of human societies and the political state. For this very reason, this form of supranaturalism must ultimately yield to the power of Rationalism. For a divine Christianity without a divine church proves, in the end, to be an unmeaning abstraction.

We call this period *pragmatic*, with reference to its reigning method. After the time of Mosheim and Walch in Germany, and of Robertson, Hume, and Gibbon in England, it came to be required of the historian, that he should proceed *pragmatically*; that is, that he should not simply relate events, but should also, to make the history of greater practical use, psychologically investigate their causes in the secret springs and inclinations of the human heart. Not satisfied with the statement of facts as they are, the pragmatic method, in which Gottl. Jacob Planck was the greatest master, tries to show the internal connection of cause and effect, and the manner, as well as the reason, of the occurrence of certain events. This is undoubtedly an important advance in our science, and could do no harm, where it was accompanied by a strong faith in the presence of God in the world. But, at the same time, it gave the treatment of history, especially in the hands of the Rationalists, who soon followed, a very subjective character. Events were referred mostly to external, accidental causes and arbitrary motives. In the diligent search for these subjective, finite factors, the power of the objective idea, of general laws, was gradually forgotten, and, in the end, even the highest and most sacred power of history, the all-ruling providence of God, the spirit of Jesus Christ, which dwells in his church, was lost out of sight. History came to be viewed as the result, partly of human caprice and calculation, partly of a remarkable concurrence of fortuitous circumstances.²

We must here observe, that, since the middle of the last century,

¹ Comp. Mosheim's general judgment of the heretics, *Inst. Hist. Eccles. Præp* § 11, p. 5.

² This vulgar and virtually atheistic view underlies, also, the historical works of Hume and Gibbon, who mis'ook it for the very highest philosophy.

church history has been cultivated and advanced almost exclusively in Germany ; especially by the Lutheran, and more lately the United Evangelical churches ; while in other Protestant countries it has made very little progress.

Among the works of this period on the general history of the church, must be mentioned first, CHR. E. WEISMANN'S *Introductio in memorabilia ecclesiastica historiae sacræ N. T.* etc. (Tübingen, 1718), distinguished for its pious, mild spirit, its quiet, moderate tone, its predilection for the school of Spener, and for the better Mystics, and its regard to the purposes of edification in the selection of its matter.

He was soon eclipsed, however, by the celebrated chancellor of Göttingen, JOHN LAWRENCE VON MOSHEIM, (†1755), who holds the first place among the church historians generally of the last century, and has acquired the honorable title of "father of church history." His *Institutiones historiae ecclesiasticæ* (Helmstädt, 1755), in four books, also translated into German and continued by SCHLEGEL and VON EINEM, gained, in England and North America, an authority even greater than in Germany, being used to this day, (as translated by Maclaine, and more recently by Murdock), as a text-book in most seminaries of theology. On the contrary, there is but little acquaintance, out of Germany, with his valuable monographs on the *Period before Constantine* (A. D. 1753),¹ and on the *History of Heretics*, (the Ophites, Apostolic Brethren, Michael Servetus), and his *Institutiones H. E. Majores* (1739), of which, however, only the first volume (saec. I.) was published. In all these works Mosheim distinguishes himself by his thorough use of sources, his critical acumen, his varied culture and knowledge of men, his bold, although at times extravagant combination, his power of historical contemplation, and his command, beyond all his predecessors and contemporaries, of a clear, tasteful, and pleasing style, both Latin and German. He is properly the founder of church historiography, as an *art.*² To the practical purposes of history, on the other hand, he pays less regard. He, too, in various cases, takes the part of heretics, even of such a man as Servetus ;³ not, however, like Arnold, enthusias-

¹ These *Commentarii de rebus Christianorum ante Constantinum Magnum*, in which more especially Mosheim deposits the results of his extensive research, have been recently translated into English by Dr. *Murdock*.

² By his mastery of the German, which he employed in his smaller historical monographs, his pulpit orations, and his theological Ethics, he marks an epoch, also, in German literature, which at that time began to revive and to approach its classical period through Klopstock, Lessing, Winkelmann and afterwards through Wieland, Herder, Göthe, and Schiller.

³ Compare the far too charitable and favorable judgment he passes on this unfortunate victim of Calvin's religious zeal, in his *Ketzergeschichte*, 1748. Book II. § 39, p. 254 sqq., quoted in my tract on *Historical Development*, p. 59.

tically eulogizing them and traducing their orthodox opponents; but showing by a calm and dignified criticism, the sense and inward consistency of their systems. He was the first, for example, who ceased to regard the Gnostic speculations as a mere chaos of extravagant and senseless opinions, and felt in them the presence of a connected system of thought resulting from a strange combination of ancient heathen philosophy with certain elements of the Christian religion. In view of these decided advances upon his predecessors, it is the more strange that he still adhered to the old plan of division by centuries, and that he could adopt so mechanical an arrangement, as that of external and internal history, prosperous and adverse events.

His contemporary PFAFF, of Tübingen, was equally learned, indeed, but his *Institutiones*, (A. D. 1721), were not written in so clear and interesting a style, and were overladen with names and citations. The indefatigable scholar, S. J. BAUMGARTEN, brought down his *Abstract of Church History* only to the end of the ninth century. CORTA's *New Testament Church History in Detail*, (1768-73), likewise remained incomplete. The most extensive work from this school of mild and impartial Supranaturalism—a work, too, which betokens its gradual transition to latitudinarianism and rationalism—is the *Church History* of J. M. SCHRÖCKH (†1808), a disciple of Mosheim, and Professor first of poetry, afterwards of history in Wittenberg. With TZSCHIRNER's continuation it makes forty-five volumes, and was published between the years 1768 and 1810. In spite of its wearisome diffuseness, its want of philosophical depth and just proportion, and its wholly injudicious method, it is still invaluable for its exceedingly industrious and faithful transcriptions from original authorities, and will long remain a real mine of historical learning. It is, also, the first church history, in which the centurial division is abandoned, in favor of one by larger periods, more conformable to the real divisions of the history itself. Smaller textbooks were published by SCHROCKH, SPITTLER, and STAUDLIN, the last in the interest of Kant's moral philosophy. J. FR. ROOS wrote popularly, more for the general public.

After these general authors, however, several Lutheran theologians merit honorable mention, who have done permanent service in particular parts of church history. J. A. CRAMER, eventually chancellor of the university of Kiel, (†1788), in his continuation of Bossuet's *Universal History*, thoroughly investigated the Scholasticism of the Middle Ages, and was the first German, after Mosheim, who wrote history with elegance and force in his vernacular tongue. J. GEORGE WALCH, Prof. in Jena, (†1775), and still more his son, W. FRANCIS WALCH, Prof. in Göttingen, (†1784), are among the most industrious, solid, and honest

inquirers, who have ever lived. The latter gave himself mainly to the history of heresies, divisions, and religious controversies, and his work on this field, in eleven parts, (1762-85), is still indispensable. In his own persuasions he stands firmly, indeed, on Lutheran ground ; but he is free from polemic zeal, and solely bent upon the conscientious investigation and critical, pragmatic representation of his subject, without sympathy or antipathy. He already approaches so near the true view of history, that he cannot conceive of it without change ; while he justly discriminates between the unchangeable essence of the Christian truth itself, and the ever varying form of its apprehension among men. He lacks, however, in organic conception and graphic life, and is extremely tiresome.

The elder PLANCK, a native of Würtemberg, and since 1784 Prof. of Theol. in Göttingen, (†1833), who has immortalized himself especially by his learned and skillful *History of Protestant Doctrine*,² though still entertaining personally a high regard for Scriptural Christianity, stands at the extreme limit of this school, where it is just ready to merge in Rationalism. With him the subjective, pragmatic method reaches its height. History already becomes only the dreary theatre of human interests and passions. Hence he everywhere obtrudes his individual sympathies and antipathies, and cannot complain enough of the short-sightedness, stupidity, passion and malice of man. Though he relates doctrinal controversies with great prolixity and familiar loquacity, yet he holds himself quite indifferent to their contents. His interest in them is not religious or theological, but regards merely their psychological analysis and outward form.³ With such indifference to church doctrine, it is

¹ Dr. Baur (*Epochen*, etc. p. 147), says : "There is nothing more dull, spiritless, and intolerably tedious, than Walch's *Ketzergeschichte*."

² Six vols. Leipzig, 1781-1800. 2nd ed. 1791, sqq. The first three volumes give the political history of the Reformation. The remaining and more important ones treat of the theological controversies from the death of Luther to the appearance of the Form of Concord, the last symbolical book of the Lutheran church. In 1831 Planck published a continuation, giving a condensed account of the theological controversies from the Form of Concord to the middle of the 18th century.

³ Comp., for instance, his preface to Vol. IV., in which he enters upon the department of doctrine history, where he candidly avows, p. 6. that the subject before him is one, in which even the theological public of his time can hardly continue to take any real interest ; since not only have most of the doctrinal questions themselves, about which our fathers contended, "entirely lost, for our present theology, the importance they once possessed ; but their history, also, has lost, for the spirit of our age, even the negative interest, with which the slowly-maturing aversion to those questions could, for a long time, clothe it. Ten years ago they might have been dwelt upon with some interest ; because ten years ago they had not wholly lost their power over the mind of the age. . . . But now this bond also is gone. An entirely new theology has arisen. Not only those forms, but even many of the old fundamental ideas have been left behind. Nor have we now any fear, that the spirit of our theology can ever return of

truly amazing, that he could bestow so much toilsome study and learned industry on such "perfectly indifferent antiquations," as the theological contentions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Of course his work, with all its great and enduring merits, and the relative truth and necessity of its position, could not fail to have a bad effect, in completely sundering the doctrinal consciousness of its age from the basis of the older church orthodoxy, and in justifying this rupture as a pretended advance. In his other large work, the *History of Church Government*,¹ Planck likewise starts from that rationalistic conception of the church, which dates from Locke; viz., that this divine establishment was originally a mere voluntary association, which formed its laws and institutions in accordance with the changing wants of the times, and under the influence of fortuitous, external circumstances; and that, in this way, it gradually assumed an aspect altogether different from what its founder and first members intended or foresaw. In this way he accounts for the gigantic hierarchy of the Middle Ages, which he looks upon in a simply political light, with the calmness of a learned, but indifferent spectator; while the older Protestant orthodoxy had held it in pious abhorrence, as the broken bulwark of the veritable Antichrist.

His friend, L. TIM. SPITTLER, also a native of Würtemberg, Prof. of Philosophy at Göttingen, afterwards secretary of state at Stuttgart, (†1810), is still more decidedly rationalistic. Though not a theologian by profession, but a secular historian and statesman, he delivered lectures on church history with immense applause, and his published *Manual*² became quite a popular text-book in Germany. He breaks through the confines of a strictly theological position, and handles church history, as a man of the world, from a political and general literary point of view, but at the expense of religious depth and spirituality. Though he never directly assails Christianity itself, yet his work is by no means suited to increase our faith in its supernatural character. His rationalistic temper comes out plainly even in the first sentence of the first

itself, or be forced back, to them; and we view them, accordingly, as a perfectly *indifferent antiquation*." Scarcely could a Rationalist express himself more unfavorably on the doctrinal controversies of the church. No wonder, that Planck passes so favorable a judgment on the theological revolution of the last century, in his continuation of Spittler's *Manual of Church History*, 5th ed. p. 509, where he says: "Upon the whole, however, we have made extraordinary gain by this revolution of the last thirty years, (the rise of German Rationalism), which will probably be hereafter distinguished as the *most splendid period* in the history of the Lutheran church!"

¹ Geschichte der Entstehung und Ausbildung der christlich-kirklichen Gesellschafts-verfassung. 5 vols. Hanover, 1803-9.

² Grundriss der Geschichte der christl. Kirche. 1782. The fifth edition was published and continued by Planck, 1812. pp. 569.

period, which is a fair specimen of the whole. "The world," says he,¹ "has never experienced a revolution apparently so insignificant in its first causes, and so exceedingly momentous in its ultimate consequences, as that, which, eighteen hundred years ago, a native Jew, by the name of Jesus, made in a few years of his life." A man who speaks in such a cold, and almost irreverent style of the Son of God and the Saviour of the world, and has no higher predicates for him, than "a very tender-minded man," "the greatest, most benevolent man,"² must, at the same time, of course, be destitute of any true conception of the divine character of the church, and incapable of duly appreciating the spiritual life of its heroes. Spittler derives even the grandest phenomena of history from mere finite causes and accidental circumstances, and sinks them to the common level of every-day occurrences.

The Reformed church, in this period, produced but one work of any great extent, the *Institutiones h. eccl. V. et N. T.*³ of the learned Holander, VENEMA. This work is carefully drawn from original sources, and extends to the year 1600; but bears no marks of the revolution effected in this science since Arnold, and hence might as well have been mentioned in the orthodox period. It had become the fashion in Holland, from the time of Cocceius, to put church history into close connection with systematic theology, and with the exposition of the Scriptures, especially of the Apocalypse, in which the picture of Popery was seen clear as the sun. This, of course, destroyed its independence as a science, and put an end to its progress. The popular and edifying work of the English MILNER has already been noticed. Smaller, and in their way excellent, manuals of church history were published by the Genevan divine, TURRETINE, A. D. 1734, who still occupies substantially the same doctrinal position as the Reformed historians of the seventeenth century; P. E. JABLONSKY, Prof. in Frankfurt on the O., A. D. 1755; and by MUNSCHER, Prof. in Marburg, A. D. 1804. This last author has won a still greater reputation by his *Doctrine History*, (1797, sqq.), which comes down, in four volumes, to the year 604, and was continued by *Dan. v. Cölln*. But his doctrinal indifferentism shows, that, like Planck, he already belongs more properly to the Rationalistic school.

§ 32. (d) The Rationalistic Period. Semler.

Arnold's unchurchly view of history, and his defense of all sorts of heretics and schismatics, as well as the looseness and doctrinal indifference of the last representatives of the Supranaturalistic school, had already so thoroughly prepared the way for Rationalism, that we are

¹ Page 26. (5th ed.)

² *Ibid*, pp. 27-28.

³ 1777-83, in seven parts.

forced to concede to the latter a certain historical necessity. But while Pietism loved the sects for their real or supposed piety, Rationalism favored them for their heresies, and the indifferentism of a Planck, ■ Spittler, and a Münscher ran out into formal hostility to the doctrine and faith of the church. Several other causes, as the influence of the Popular Philosophy of Wolff, of Kant's Criticism, of English Deism and French Materialism, combined to develop the seeds of German Rationalism, and to complete this far-reaching theological revolution, the disastrous effects of which are not, to this day, entirely obliterated.

Now Arius, in his denial of the divinity of Christ, was in the right against Athanasius ; Pelagius, with his doctrine of an undepraved human will, against Augustine ; the Paulicians, Cathari, &c., against Catholicism ; the Socinians, against the Reformers ; the Arminians, against the Synod of Dort ; the Deists, against the English church. These were, in fact, in their real spirit, but the forerunners of Rationalism in its war against the church doctrine, nay, in the end, against the divine revelation in the Bible itself. For any unprejudiced person must admit, that at least the main substance of the church doctrine is grounded in the Bible. Hence Rationalism, in its latest phases, has, with perfect consistency, rejected not only the material principle of Protestantism, the doctrine of justification by faith, but its formal principle also ; taking as the source and rule of truth and of belief, or rather of unbelief, not the word of God, but human reason (whence *Rationalism*) ; and this, not in its general, objective character, as it actuates history and the church, but the subjective reason, as determined by the prevailing spirit of its own age, virtually the finite, every-day understanding, what we call "common sense," in its baldest form. This tendency is, in its very nature, utterly unhistorical. It has no regard for history, as such ; but only a negative interest in it, as a subject for its own destructive criticism. It denies the objective forces of history ; banishes from the world not only Satan, whom it looks upon as merely the superstitious creation of a heated fancy, but, what is, of course, far more serious, even God himself ; and thus turns all history into an eyeless monster, a labyrinth of human perversions, caprices and passions. Every thing is referred to some subjective ground. Rationalism considers itself as having mastered the greatest and loftiest facts, when it has traced them, "pragmatically," to the most accidental and external, or even the most common and ignoble causes and motives ; the doctrine of the divinity of Christ, for instance, and of the Holy Trinity, it derives from the dreamy fancy and transcendental Platonism of the Greek fathers ; the evangelical doctrines of sin and grace, from Augustine's restless metaphysics ; the papacy of the Middle Ages, from the trick of the pseudo-Isidorian Decretals and the

ambition of "the rascal" Hildebrand ; the reformation, from the pecuniary embarrassment of Leo X. and the imprudence of Tetzel ; Luther's view of the Lord's Supper, from his own stubborn and dogmatizing humor. This extreme, subjective view of history not only casts censure on God, as having made the world so badly, that it went to ruin in his hands, or as having no more concern with its history, than a watchmaker with a watch long since finished and sold—thus furnishing excellent resources for skepticism and nihilism ; but it offered, at the same time, the greatest possible insult to human nature, by robbing it, in this way, of all its dignity and higher worth. It would be inconceivable that men should still expend so much diligence and learning on so heartless a work, were it not explained by the spirit of opposition to the church and the irresistible propensity of the German mind to theory and speculation.

Yet, on the other hand, Rationalism has been of undeniable service to church history. In the first place, it exercised the boldest criticism, placing many things in a new light, and opening the way for a more free and unprejudiced judgment. Then again, it assisted in bringing out the true conception of history itself, though rather in a merely negative way. Almost all previous historians, Protestant as well as Catholic, had looked upon the history of *heresies* as essentially motion and change, while they had regarded the *church doctrine* as something once for all settled and unchangeable ; a view, which cannot possibly stand the test of impartial inquiry. For though Christianity itself, the saving truth of God, is always the same, and needs no change ; yet this can by no means be affirmed of the apprehension of this truth by the human mind in the different ages of the church ; as is at once sufficiently evident from the great difference between Catholicism and Protestantism, and, within the latter, from the distinctions of Lutheranism, Zuinglianism, and Calvinism. But Rationalism now discovered fluctuation, motion, change, in the church, as well as in the sects ; thus taking the first step towards the idea of organic development, on which the latest German historiography is founded. Still it did not rise above this vague notion of *change*, which is but the outward and negative aspect of development. It entirely overlooked the element of truth in the old orthodox view. It failed to discern, that, together with the changeable, there is also something permanent ; and that, amidst all these variations, the church remains, in her inmost life, the same. Church history became, in its hands, a storm-tossed ship, without pilot or helm, a wild chaos, without unity or vital energy ; the play of chance, without divine plan or definite end. Rationalism knew nothing of a development, which proceeds according to necessary, rational laws ; remains, in its progress, identical with itself ; preserves the sum of the truth of all preceding stages ; and, though

it be through many obstructions and much opposition, and in perpetual conflict with the kingdom of evil, ever presses on towards a better state. It regarded the course of history rather as a steady deterioration, or, more properly, a process of rarefaction and sublimation, in which the church gradually loses her doctrinal and religious substance ; till at last the age of Illuminism makes the happy discovery, that the whole of Christianity may be ultimately resolved into a few common-place moral maxims and notions of virtue !

The main instrument of this great revolution in the conception and treatment of church history, the man, who is unquestionably entitled to the name, "father of German neology," was JOHN SOLOMON SEMLER, Prof. of theology in Halle, (†1791). He had been educated in the bosom of an anxious, narrow-minded, and pedantic Pietism, and from this retained his "private piety," which he held to be entirely independent of all theory, and in virtue of which he opposed the appointment of the notorious Bahrdt, and wrote against the Wolfenbüttel Fragments. To Arnold's History of Heretics he was early indebted for much of his aversion to orthodoxy and partiality for heretics ; to Bayle's Dictionary, for all manner of doubts ; and to his preceptor, Baumgarten, for the conviction, that the church doctrine, as it then stood, "had by no means borne always the same form." His own studies showed him more and more clearly, that all is motion and flow ; everything is in transition or past ; every age has its own views and modes of thought, its peculiar consciousness, into which a man must transfer himself, before he can understand it. He was endowed with rare powers of invention, but was destitute of all system, method, and taste in representation ; impulsive and sanguine ; in fact, the very embodiment of his own favorite notion of change. With gigantic diligence and insatiable curiosity he traversed the most retired regions of history, and particularly the Middle Ages, trying to place every thing in some hitherto undiscovered light. Everywhere he made new discoveries, and roused the spirit of inquiry, but without himself producing anything solid and permanent.¹ "His whole course is merely preparatory, breaking ground, agitating all possibilities, perpetually raising doubts and suspicions, forming conjectures and combinations ; a vast rummage of material. His writings on doctrine history are like an unbroken field, which has yet to be tilled ; a building-lot,

¹ Of his 171 works, hardly one is now read, except by the professional historian. They include, among other things, even treatises on the habits of snails in winter, and on making gold, with which, however, not only his literary voracity, but also, as Tholuck at least suspects (*Vermischte Schriften*, Part II., p. 82) ; his devotion to Mammon had something to do.

where, amid rubbish and ruins, the materials for a new structure still lie in endless confusion."¹

The most characteristic and energetic work from Semler's school is HENKE'S *General History of the Christian Church*, in eight parts (1788 sqq.). His principal aim is, to show up the mischief which religious despotism and doctrinal constraint, as he supposes, have everywhere wrought through all ages; and he presents a glaring, keenly sarcastic picture of enthusiasm, superstition, stupidity, and wickedness. His work is thus truthfully characterized by *Hagenbach*:² "In his hands church history becomes mainly a history of human aberrations. Fanaticism, hypocrisy, calculation, and cunning, or bigotry, are the factors, with which he meets, wherever the unprejudiced eye discerns greatness, to be measured by a different rule from any that modern reason and taste may suggest. The historian, who sees in Tertullian merely the 'extravagant head;' in St. Augustine, 'the ingenious babbler;' who discovers nothing but 'cunning and baseness' in Gregory VII., and calls him 'a man without religion, without truthfulness and honesty;' who has no other opinion of St. Francis of Assissi, than that he was 'a man sick in soul and body,' 'an unfortunate madman,' 'an entirely neglected and crippled head;'—shows, by such judgments, that he is destitute of one of the most important qualifications of a historian, that elasticity of mind and soul, which enables him to adapt himself to characters and situations different from those which meet us in the every-day wisdom of the surrounding world." VATER, in his continuation and fifth edition of the work, has considerably smoothed off its sharp corners, and breathed into it a more kindly spirit.

After Henke and others had thus let out their hatred of the ecclesiastical past to their hearts' content, there arose a perfect indifference to the religious import of church history. In this spirit J. E. CH. SCHMIDT, of Giessen, compiled his instructive work, continued by RETTBERG, purely from original sources.³ DANZ took a similar course. But GIESELER surpassed them all in the judicious selection of his extracts, and in sober and cautious criticism. In his valuable, though yet unfinished Church History, Rationalism appears still more cooled down, and retreats behind a dry and purely scientific research and a calm, objective narration.

¹ He is thus strikingly characterized by Dr. *F. Ch. Baur*, who himself greatly resembles him in many things (*Lehrb. d. Christl. Dogmengesch.* 1847. p. 40).

² In Ullmann's "Studien und Kritiken," 1851. p. 562 sq.

³ *Handbuch der Christl. Kirchengeschichte*, Giessen. 1801–20. 6 parts (2nd ed 1825–7) The seventh part, by RETTBERG, comes down to A. D. 1305. Schmidt wrote, also, a short *Manual of Ch. Hist.*, (2nd ed. 1808), with ample references, in clear style, and well arranged, but without spirit and life.

§ 33. *Rationalistic Historians in England. Gibbon.*

While the awful rationalistic apostasy from the faith of the fathers has fully developed itself, both theoretically and practically, in Germany, and especially within the Lutheran confession, the Reformed church of France, Holland, England, and Scotland has remained far more stationary in its theology. We observe in it, indeed, a considerable decline in ecclesiastical and religious life since the middle of the last century, from which several branches have not to this day recovered ; and we still more frequently meet with undeveloped and often unsuspected rationalistic *elements and tendencies* in a great portion of English and American theology ; in close connection, however, with a certain traditional orthodoxy and practical piety. Our current ultra-Protestant views of the early church, and especially of the Middle Ages, (Dark Ages, as, through ignorance or prejudice, we generally call them), and of all that appertains to the history of the Roman Catholic church, are very much like those of German Rationalism, and rest on a virtual denial of Christ's uninterrupted presence in his church "even unto the end of the world." (Matt. 28 : 20). But with the decline of living faith in the various Reformed confessions, the interest in theology also decreased, and latitudinarianism and indifference obtained more sway, in the eighteenth century, than open hostility to Christianity.

Great Britain produced, indeed, in the middle and latter part of the last century, her first great historians, ROBERTSON and DAVID HUME, (†1776), of Scotland, and especially EDWARD GIBBON, (†1794), of England.¹ But they selected for their investigation interesting portions of political and secular history, and touch the subject of religion and the church only occasionally, as it comes in contact with their direct object. In these portions, however, the last two writers give free vent to the skeptical and infidel spirit of the so-called philosophic age ; especially GIBBON, in his celebrated *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. This work, in unity of design, extent and variety of research, admirable skill in the selection and condensation of matter, luminous arrangement, harmony, clearness, and vivacity of diction, not only surpassed all its predecessors in England, but occupies a prominent place among the greatest historical compositions of ancient and modern times. It is,

¹ "The old reproach, that no British altars had been raised to the muse of history, was recently disproved by the first performances of *Robertson and Hume*, the histories of Scotland, and of the Stuarts. . . . The perfect composition, the nervous language, the well turned periods of Dr. Robertson, inflamed me to the ambitious hope that I might one day tread in his footsteps ; the calm philosophy, the careless inimitable beauties of his friend and rival, often forced me to close the volume with a mixed sensation of delight and despair." *Gibbon, Autobiography*, ch. xii.

on this account, the more to be regretted, that its author was so utterly blind to the claims of Christianity, the divine origin and moral grandeur of which find one of their most convincing illustrations in the very event, which he portrays, the downfall of its deadly enemy, the colossal Roman empire, and in the erection of the new European civilization upon its ruins by the untiring energy of the church. It is in the famous fifteenth and sixteenth chapters of his work, particularly, that Gibbon treats of the propagation of Christianity and its early history in the Roman empire. His own religious opinions did not rise above the vagaries of a heathen philosopher. He seems even to have doubted the immortality of the soul ;¹ or at least he suffered this important truth to have no influence on his theory or practice. How could he be expected, then, to do justice to a religion based altogether upon the realities of a supernatural, heavenly world? It is true, he does not directly attack Christianity, and either dexterously eludes, or speciously concedes its divine origin, in order to make its real or supposed corruptions in a subsequent age the more apparent and appalling. "The theologian," says he, with latent sarcasm, in the beginning of the fifteenth chapter, "may indulge the pleasing task of describing religion as she descended from heaven, arrayed in her native purity. A more melancholy duty is imposed on the historian. He must discover the inevitable mixture of error and corruption, which she contracted in a long residence upon earth, among a weak and degenerate race of beings." But he wrongs Christ by casting reproach on his people ; he undermines the authority of the apostles by suspecting the virtues of their immediate successors. What reasonable confidence can we have in the divine founder of our holy religion if his work proved a failure almost as soon as it was done?

Fortunately, however, Gibbon's picture of early Christianity is, in the main, but the skillful caricature of a thoroughly prejudiced and skeptical mind, utterly incapable of entering into its spirit. His sympathies are with the heroes of ancient Greece and Rome ; and while he praises the virtues, and often apologizes for the vices of Heathens, he either willfully omits, or diminishes and casts suspicion on the virtues of Christians, and,

¹ In the 15th ch. (Vol. 1., p. 527 sqq. ed. Harper), he relates, with apparent approbation, the doubts and uncertainties of heathen writers on this subject; and, judging from the general tone of his Autobiography, he believed in and desired only the immortality of fame. In one of his last letters, to Lord Sheffield on the death of his lady, dated Apr. 27. 1793, he writes: "The *only* consolation in these melancholy trials to which human life is exposed, *the only one at least in which I have any confidence*, is the presence of a friend, and of that, as far as it depends upon myself, you shall not be destitute." (Autobiog. p. 358, N. York ed.) A poor consolation indeed, and, in this instance, of short duration ; as Gibbon died a few months after at London under circumstances by no means edifying or encouraging.

with sneering contempt and almost malignant sarcasm, carefully enumerates and exaggerates all their failings ; it is only with reluctance, and with exception and reservation, that he admits their claim to admiration. "This inextricable bias," says his editor, Milman,¹ "appears even to influence his manner of composition. While all the other assailants of the Roman empire, whether warlike or religious, the Goth, the Hun, the Arab, the Tartar, Alaric and Attila, Mahomet, and Zengis, and Tamerlane, are each introduced upon the scene almost with dramatic animation—their progress related in a full, complete, and unbroken narrative—the triumph of Christianity alone takes the form of a cold and critical disquisition. The successes of barbarous energy and brute force call forth all the consummate skill of composition ; while the moral triumphs of Christian benevolence, the tranquil heroism of endurance, the blameless purity, the contempt of guilty fame, and of honors destructive to the human race, which, had they assumed the proud name of philosophy, would have been blazoned in his brightest words, because they own religion as their principle, sink into narrow asceticism. The *glories* of Christianity, in short, touch on no chord in the heart of the writer ; his imagination remains unkindled ; his words, though they maintain their stately and measured march, have become cool, argumentative and inanimate." The great work of Gibbon, from whose real merits we would not detract a single iota, furnishes a new commentary on the Saviour's word, that the things of the kingdom of heaven are hid from the wise and prudent, and revealed unto babes.

Gibbon's covert attack on Christianity called forth, at the first appearance of his work, various answers ; but, the apology of bishop *Watson* excepted, they were hastily compiled by inferior and now forgotten writers. *Guizot*, *Wenck*, and *Milman*, in the valuable annotations to their translations and editions, have pointed out a number of errors, omissions, and misstatements in the *History of the Decline and Fall* ; but neither of them show a very profound knowledge of early Christianity, and consequently neither has done it full justice. A thorough and satisfactory refutation of the fifteenth and sixteenth chapters, and of the latter portions of Gibbon relating to church history, may be considered still a desideratum in English literature.

In this connection we must mention the work of the zealous English Unitarian, JOSEPH PRIESTLEY, a better naturalist than theologian, who died at Northumberland, Pennsylvania, A.D. 1804. It is entitled : *An History of the Corruptions of Christianity, in two volumes*,² and is main-

¹ Preface to Gibbon's *History*, p. xvii. sqq.

² Second edition, 1793 B: mingham. The dedication to his friend, Lindsey, is dated Nov. 1782.

ly a sort of history of Christian doctrine, the character of which may be easily inferred from the title. It is a very incomplete and thoroughly onesided account of the origin of the "opinions" concerning Christ, the Trinity, the atonement, concerning sin and grace, angels and saints, &c. : with a view to show, that the orthodox doctrines of the church are an apostasy from primitive Christianity as contained, (according to his own subjective and low rationalistic interpretation, of course¹), in the New Testament, and were gradually introduced from without, especially through the influence of the Greek philosophy. The first step in this supposed process of "corruption" was the deification of Christ, the germ of which is found in Justin Martyr's Platonic idea of the Logos. This fundamental error was the fruitful source of other corruptions, until at last Christianity was brought into a state little better than heathen polytheism and idolatry. Dr. Priestley could not fail to see, that such a conversion of church history into a history of progressive corruption might easily be laid hold of by the infidel in an open attack on Christianity itself, as the fountain of all these errors and illusions. But he thought he had a sufficient answer and consolation in the honest conceit, that "these corruptions appear to have been clearly foreseen by Christ and by several of the apostles," and in the further consideration, that, in his days, "according to the predictions contained in the books of scripture, Christianity has begun to recover itself from this corrupted state, and that the reformation advances apace."² The work is written in a moderate tone, in a clear and pleasing style ; but is destitute of real research and scientific value. It is chiefly interesting as a significant parallel to the contemporary, but far more learned historical productions of German Rationalism.

§ 34. (e) *Evangelical Catholic Period of Organic Development.*

German Protestantism, like the prodigal son, gradually became ashamed of the husks, on which it had long fed, (and on which, in some places, it still tries to live), smote upon its breast in penitent sorrow, and resolved to return to its father's house, to the old, and yet eternally young, faith of the church. As the deistical or vulgar Rationalism gained prevalence and power towards the end of the last century by the co-operation of different causes and influences ; so men of various callings and tendencies, as Herder, Hamann, Jacobi, the romantic school of Schlegel, Tieck, and Novalis, the philosophers, Schelling and Hegel, and

¹ He himself makes the truthful remark, though without applying it to his own case, vol. I. p. 11 : "Nothing is more common than for men to interpret the writings of others, according to their own previous ideas and conceptions of things."

² See preface to the first vol. p. 15.

still more the theologian, Schleiermacher, each did his part towards overthrowing its dominion in the scientific world, and preparing the way for a new theology, pervaded by the life of faith. To their exertions must be added the reawakening of moral earnestness and religious life, occasioned partly by the afterworkings of Pietism, and of the Moravian movement; partly by the deep concussions of the Napoleon wars, and the patriotic enthusiasm of the popular struggles for freedom, accompanied by an effort, though somewhat vague, for a universal regeneration of Germany; in part, finally, by the third centennial Jubilee of the Reformation, A. D. 1817, and the important and pregnant fact, connected with it, of the *Evangelical Union* between the hitherto separated sister churches of the Lutheran and Reformed confessions, first in Prussia, and afterwards, in pursuance of this example, in Württemberg, Baden, and other parts of Germany. From these causes, and in bold, unintermitted, and victorious warfare, first against the older popular Rationalism, and afterwards against the speculative forms of it proceeding from the Hegelian school, arose the modern *evangelical* theology of Germany; displaying in all departments of religious knowledge, especially in exegesis, church history, and doctrine history, a noble, and still lively and productive activity; and, of all Protestant theological schools of the present day, unquestionably the first in learning, acumen, spirit, vigor and promise.¹

This period has done proportionally more than any other for the advancement of our science, as to both matter and form. Within the last thirty years in Germany historical theology has engaged an extraordinary amount of diligence and zeal, the effects of which will long be felt, and will be found increasingly beneficial, also, in other lands, particularly in the various branches of English and American Protestantism.² In the mass of literature thus created, we must distinguish three classes of works: (1) Those which embrace the *whole range* of church history;

¹ Comp. my *Gallerie der bedeutendsten jetzt lebenden Universitäts-theologen Deutschlands*, a series of articles in the April, May, July, August and September numbers of the "Deutsche Kirchenfreund," vol. V., for the year 1852.

² *Winer*, in the first Supplement to his Manual of Theological Literature, mentions no less than five hundred works pertaining to the department of church history, which appeared in the short space of two years (1839-41). In addition to these, the theological journals of Germany—as *Ilgen's* "Zeitschrift für historische Theologie," now edited by Dr. *Niedner*; *Ullmann and Umbreit's* "Studien und Kritiken"—contain a multitude of historical treatises, many of them of great value; while almost all the later exegetical and dogmatical works are very largely interwoven with historical matter. A very careful and minute account of what has been added to the literature of church history from the year 1825 to 1850, especially by German zeal and industry, may be found in several articles of Dr. *ENGELHARDT* in *Niedner's Zeitschrift für histor. Theologie* for 1851 and '52.

and here again, (a) those constructed on an extended plan, and designed more for professional scholars, but, as yet, mostly unfinished; as the works of NEANDER, (1825 sqq.), GIESELER, (1824 sqq.), ENGELHARDT, (4 vols. 1833 sqq.), GFRÖRER, (1841 sqq.); and (b) smaller manuals, intended rather for students. Among the latter, the number of which has of late very rapidly swollen, we may mention particularly that of NIEDNER, (1846), distinguished for original learning and masterly condensation of details; that of HASE, (sixth edition, 1848), which, in spirited, piquant description, comprehensive brevity, esthetic taste, and successful delineation of individual characters, excels all former or later compends; and finally, that of GUERICKE, (seventh edition, 1849), which, in spite of its illiberal spirit, and heavy and awkward style, has found much favor and an extensive circulation, by its skillful working up of material furnished mostly by others, especially Neander, by its decided orthodoxy and its enthusiasm for old Lutheranism.¹ (2) Those which are limited to the department of *doctrine history*; among which are most conspicuous the works of BAUMGARTEN-CRISIUS, (two volumes, 1832; abridged, 1840 and 1846), ENGELHARDT, (two parts, 1839), HAGENBACH, (two parts, second edition, 1847), and BAUR, (one volume, 1847). (3) A whole host of *monographs* on celebrated persons, on single doctrines of Christianity, on special topics, as the missions, government, worship, moral and religious life, of the church. It is impossible here to enumerate even the most important of them. A great number of the later theologians, Neander, Ullmann, Marheineke, Engelhardt, Thilo, Liebner, Hagenbach, Bohringer, Bindemann, Jürgens, Henry, Herzog, Baum, Räuchlin, Erbkam, Baur, Rothe, Dorner, Bunsen, Hasse, Ebrard, Heppe, &c., have applied themselves with zeal and success to the field of monographic historical literature. Roman Catholic scholars of Germany, too, as Mohler, Höfler, Staudenmaier, Hefele, Hürter, have followed the example set especially by Neander in this sphere of study. The relation of the general works to the special is that of reciprocal completion. The former, as Dr. *Kliefoth* happily remarks,² have a

¹ Less generally known, yet equally valuable in their way, are the manuals of church history by SCHLEIRMACHER, (one of his most imperfect and unimportant works, published after his death, by *Bonnell*, A. D. 1840, from sketches of lectures), LINDNER, (1848 sqq.), FRICKE, (1850), JACOBI, (1850), KURTZ, (1850), SCHMID, (1851). *Jacobi* is a worthy and faithful disciple of Neander; *Lindner* and *Kurtz* have a decided predilection for Lutheran orthodoxy, but greatly surpass Guericke in liberality and style, and will in all probability gradually take his place in regard to circulation. The work of *Kurtz* especially, which is just now (1853) coming out in a greatly enlarged and improved edition, has all the elements and prospects of general popularity.

² *Reuter's* "Allg. Repertorium für die theol. Literatur und kirchliche Statistik" for 1845, p. 106. where the reader will find several instructive articles by *Kliefoth*, on *The later Ecclesiastical Historiography of the German Evangelical Church*.

double office ; “ first to go before the monographs, and show the chasms, which still need to be filled by such labor ; and then again, to come after the monographs, and give their results the proper place in the living organism of the history.”¹

This mass of historical literature, both general and special, is by no means pervaded by one and the same principle and spirit. It reflects the endless diversity and partial confusion of the theological schools and tendencies of modern Germany. In the general views and judgments of *Gieseler*, *Gfrörer* and others, as well as in their cold, unedifying way of treating their subject, we recognize still the influence of the older common-sense Rationalism. The productions of the *Tübingen* school are in league with the speculative, or transcendental and pantheistic Rationalism of the Hegelian system. *Hase*, one of the most elegant and tasteful writers of history, is, indeed, an opponent of the common Rationalism, and attacked it with spirit and ingenuity in his controversies with the late General Superintendent, *Rohr*. He has uncommon facility in adapting himself to the various forms of Christianity and the different stages of its development ; possesses a delicate sense of the beautiful ; and furnishes capital miniature portraits, also, of such saints as Antony, Bernard, Francis of Assisi. But he sympathizes with the heroes of the Catholic and Protestant churches more from his humanism and poetic taste, than from the standpoint of a supernatural faith ; and the highly artistic structure of his otherwise masterly text-book wants the heaven-aspiring tower and the holy sign of the cross. *Guericke*, where he does not follow Neander, falls back into the obsolete method and spirit of Flacius, and, from the time of the Reformation, mars the historical character and the dignity of his Manual quite too much by passionate and coarse attacks upon the Reformed church, and every form of union, which does not square with his own contracted notions of orthodoxy. *Gfrörer* began in low, rationalistic style, but, in the progress of his work, seems to approach a politico-Catholic, hierarchical view. *Engelhardt*, in his thoroughly learned works on church and doctrine history, makes it his business simply to report from original sources with scrupulous accuracy and colorless monotony, without suffering any judgment of his

¹ FR. BÖHRINGER has attempted to present all church history in a chronological series of the biographies of its heroes, in his yet unfinished work : *The Church of Christ and her witnesses : or Church History in Biographies*. Zürich, 1842, sqq. His plan certainly aims to supply a real want, has something very attractive in it, and is followed out with diligence and talent. But it seems to us too extensive for a larger, more promiscuous class of readers, such as he has in view ; while for the scholar it is likewise ill adapted on account of its entire want of literary apparatus. The independent thinker can take nothing on mere authority, but must everywhere examine the historian and see whether his text be a faithful copy of the sources he has used.

own to appear. *Niedner* has thoroughly mastered and digested all his material with considerable energy of thought ; but his singular terminology and the artificial interweaving of his categories make it hard to obtain any clear, simple view.

With these explanations and qualifications, we proceed to point out those *general* features of the modern German historiography which give it a decided superiority over that of the preceding periods.

1. Its most prominent excellence, as to *form* and method, we take to be its *scientific* structure and that *spirited, lifelike* mode of representation, which springs from the idea of an *organic development*.¹ History is no longer viewed as a mere inorganic mass of names, dates, and facts, but as *spirit* and *life*, and therefore as process, motion, development, passing through various stages, ever rising to some higher state, yet always identical with itself, so that its end is but the full unfolding of its beginning. This makes church history, then, appear as an organism, starting from the person of Jesus Christ, the creator and progenitor of a new race ; perpetually spreading both outwardly and inwardly ; maintaining a steady conflict with sin and error without and within ; continually beset with difficulties and obstructions ; yet, under the unfailing guidance of providence, infallibly working towards an appointed end. This idea of organic development combines what was true in the notion of something permanent and unchangeable in church history, as held by both the Catholic and the Old-Protestant Orthodoxy, with the element of truth in the Rationalistic conception of motion and flow ; and on such ground alone is it possible to understand fully and clearly the temporal life of Christianity. A permanent principle, without motion, stiffens into stagnation ; motion, without a principle of permanence, is a process of dissolution. In neither case can there properly be any living history. The conception of such history is, that, while it incessantly changes its form, never for a moment standing still, yet, through all its changes, it remains true to its own essence ; never outgrows itself ; incorporates into each succeeding stage of growth the results of the preceding ; and thus never loses anything, which was ever of real value.

This idea of an organic, steadily improving development of humanity, according to a wise, unalterable plan of providence, is properly speaking as old as Christianity, meets us in many passages of the New Testament (Matt. 13 : 31, 32. Eph. 4 : 12-16. Col. 2 : 19. 2 Pet. 3 : 18), and in occasional remarks of the early fathers, such as Tertullian and Augustine, and was brought out in the eighteenth century with peculiar emphasis and freshness by the genial *Herder*, in his "Ideas for the Philosophy of the History of Humanity," (1784), so highly valued by the gifted historian

¹ See above, § 5.

of Switzerland, John von Müller.¹ The more mature and philosophical conception of it, however, and the impulse which it gave to a deeper and livelier study of history, are due especially to the philosophy of *Schelling* and, still more, of *Hegel*. With Hegel, all life and thought is properly development, or a process of organic growth, which he calls *Aufhebung*; that is, in the threefold sense of this philosophical term so much used by him; (1) an abolition of the previous imperfect form (an *aufheben* in the sense of *tollere*) (2) a preservation of the essence (*conservare*), and (3) an elevation of it to a higher stage of existence (*elevare*). Thus as the child grows to be a man, his childhood is done away, his personal identity is preserved, and his nature raised to the stage of manhood. So, as Judaism passes into Christianity, its exclusive character, as a preparatory establishment, is lost; but its substance is transferred into the gospel, and by it completed. Christ is, on the one hand, the end of the law and the prophets, while, on the other, he says: "I am not come to destroy, but to fulfill." This is no contradiction, but only the exhibition of the same relation in different aspects.

The general idea of development, however, takes very different forms from different standpoints; as faith, authority, freedom, nay, even Christianity itself are liable to the most contradictory definitions. How far apart, for example, are Neander and Baur, though both apprehend and represent church history as a process of life! How different again from both the Roman catholic convert Newman, who has likewise a theory of development of his own! Hegel's development, in the hands of his infidel followers, is, at bottom, merely an intellectual process of logical thinking, in which, in the end, the substance of the Christian life itself is lost. As once Platonism was, for Origen, Victorinus, Augustine, Synesius, and others, a bridge to Christianity, while, at the same time, the Neo-Platonists and Julian the Apostate used it as a weapon against the Christian religion; so, also, the categories of modern philosophy, (not only German, but English too), have subserved purposes and tendencies diametrically opposite. *The right application of the theory of development depends altogether on having beforehand a right view of positive Christianity, and being rooted and grounded in it, not only in thought, but also in heart and experience.* With this preparation a man may learn from any philosophical system without danger, on the principle of Paul, that "all things are his." Here, too, we may say: *Amicus Plato, amicus Aristoteles, sed magis amica veritas.*

But when this mode of viewing history is adopted, it cannot fail to have its influence on the *representation*. If history is spirit and life, and, in

¹ Comp. some extracts on this point from Herder's works, in my tract on *Historical Development*, p. 73 sq.

fact, rational spirit, the manifestation and organic unfolding of eternal, divine ideas ; its representation must likewise *be full of spirit and life, an organic reproduction*. A mechanical and lifeless method, which merely accumulates a mass of learned material, however accurately, is no longer enough. The historian's object now is, to comprehend truly the events, leading ideas, and prominent actors of the past, and to unfold them before the eyes of his readers, just as they originally stood ; to know not only *what* has taken place, but also *how* it has taken place. The old pragmatic method, too, of referring things merely to accidental subjective and psychological causes and motives, has become equally unsatisfying. A higher pragmatism is now demanded, which has paramount regard to the objective forces of history ; traces the divine connection of cause and effect ; and, with reverential wonder, searches out the plan of eternal wisdom and love.

2. With this view of history, as an inwardly connected whole, pervaded by the same life-blood and always striving towards the same end, is united the second characteristic, which we look upon as the greatest *material* excellence of the most important historians of modern Germany ; viz., the spirit of *impartiality* and *Protestant catholicity*. Here, also, *Herder*, with his enthusiastic natural sensibility to the beautiful and the noble in all times and nations, was the mighty pioneer. By the recent development of theology and religious life in Germany the barriers of prejudice, which separated the Lutheran and Reformed churches, have been, in a great measure, surmounted, and by the Prussian Union, (which, without such inward development, would be an unmeaning governmental measure), these barriers have been, in a certain degree, also outwardly removed, and almost all the great theologians of the day in Germany now stand essentially upon the basis of the Evangelical Union. Nay more. Protestantism has also been forced to abandon forever her former onesided posture towards Catholicism. The old view of the Middle Ages especially, whose darkness Rationalism in its arrogant pretensions to superior light and knowledge (*Aufklärung*) could not paint black enough,¹ has been entirely repudiated, since the most thorough research has revealed their real significance in poetry, art, politics, science, theology and religion.² It is now

¹ In a rationalistic pamphlet on Luther, which appeared in Berlin as late as A. D. 1817, and has been frequently reprinted, we find even the fabulous assertion, that "poor men at that time knew almost nothing of God." A certain American doctor of theology, whom respect for his age and ecclesiastical connection forbids us to name, seems, even in the year 1852, to hold the same view. Comp. his "Contrast between the erroneous assertions of Prof. Schaff and the testimony of credible Ecclesiastical Historians, (i. e. Mosheim and Edgar), in regard to the state of the Christian Church in the Middle Ages."

² *Fr. Galle*, a disciple of Neander, says in the preface to his "*Geistliche Stimmer aus dem Mittelalter*," p. vi. : "Long past is that period of stiff Lutheran orthodoxy

generally agreed, that the Middle Ages were the necessary connecting link between ancient and modern times ; that this period was the cradle of Germanic Christianity and modern civilization ; that its grand, peculiar institutions and enterprises, the papacy, the scholastic and mystic divinity, the monastic orders, the crusades, the creations of sacred art, were indispensable means of educating the European races ; and that, without them, even the Reformation of the sixteenth century could not have arisen. Here, of course, the ultra-Protestant fanatical opposition to the Catholic church must cease. The general disposition now is to break away from the narrow apologetic and polemic interest of a particular confession or party, the colored spectacles of which allow but a dim and partial view of the Saviour's majestic person. We wish to be guided solely by the spirit of impartial truth ; and truth, at the same time, always best vindicates itself by the simple exhibition of its substance and historical course. Christianity can never be absolutely fitted to the last of a fixed human formula, without losing her dignity and majesty ; and her history may claim, for its own sake, to be thoroughly investigated and represented, *sine ira et studio*, without any impure or loveless designs. The greatest masters in this field become more and more convinced, that the boundless life of the church can never be exhausted by any single sect or period, but can be fully expressed only by the collective Christianity of all periods, nations, confessions, and individual believers ; that the Lord has never left himself without a witness ; that, consequently, every period has its excellencies, and reflects, in its own way, the image of the Redeemer. A Neander, for example, reverentially kisses the foot-prints of his Master, even in the darkest times, and bows before the most varied refractions of his glory. Hence, within the last thirty years, almost every nook of church history has been searched with amazing industry and zeal ; the darkest portions have been enlightened ; and a mass of treasures brought forth from primitive, mediæval, and modern times, to be admired and turned to the most valuable account by present and future generations.

In short, the investigations of *believing* Germany in the sphere of church history are inwardly and irresistibly pressing towards an evangeli-

which summarily rejected every intellectual production in any sort of connection with the Catholic Middle Ages ; already passing away is the time of shallow illuminationism (*Aufklärung*). which could see in the Reformation, at best, the murky dawn of the pretended noon-day of the present ; and in the Middle Ages, only a dark, dreary night, in which nothing stirred but the wild beasts of Obscurantism and barbarism. Men have begun to perceive, with all esteem for the reformation and its invaluable services, that the Lord has at all times filled his church with his Spirit and his gifts, and that, even where her skies have been darkened with mist and clouds, he has always been near her with the light of his truth."

cal catholic, central, and universal position, which will afford a fair view of all parts of the vast expanse. They are making men see, how the flood of divine light and life, emanating from Jesus Christ, the central sun of the moral universe, has been pouring, with unbroken effulgence, on all past centuries, and will continue to pour upon the world in ever new variegations. For this reason, the study of our science is continually acquiring a greater practical importance. Church history is the field, on which are to be decided the weightiest denominational controversies, the most momentous theological and religious questions. It aims to sketch forth from the old foundations of the church the plan for its new superstructure. In truth, the spirit of the modern evangelical theology of Germany seems to have already risen, in principle, above the present sad divisions of Christendom ; and to foretoken a new age of the church. It can reach its aim, and find complete satisfaction only in the glorious fulfillment of the precious promise of one fold and one shepherd.

Having noticed these general features, which, however, as already intimated, by no means belong to all the German church historians of our day, we must now characterize more minutely the most prominent authors ; and, in so doing, we shall have occasion at the same time to explain our own relation to them, especially to Dr. Neander.

Among the latest German ecclesiastical historians, who stand at the head of their profession, we must distinguish two widely different schools, which, as to their philosophico-theological basis, attach themselves to the names of the two greatest scientific geniuses of the nineteenth century, *Schleiermacher* and *Hegel*. They bear to each other, in some respects, the relation of direct antagonism, but partly, also, that of mutual completion ; and are well matched in spirit and learning. They are : (1) The school of *Schleiermacher* and *Neander*, with Dr. NEANDER himself at its head, as the "father of modern church history." For *Schleiermacher* was, properly, no historian ; and his posthumous lectures on church history amount to no more than a loose unsatisfactory sketch. But his philosophical views of religion, Christianity, and the church, have indirectly exerted a very important influence upon this department of theology, as well as upon almost all others. (2) The *Hegelian* school. This, however, falls again into two essentially different branches, viz. ; (a) an *unchurchly* and *destructive* branch, the *Tübingen* school, as it is called, the chief representative of which is Dr. BAUR, of Tübingen ;¹ and (b) a *conservative* branch, devoted to the *Christian faith*, among the leaders of which must be named with special prominence Drs. ROTHE and DÖRNER

¹ Not to be confounded with the half crazy *Bruno Bauer*, whose blasphemous productions on the Gospels and the Acts belong not to the literature of theology, but to the history of insanity.

Since this later school, however, combines with the objective view of his tory and the dialectic method of the Hegelian philosophy, the elements, also, of the Schleiermacherian theological culture, it may as well have an independent place, as a third school, intermediate between the two others.¹

§ 35. *Dr. Neander and his School.*²

DR. AUGUSTUS NEANDER forms an epoch in the development of Protestant church historiography, as well as Flacius in the sixteenth century, Arnold at the close of the seventeenth, Mosheim and, somewhat later, Semler in the eighteenth; and was accordingly, by general consent, distinguished, even before his death (1850), with the honorary title, "Father of (Modern) Church History." From him we have a large work, unfortunately not finished, on the general history of the Christian church; extending from the death of the Apostles almost to the Reformation.³ Next a special work on the Apostolic period,⁴ which, together with one on the life of Christ (1837. 5th ed. 1849), serves as a foundation for the main work. Then, several valuable historical monographs on Julian the Apostate (1812), St. Bernard of Clairvaux (1813. 2nd ed. 1849), the Gnostic Systems (1818), St. John Chrysostom (1821. 3d ed. 1848), the Anti-Gnostic Tertullian (1825. 3rd ed. 1849). Finally some collections of smaller treatises, mostly historical, in which he presents single persons or manifestations of the Christian life, on the authority of original sources, indeed, but in a form better adapted to meet the practical religious wants of the public generally. The most important of these is his *Denkwürdigkeiten aus der Geschichte des christlichen Lebens* (3 vols. 1822. 3rd ed. 1845), a series of edifying pictures of religious life in the first eight centuries.

¹ In the following review of these schools we will not forget the debt of personal gratitude we owe to their leaders. *Neander*, *Baur*, and *Dorner*, who were our respected instructors; the first in Berlin; the two last, previously, in Tübingen. But this cannot induce us to withhold a decided and uncompromising protest against the dangerous and antichristian extravagances of the skeptical school of Baur. All personal considerations must be subordinated to the sacred interests of faith and the church.

² Comp. my *Recollections of Neander*, in the "Mercersburg Review" for January 1851; and *Neander's Jugendjahre*, in the "Kirchenfreund" for 1851, p. 283 sqq.

³ In six volumes, or eleven parts (1825-52). The last volume embracing the period preparatory to the Reformation, down to the council of Basil (A. D. 1430), was published after the author's death by Candidate *Schneider* from manuscripts left in a very fragmentary form. The first four volumes have appeared, since 1842, in a second, improved edition. The English translation of this work by Prof. *Torrey*, though not entirely free from errors, may be pronounced, in general, a very accurate version.

⁴ *Geschichte der Pflanzung und Leitung der Christlichen Kirche durch die Apostel* 2 vols. 1832. 4th ed. 1847.

Neander was fitted, as few have been, for the great task of writing the history of the church of Jesus Christ. By birth and early training an Israelite, and a genuine Nathanael too, full of childlike simplicity, and of longings for the Messianic salvation ; in youth, an enthusiastic student of the Grecian philosophy, particularly of Plato, who became, for him, as for Origen and other church fathers, a scientific schoolmaster, to bring him to Christ¹—he had, when in his seventeenth year he received holy baptism, passed through, in his own inward experience, so to speak, the whole historical course, by which the world had been prepared for Christianity ; he had gained an experimental knowledge of the workings of Judaism and Heathenism in their direct tendency towards Christianity ; and thus he had already broken his own way to the only proper position for contemplating the history of the church ; a position, whence Jesus Christ is viewed as the object of the deepest yearnings of humanity, the centre of all history, and the only key to its mysterious sense. Richly endowed in mind and heart ; free from all domestic cares ; an eunuch from his mother's womb, and that for the kingdom of heaven's sake (Matt. 19 : 12) ; without taste for the distracting externals and vanities of life ; a stranger in the material world, which, in his last years, was withdrawn even from his bodily eye,—he was, in every respect, fitted to bury himself, during a long and uninterrupted academical course, from 1812 to 1850, in the silent contemplation of the spiritual world, to explore the past, and to make his home among the mighty dead, whose activity belonged to eternity. In theology, he was at first a pupil of the gifted Schleiermacher, under whose electrifying influence he came during his university studies at Halle, and at whose side he afterwards stood as colleague for many years in Berlin. He always thankfully acknowledged the great merits of this German Plato, who, in a time of general apostacy from the truth, rescued so many young men from the iron embrace of Rationalism, and led them at least to the threshold of the holiest of all.² But he himself took a more positive course, rejecting the pantheis-

¹ Even in the academical gymnasium at Hamburg, Plato and Plutarch were his favorite study. The intimate friend of his youth, *William Neumann*—whose surname he afterwards at his baptism assumed, in its Greek form, with significant reference, also, to his own inward change—wrote of *David Mendel*, as Neander was originally called, in the year 1806, (*Chamisso's Works*, VI., p. 241 sq.) : " Plato is his idol and his perpetual watchword. He pores over him day and night, and few, perhaps, take him in so entirely or with such full reverence. It is wonderful how he has become all this, so perfectly without foreign influence, solely by reflection and honest, pure study. With little knowledge of the Romantic philosophy, he has constructed it for himself, getting the germs of it from Plato. On the world around him he has learned to look with sovereign contempt." For a more minute account of Neander's education, see the "*Kirchenfreund*," l. c. p. 286 sqq.

² Comp especially Neander's article on *The past half century in its relation to the*

tic and fatalistic elements which had adhered to the system of his master from the study of Spinoza, and which, it must be confessed, bring it, in a measure, into direct opposition to the simple gospel and the old faith of the church. This was, for him, of the greatest moment. For only in the recognition of a personal God, and of the free agency of individual men, can history be duly apprehended and appreciated. But apart from this he was, in his own particular department, entirely independent. For Schleiermacher's strength lay in criticism, dogmatics, and ethics, far more than in church history; though, by his spiritual intuitions, he undoubtedly exerted on the latter science also a quickening influence.

Thus, from the beginning of his public labors, Neander appeared as one of the leading founders of the new evangelical theology of Germany, and its most conspicuous representative on the field of church and doctrine history.

His first and greatest merit consists in restoring the *religious and practical* interest to its due prominence, in opposition to the coldly intellectual and negative critical method of Rationalism; yet without thereby wronging in the least the claims of science. This comes out very clearly even in the preface to the first volume of his great work, where he declares it to be the grand object of his life, to set forth the history of Christ, "as a living witness for the divine power of Christianity; a school of Christian experience; a voice of edification, instruction, and warning, sounding through all ages, for all, who will hear." True, he is second to none in learning. With the church fathers, in particular, many years of intercourse had made him intimately familiar. And though, from his hearty dislike for all vanity and affectation, he never makes any parade with citations, yet, by his pertinent and conscientious manner of quoting, he everywhere evinces a perfect mastery of the sources: for the genuine scholar is recognized, not in the number of citations, which, at any rate, may be very cheaply had from second or third hand; but in their independence and reliability, and in the critical discernment, with which they are selected. With the most thorough knowledge of facts he united, also, almost every other qualification of a scientific historian; a spirit of profound critical inquiry, a happy power of combination, and no small talent for genetically developing religious characters and their theological systems. But he diffuses through all his theoretical matter a pious, gentle, and deeply humble, yet equally earnest spirit. Like Spener and Franke, Neander views theology, and with it church history, not merely as a thing of the understanding, but

present time, in the "Deutsche Zeitschrift," established by Dr. Müller, Dr. Nitzsch, and himself, vol. I., 1850, p. 7 sqq., where he gives his views at large respecting Schleiermacher.

also as a practical matter for the heart ; and he has chosen for his motto : *Pectus est quod theologum facit*.¹ This gives his works a great advantage over the productions of the modern Tübingen school, as well as over the text book of *Gieseler*, which, in learning and keen research, is at least of equal merit ; though in the case of the latter work we are bound to consider, that the author pursues a different object, and by his invaluable extracts from sources compensates in part for the lack of life in the dry skeleton of his text. Neander moves through the history of the church in the spirit of faith and devotion ; *Gieseler*, with critical acumen and cold intellect. The one lives in his heroes, thinks, feels, acts, and suffers with them ; the other surveys their movements from a distance, without love or hatred, without sympathy or antipathy. The former reverently kisses the footsteps of his Lord and Saviour, wherever he meets them ; the latter remains unmoved and indifferent even before the most glorious manifestations of the Christian life.²

This spirit of Christian piety, which animates Neander's historical writings, and rules his whole habit of thought, is further characterized by a comprehensive *liberality* and evangelical *catholicity*. Arnold and Milner, in their subjective and unchurchly pietism, had like regard, indeed, to practical utility ; but they could find matter of edification, for the most part, only in heretics and dissenters. From these historians Neander differs, not only in his incomparably greater learning and scientific ability, but also, in that right feeling, by which, notwithstanding his own disposition to show even too much favor to certain heretics, he still traces the main current of the Christian life in the unbroken line of the Christian church. From the orthodox Protestant, rough, polemical historians of the seventeenth century, on the other hand, Neander differs in the liberal spirit with which, though constitutionally inclined rather to the German Lutheran type of religious character in its moderate, Melancthonian form,³ he rises above denominational limits, and plants himself on the basis of the *Union*, where Lutheran and Reformed

¹ Those Hegelians, who ridiculed this motto, and mockingly called Neander a "*pectoral theologian*," only exposed, in this way, their own shame. We can never make theology too earnest or practical ; for it has to do with nothing less than the everlasting weal or woe of undying souls.

² True, *Gieseler* also demands, in the church historian, "the spirit of Christian piety ;" and on the right ground : "because we can never obtain a just historical apprehension of any foreign spiritual phenomenon, without reproducing it in ourselves," (Einl. § 5). But in his own text, as might be expected from his rationalistic position, there is certainly little trace of such a spirit.

³ Among all the characters of church history there is hardly one, whom *Neander* more resembles, both in light and shade, than *Melancthon*. Both are of the Johannean stamp, of the mild, amiable, peace-loving, conciliatory, yielding temperament : and both are, in an eminent sense, *Præceptores Germaniæ*.

Protestantism become only parts of a higher whole. But his sympathies go far beyond the Reformation, and take in also the peculiar forms of Catholic piety. With him, in truth, the universal history of the church is no mere fortuitous concourse of outward facts, but a connected process of evolution, an unbroken continuation of the life of Christ through all centuries. He has won, in particular, the priceless merit of having introduced a more correct judgment respecting the whole church *before* the Reformation ; above all, of having presented to the Protestant mind, not in the service of this or that party, but in the sole interest of truth, and in an unprejudiced, living reproduction, the theology of the *church fathers* in their conflict with the oldest forms of heresy. This he did first in his monographs. In his *Tertullian*, he drew a picture of the African church of the second and third centuries, and taught the true value, hitherto so much mistaken, of this rough, but vigorous Christian, the patriarch of the Latin theology. In his *John Chrysostom*, he portrayed the greatest orator, interpreter, and saint of the ancient Greek church. In his *Bernard of Clairvaux*, he described with warm, though by no means blind admiration, the worthiest representative of monkery, of the crusades, and of the practical and orthodox mysticism, in the bloom of the Catholic Middle Ages, previously so little known and so much decried. He felt thus at home in all periods, because he met the same Christ in them all, only in different forms. By such sketches, drawn from life, and then by the connected representation in his large work, he contributed mightily to burst the shackles of Protestant prejudice and bigotry, and to prepare the way, in some measure, for a mutual understanding between Catholicism and Protestantism on historical ground. He adopted the significant words of the Jansenist Pascal, one of his favorite authors : “ *En Jésus-Christ toutes les contradictions sont accordées.*” And in these great antagonisms in church history, he saw no irreconcilable contradiction, but two equally necessary manifestations of the same Christianity ; and he looked forward, with joyful hope to a future reconciliation of the two, already typified, as he thought, in St. John, the apostle of love and of the consummation !¹

These large views of history, however, and this candid acknowledgment of the great facts of the ancient and medieval church—views, which may lead, in the end, to practical consequences even more weighty, than he himself could foresee or approve—spring, in Neander’s case, by no means from a Romanizing tendency. Such a disposition was utterly

¹ Comp. the closing words of his *History of the Apostolic Church*, and the *Dedication* of the second edition of the first volume of his larger work to Schelling, where he alludes with approbation to that philosopher’s idea of three stages of development answering to the three apostles, Peter, Paul and John.

foreign to him. His liberality proceeds partly from his mild, John-like nature, and partly from his genuine Protestant toleration and high regard for individual personality ; or from such a *subjectivity*, as formed a barrier against ultra-Protestant and sectarian bigotry, no less than against Romanism, where individual freedom is lost in the authority of the general. In this he is a faithful follower of Schleiermacher, who, though he based his philosophy on the pantheistic system of Spinoza, had nevertheless an uncommonly keen eye and a tender regard for the personal and individual. What Schleiermacher thus asserted mainly in the sphere of speculation and doctrine, Neander carried out in history. He was fully convinced that the free spirit of the gospel could never be concentrated in any one given form, but could be completely manifested only in a great variety of forms and views. Hence his frequent remark, that Christianity, the leaven, which is to pervade humanity, does not destroy natural capacities, or national and individual differences, but refines and sanctifies them. Hence his partiality for diversity and freedom of development, and his enmity to constraint and uniformity. Hence his taste for monographic literature, which sets a whole age concretely before the eye in the person of a single representative ; of which invaluable form of church history Neander is to be accounted the proper father. Hence the love and patience and scrupulous fidelity with which he goes into all the circumstances of the men and systems he unfolds, to whatever nation, time, or school of thought they may belong ; setting forth their defects and aberrations, as well as their virtues and merits ; though without neglecting the duty of the philosophical historian, to collect the scattered particulars again into one complete picture, and refer them to the one unchanging idea. Finally this sacred reverence for the image of God in the persons of men, and for the rights of individuals, accounts for the esteem and popularity, which this equally pious and learned church father of the nineteenth century commands, more than any other modern theologian, in almost all sections of Protestantism, not only in Germany, but also in France, Holland, England, Scotland, and America, nay, so far as difference of ecclesiastical ground at all allows, among liberal-minded scholars of the Roman Catholic church itself. In this view he stands before us, amidst the present distractions of Christendom, as an apostle of *mediation*, in the noblest sense of the word ; and as such, he still has, by his writings, a long and exalted mission to fulfill.

To sum up what has now been said ; the most essential peculiarity, the fairest ornament, the most enduring merit of Neander's church history consists in the *vital union of the two elements of science and Christian piety*, and in the exhibition of both in the form, not of dead narra-

tive, or mechanical accumulation of material, but of *life and genetic development*. The practical element is not a mere appendage to the subject in the way of pious reflection and declamation, but grows out of it as by nature. It is the very spirit, which fills and animates the history of Christianity as such. Neander is Christian, not *although*, but *because* he is scientific; and scientific, *because* he is Christian. This is the only form of edification which *can* be expected in a learned work; but such *must* be expected, where the work has to do with Christianity and its history. And this gain, therefore, ought never to be lost. A church historian without faith and piety can only set before us, at best, instead of the living body of Christ, a cold marble statue, without seeing eye or feeling heart.

But a perfect church history calls for more than this. While we respect and admire in Neander the complete blending of the scientific element with the *Christian*, we miss, on the other hand, its union with the *churchly*. By this we mean, first, that he lacks decided *orthodoxy*. In his treatment of the life of Jesus and the Apostolic period, we meet with views respecting the Holy Scriptures, their inspiration and authority, together with doubts respecting the strictly historical character of certain sections of the gospel history, and the genuineness of particular books of the sacred canon (the First Epistle to Timothy, the Second Epistle of Peter, and the Apocalypse), which, though by no means rationalistic, are yet rather too loose and indefinite, and involve, in our judgment, too many and sometimes too serious concessions to modern criticism. Of all his works, his *Leben Jesu* is, perhaps, in this respect, the farthest from satisfying the demands of sound faith, however highly we must esteem the honesty and tender conscientiousness, which usually give rise to his critical scruples and doubts. There is, it is true, in this difficult field, a skepticism more commendable than that hasty and positive dogmatism, which, instead of seriously laboring to untie the Gordian knot, either refuses to see, or carelessly cuts it. But the *full* and *unconditional* reverence for the holy word of God, in which the whole Schleiermacherian school is more or less deficient, requires, wherever science cannot yet clear away the darkness, an humble submission of reason to the obedience of faith, or a present suspension of decisive judgment, in the hope, that farther and deeper research may lead to more satisfactory results.

Again, Neander must be called unchurchly in his views of theology and history, on account of his comparative disregard for the *objective* and *realistic* character of Christianity and the church, and his disposition, throughout his writings, to resolve the whole mystery into something purely inward and ideal. In this respect he appears to us quite too little Catholic, in the real and historical sense of the word. True, he is neither

a Gnostic, nor a Baptist, nor a Quaker ; though many of his expressions, sundered from their connection, sound very favorable to these hyper-spiritualistic sects. He by no means mistakes the objective forces of history, and can readily appreciate the realistic element in such men as Tertullian, Athanasius, Augustine, Bernard, and even in the popes and schoolmen, up to a certain point. He, in fact, speaks frequently of general directions of mind, which embody themselves in individuals ; and the antitheses of idealism and realism, rationalism and supranaturalism, logical intelligence and mystic contemplation, and the various combinations of these tendencies, belong to the standing categories of his treatment of history. But, in the first place, he refers these differences themselves, for the most part, to a merely psychological basis, to the differences of men's constitutions, that is, to a purely subjective ground. His prevailing view is, that the kingdom of God forms itself from individuals, and therefore, in a certain sense, from below upwards ; that, as Schleiermacher once said, " the doctrinal system of the church takes its rise from the opinions of individuals." Then, in the next place, it is plain, that Neander himself is of the spiritualistic and idealistic turn, and does not always succeed in avoiding the dangers to which this tendency, in itself needful and legitimate, is exposed. Hence his predilection for the Alexandrian fathers, Clement and Origen. Hence his too favorable representation, as it appears to us, of Gnosticism, especially of Marcion, whose pseudo-Pauline hostility to the Catholic tradition he even makes to be a presage of the Reformation—which, if true, would do the Reformation poor service. Hence his overstrained love of equity towards all heretical and schismatical movements, in which he almost always takes for granted some deep moral and religious interest, even where they clearly rest on the most willful insurrection against lawful authority ; the love of justice, with him, though by no means so abused as by that patron of sects, the pietistic Arnold, still often running into injustice to the historical church. Hence his undisguised dislike for all that he comprehends under the phrase, *re-introduction of the legal Jewish ideas* into the Catholic church, including the special priesthood and outward service ; this he thinks to be against the freedom advocated by St. Paul and the idea of the universal priesthood, (which, however, even under the Old Testament, had place *along with* the special ; comp. 1 Pet. 2 : 9 with Ex. 19 : 6) ; though he is forced to concede to this Catholic legalism at least an important office in the training of the Teutonic nations.¹

¹ Dr. Baur, in his *Epochen*, p. 218, remarks, that this favorite category of a transfer of Old Testament institutions to Christian soil, which Neander applies to episcopacy, Montanism, and especially to the papacy of the Middle Ages, amounts to nothing ; since what is past, never returns in history, without becoming, at the same time, something entirely new.

Hence his indifference to fixed ecclesiastical organization, and his aversion to all restriction to confessions in the Protestant church; this, to him, savors of "bondage to the letter," "mechanism of forms," "symbol-worship." On this latter point we must, indeed, regard him as mainly in the right against those, who would absolutely repristinate some particular confession of the past—the Form of Concord, perhaps, with its rigid Lutheranism—utterly regardless of the enlarged wants of the present. There was still more ground, also, for his zeal against the philosophical tyranny of the Hegelian intellectualists and pantheists, who, in the zenith of their prosperity, aimed to supplant a warm, living Christianity by dry scholasticism and unfruitful traffic in dialectic forms.* Still the theological school now in hand is plainly wanting in a just appreciation of the import of law and authority in general—a defect, closely connected with the false view taken of the Old Testament in Schleiermacher's theology and philosophy of religion, and with his half-Gnostic ultra Rationalism. The freedom, for which Neander so zealously contends, is of quite a latitudinarian sort, running, at times, into indefiniteness and arbitrariness, and covering Sabellian, Semiarian, Anabaptist, Quakerish, and other dangerous errors with the mantle of charity. Much as we respect the noble disposition, from which this springs, we must still never forget the important principle, that true freedom can thrive only in the sphere of authority; the individual, only in due subordination to the general; and that genuine catholicity is as rigid against error, as it is liberal towards the various manifestations of truth.

Neander views Christianity and the church, not, indeed, as necessarily opposed to each other, yet as two separate and more or less mutually exclusive spheres. In the mind, at least, of the whole ancient Eastern and Western church, these two conceptions virtually coincide, or, at all events, are as closely related as soul and body; and the one is always the measure of the other. This is abundantly proved by the examples of Irenaeus, Tertullian, Cyprian, Ambrose, Augustine, Athanasius, Chrysostom, Anselm, Bernard, &c., even according to Neander's own representations of them. But the very title of his large work: "General History of the Christian Religion and Church," seems to involve the idea, to which a one-sided Protestant view of the world may easily lead, that there is a Christian religion *out of* and *beside* the church. On this point we venture no positive decision; but we think that such a separation can

* In this war with the Hegelian philosophy and its panlogism, he frequently gave way, occasionally in his prefaces, but oftener in private conversation, to an impatience and vehemence, which seemed inconsistent with his usual calmness and gentleness. But hatred, in this case, was only inverted love. We remember the polemic zeal of St John against the Gnostics of his day.

hardly be reconciled with Paul's doctrine of the church, as the "body of Jesus Christ," "the fulness of him, that filleth all in all." The future must reveal, whether Christianity can be upheld, without the divine institution of the church; that is, whether the soul can live without the body; whether it will not, at last, resolve itself into a ghost or Gnostic phantom, as certainly as the body without the soul sinks into a corpse. Meanwhile we hold to the maxim: *Where Christ is, there also is the church, his body; and where the church is, there also is Christ, her head, and all grace; and what God hath joined together, let not man put asunder.*²

With these principal faults of Neander's Church History, which we have comprehended under the term, "unchurchliness," in the wide sense; though, on the other hand, with its above named merits too, are more or less closely connected several other subordinate defects. Neander is pre-eminently the historian, so to speak, of the *invisible* church, and has, therefore, exhibited the development of Christian *doctrine* and Christian *life*, especially so far as these express themselves in single theologians and pious men, in the most thorough and original way. In this he has, in general, surpassed all his predecessors. On the contrary, in what pertains more to the outward manifestation of the church, to its bodily form, his contemplative, idealistic turn allows him less interest. This appears at once in his sections on the *constitution* of the church, where the subject is treated, even in the first period, in a very unsatisfactory manner, and under the influence of his antipathy to the hierarchical element; which, we may here remark, undeniably made its appearance as early as the second century, in the Epistles of Ignatius, too groundlessly charged by him with interpolation, even in their shorter form. For the worldly and political aspect of church history, with which the department of ecclesiastical polity has chiefly to do; the connection of the church with the state; the play of human passions, which, alas! are perpetually intruding even into the most sacred affairs, the godly man, in his guileless, childlike simplicity and his recluse student life, had, at any rate, no very keen eye.³ But while he takes little notice of small and low motives,

¹ In which case the Bible and Tract Societies, for example, (or, according to Dr Rothe, the State), would assume the functions of the ministry, and instead of being in the church, as auxiliary associations, would usurp its place, and make it no longer necessary. We are of opinion, however, that Tract Societies and other such voluntary associations, in proportion as they should go beyond their original sphere, and seek to put themselves in the place of the church of God, would lose the confidence of the sound Christian public and the blessing of heaven.

² Coleridge somewhere remarks: "Christianity, without a church exercising spiritual authority, is vanity and delusion."

³ Dr. Hagenbach, in his fine article on *Neander* in the "Studien und Kritiken," 1851 p. 788, likewise notices this honorable defect of his character, and adds: "The other

he enters the more carefully into the deeper and nobler springs of actions and events. For the superficial pragmatism of his instructor, Planck, who often derives the most important controversies from the merest accidents and the most corrupt sources, he thus substitutes a far more spiritual and profound pragmatism, which makes the interest of religion the main factor in church history. If he sometimes causes us almost to forget, that the kingdom of God is *in* the world ; it is only to bring out the more forcibly the great truth of that declaration of Christ, which he has characteristically taken as a motto for each volume of his larger work : " My kingdom is not *of* this world."

Equally lacking was the excellent Neander in a cultivated sense for the *esthetic* or *artistic* in church history ; though this defect, again, appears as the shadow of a virtue, arising from the unworldly character of his mind. Had he lived in the first centuries, he, with Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, and others, would have looked upon art, so prostituted to the service of heathen idolatry, as a vain show, inconsistent with the humble condition of the church, if not as an actual *pompa diaboli*. This, indeed, is by no means his view. He is not puritanically, from principle, opposed to art. The all-pervading, leavenlike nature of the gospel is one of his favorite thoughts. He advocates even the use of painting " for the glorifying of religion ; agreeably to the spirit of Christianity, which should reject nothing purely human, but appropriate, pervade, and sanctify all ;"¹ and in his account of the image controversies, he approves the middle course between the two extremes of worship of images and war upon them. But a full description of the influence of Christianity upon this sphere of human activity, a history of church sculpture, painting, architecture, music, and poetry, as well as of all that belongs to the symbolic show of the medieval Catholic worship, is not to be looked for in his work. In this respect he is far surpassed by the spirited, though much less spiritual *Hase*, who was the first to interweave the history of Christian art into the general body of church history, with his elegant taste, in short, but expressive and pointed sketches. But Neander's indifference to the beautiful as such, is fairly balanced, to a great extent, by his merit, in not allowing himself to be repelled, like polite wits and worldlings, by the homely and poor servant-form, in which the divine on earth is often veiled ; in discerning the real worth of the heavenly treasure in earthen vessels, of the rich kernel even under a rough shell ; or, as he

extreme is found, perhaps in *Gfrörer*, who takes delight in tracing the intricacies of in trigue and chicanery, but, in so doing, leaves the religious agency out of view. See for example, the notice of the Gotteschalk controversy in his history of the Carolingians."

Kirchengeschichte, III. p. 400.

himself says of Tertullian, in "recognizing, and bringing out from beneath its temporal obscurity, the stamp of divinity in real life."¹

From the same point of view must we judge, finally, Neander's style. His writing moves along with heavy uniformity and wearisome verbosity, without any picturesque alternation of light and shade, without rhetorical elegance or polish, without comprehensive classification; like a noiseless stream over an unbroken plain. Thus far it can by no means be recommended as a model of historical delineation. But, on the other hand, by its perfect naturalness, its contemplative unctio, and its calm presentation of the subject in hand, it appeals to sound feeling, and faithfully reflects the finest features of the great man's character, his *simplicity and his humility*. The golden mean here appears to us to lie between the unadorned and uncolored plainness of a Neander and the dazzling brilliancy of a Macaulay.

But, in spite of all these faults, Neander, still remains, on the whole, beyond doubt the greatest church historian thus far of the nineteenth century. Great, too, especially in this, that he never suffered his renown to obscure at all his sense of the sinfulness and weakness of every human work in this world.² With all his comprehensive knowledge, he justly regarded himself as, among many others, merely a forerunner of a new creative epoch of ever-young Christianity; and towards that time he gladly stretched his vision, with the prophetic gaze of faith and hope, from amidst the errors and confusion around him. "We stand," says he,³ on the line between an old world and a new, about to be called into being by the ever fresh energy of the gospel. For the fourth time an epoch in the life of our race is in preparation by means of Christianity. We, therefore, can furnish, *in every respect, but pioneer work* for the period of the new creation, when life and science shall be regenerated, and the wonderful works of God proclaimed with new tongues of fire."

To the school of Schleiermacher and Neander, in the *wide* sense, belongs the majority of the latest theologians of Germany, who have become

¹ Preface to the second edition of his *Antignosticus, Geist des Tertullian*, p. XI. Comp. the striking remarks of Hagenbach. l. c. p. 589, who rightly demands, for the perfection of historical science, that it "should catch upon the mirror of the fancy, from real life, the most different impressions of all times; copy the past with artistic freedom; create it, as it were, anew; breathe into the conditions of by-gone days a fresh life, yet, without allowing itself to be blinded by their charms. This is the union of poetry with history, towards which the modern age is striving."

² Comp. the touching words at the close of his Dedication to his friend, Dr. Julius Müller, in the second edition of his *Tertullian*. written a year before his death: "Although like you, I well know, that no man is worthy of celebrity and veneration; that in all we know or do, we are, and must ever be, beggars and sinners"

³ Preface to his *Leben Jesu*, 1st ed. p. ix. sq.

known in the field of church and doctrine history, by larger or smaller, general or monographic works ; HOSSBACH, RHEINWALD, VOGT, SEMISCH, PIPER, JACOBI, BINDEMANN, SCHLIEMANN, HERZOG, HENRY, ERBKAM, GUERICKE, LINDNER, and KURTZ, (the last three having, however, a decided leaning to strict Lutheran orthodoxy) ; but especially LEHNERDT, SCHENKEL, HUNDESHAGEN, HAGENBACH, and ULLMANN, who are, perhaps, the most learned and original of all here named. The compends of Jacobi, Guericke, Lindner and Kurtz have already been mentioned ; the others have written valuable contributions to various branches of historical literature, particularly biography. From *Hagenbach* for instance we have a *Doctrine History*, and, in more popular style for the general reader, an interesting work on Protestantism, and another on the first three centuries ; which, by their simple, clear vivacity, and freedom from technical pedantry, commend themselves even to English taste. *Hundeshagen* and *Schenkel* have likewise bestowed their chief strength upon the nature and history of German Protestantism ; the former, at the same time, touching, with the soundest discernment, upon many of its weaknesses, and the bad effects of a disproportionate literary activity, from which Germany has long suffered. But still more distinguished is *Ullmann*, Prof. in Heidelberg, whom we consider, next to Neander, the most eminent church historian of Schleiermacher's school. His monograph on *Gregory Nazianzen* (A. D. 1825), and still more his work on the *Reformers before the Reformation*, (two volumes, 1841-2), are, for thorough learning, calm clearness, and classic elegance, real master-pieces of church historiography. From this mild and amiable author we may, perhaps, still look for a general church history, which, as to form, and style, would undoubtedly greatly surpass that of Neander.

Among the historians, who, though not professional theologians, have yet made church history the subject of their study, we cannot omit to mention, in this connection, the celebrated *Leopold Ranke*, Prof. in Berlin, and author of the *History of the Popes in the sixteenth and seventeenth Centuries*, and of *German History in the Age of the Reformation*. He is not a man of system, and seldom rises to general philosophical views ; but he has an uncommonly keen eye for details and individuals, and is, in this respect, akin to the school of Schleiermacher, and still more to Dr. Hase. With this he combines fine diplomatic tact and shrewdness ; the power to reveal the most secret springs of historical movements, and that, too, in part from original unprinted sources, especially from accounts of embassies, and private correspondence. And he can present the results of his thoroughly original investigations with graphic perspicuity and lively elegance, affording his readers, at the same time, instruction and delightful entertainment. He might be termed, in many respects, the *German Macaulay*.

§ 36. *Dr. Baur. Pantheistic Rationalism and Modern Gnosticism.*

In direct opposition to the Neandrian style of church history stands the new *Tübingen* school, in close connection with the *Hegelian philosophy*. This philosophy carries out in all directions, and brings into well-proportioned shape the fundamental views of Schelling;¹ though, at the same time, it is, in a high degree, independent, and a wonderful monument of comprehensive knowledge, and of the power of human thought. Its original peculiarity, which distinguished it from the systems of Fichte and Schleiermacher, was its objective and so far historical spirit. It was, in a certain sense, a philosophy of restoration, in rigid antagonism to the revolutionary, self-sufficient Illuminism of the last century. To arbitrary self-will it opposed stern law; to private individual opinion, the general reason of the world and the public opinion of the state. It regarded history, not as the play of capricious chance, but as the product of the necessary, eternal laws of the spirit. Its maxim is: Everything reasonable is actual, and every thing actual, (all that *truly* exists), is reasonable. It sees, in all ages of history, the agency of higher powers; not, indeed, of the Holy Ghost, in the Biblical sense; yet of a rational world-spirit, which makes use of individual men for the accomplishment of its plans. Hegel acknowledges Christianity as the absolute religion, and ascribes to the ideas of the Incarnation and the Trinity, though in a view very different from that of the church doctrine, a deep philosophical truth; carrying the idea of trinity into his view of the whole universe, the world of matter as well as of mind.

But these general principles were capable, in theology, of leading to wholly opposite views, according as the objective forces, by which Hegel conceived the process of history to be started and ruled, were taken to be real existences or mere abstract conceptions; according as the mind was guided by a living faith in Christianity, or by a purely speculative and scientific interest. Thus arise from the Hegelian philosophy two very different theological schools; a positive and a negative; a churchly and an antichristian. They are related to one another as the Alexandrian fathers, Clement and Origen, who brought the Hellenistic, particularly the Platonic philosophy into the service of Christianity, were related to the Gnostics, who by the same philosophy, caricatured the Christian religion, and to the Neo-Platonists, who arrayed themselves

¹ Hegel bears the same relation to Schelling, as Aristotle to Plato, as Wolf to Leibnitz. What the latter have produced, the former have systematized and logically completed. That such a relation of dependence is consistent with uncommon metaphysical talents and the most comprehensive learning, is strikingly seen in Aristotle, and in the kindred and equally gifted mind of Hegel.

directly against it. The notorious Strauss, one of the infidel Hegelians, has applied to these parties the political terms, *right wing*, and *left wing*, calling the neutral and intermediate party the *centre*. The leaders of the Right are MARHEINEKE, DAUB, and GÖSCHEL, (the last two, however, having nothing to do with church history); of the Left, BAUR, and his disciples, STRAUSS, ZELLER, and SCHWEGLER, all from Württemberg, and all students and afterwards teachers in Tübingen; so that they may be called the *Tübingen school*. As the Tübingen theologians have paid more attention to historical theology than the older Hegelians, who devoted themselves almost exclusively to systematic divinity, we turn our eye first to them, and more particularly to Baur, on whom they all depend.

Dr. FERDINAND CHRISTIAN BAUR, Professor of Historical Theology in Tübingen, is a man of imposing learning, bold criticism, surprising power of combination, and restless productiveness; but, properly, too philosophical to be a faithful historian, and too historical to be an original philosopher; a pure theorist, moreover, and intellectualist, destitute of all sympathy with the practical religious interests of Christianity and the church. He has founded, since the appearance of his article on the *Christ-party in Corinth*,¹ a formal historical, or rather unhistorical, school, which in the negation of everything positive, and in destructive criticism upon the former orthodox views of primitive Christianity, has far outstripped Semler and his followers. We might, therefore, have placed it in the fourth period, as a new phase of the Rationalistic mode of treating history. But, in the first place, this would too much interrupt the chronological order; and then again, there is, after all, a considerable scientific difference between the older and the later Rationalism; although, in their practical results, when consistently carried out, they come to the same thing, namely, the destruction of the church, and of Christianity.² The vulgar Rationalism proceeds from the common human understanding, (whence its name, *rationalismus communis* or *vulgaris*), and employs, accordingly, a tolerably popular, but exceedingly dry, spiritless style. The more refined Rationalism deals with the speculative reason, and clothes its ideas in the stately garb of a high-sounding scientific terminology and dexterous logic. The former is deistic, abstractly sundering the divine and the human, so as to allow no real

¹ *Die Christuspartei in der korinthischen Gemeinde, der Gegensatz des petrinischen und paulinischen Christenthums in der ältesten Kirche*, in the "Tübinger Zeitschrift für Theologie," 1831, No. 4.

² Just in proportion as the speculative Rationalism is popularized, it sinks to the level of the vulgar. It ill becomes the Hegelians, therefore, to look down, with their supercilious scientific contempt, upon the latter.

intercommunion of both. The latter is pantheistic, confounding God and the world, and deifying the human spirit. The one is allied to the Ebionistic heresy ; the other, to the Gnostic. The first holds fast the ideas of so-called natural religion, God, freedom, and immortality, and endeavors to keep on some sort of terms with the Bible. The last recognizes neither a personal God, nor a personal immortality of man ; denies the apostolic authorship of almost all the books of the New Testament ; and resolves the most important historical statements of the Bible into mythological conceits or even intentional impositions. Both give themselves out for legitimate products of the Protestant principle of free inquiry and resistance to human authority ; but both keep entirely to the negative, destructive side of the Reformation ; have no concern for its positively religious, evangelical character ; and must, in the end, destroy Protestantism itself, as well as Catholicism.

BAUR, in virtue of his predominant turn for philosophy, has applied himself, with particular zest, to the most difficult parts of doctrine history. These suit him much better than biographical monographs, which require a lively interest in individual persons. The extent of his productions since 1831 is really astonishing. Besides a small text-book of doctrine history and several treatises in various journals, we have from him a number of larger works, of which we may mention particularly those on the Gnosis (1835), in which he wrongly and somewhat arbitrarily includes, not only the proper Gnosticism of antiquity, but also all attempts at a philosophical apprehension of Christianity ; on Manichæism (1831) ; on the Historical Development of the Doctrine of the Atonement (1838), and of the Dogma of the Trinity and Incarnation (three stout volumes, 1841-3) ; all characterized by extensive, thorough, and well-digested learning, great philosophical acumen, freshness of combination, and skillful description ; forming epochs in their kind ; but too much under the influence of his own false preconceptions,¹ to claim justly the praise of invariable objective fidelity.

The Tübingen school, however, has made most noise with its investigations respecting the history of *primitive Christianity* ; seeking to overthrow, in due form, the old views on this subject. This operation was

¹ True, this school, especially *Strauss* in his "Leben Jesu," boasts of freedom from all philosophical or doctrinal prepossession. But, with *Strauss*, this consists in freedom from all leaning towards the Christian faith, and a full bias towards unbelief, which wholly unfits him for any right apprehension or representation of the life of Jesus. Absolute freedom from prepossession, in an author of any character, is a sheer impossibility and absurdity. The grand requisite for the theologian is, not that he have no preconceptions, but that his preconceptions be just, and such as the nature of the case demands. Without being fully possessed, beforehand, with the Christian faith, a man can rightly understand neither the Holy Scriptures nor the history of the church.

publicly commenced by Dr. DAVID FREDERICK STRAUSS—a younger pupil of Baur's, but rather more daring and consistent than his master—in his *Leben Jesu*, which astounded the world in 1835. In this book, he reduces the life of the Godman, with icy, wanton hand, to a dry skeleton of everyday history, and resolves all the gospel accounts of miracles, partly on the ground of pretended contradictions, but chiefly on account of the offensiveness of their supernatural character to the carnal mind, into a mythical picture of the idea of the Messiah, as it grew unconsciously from the imagination of the first Christians; thus sinking the gospels, virtually, to the level of heathen mythology. This, of course, puts an end to the idea of a divine origin of Christianity, and turns its apologetic history of eighteen hundred years into an air-castle, built on pure illusions; a pleasing dream; a tragi-comedy, entitled: "Much ado about nothing."

The same crafty, sophistical criticism, which Strauss did not hesitate to employ upon the inspired biographies of the Saviour, Baur and several of his younger disciples have applied to the Acts of the Apostles, and to the whole Christian literature of the first and second centuries, gradually constructing an entirely peculiar view of early Christianity. This philosophico-critical construction is most completely exhibited in BAUR'S *Paulus, der Apostel Jesu Christi* (1845), and SCHWEGLER'S *Nachapostolischer Zeitalter* (two volumes, 1846). It makes Christianity proper only a product of the catholic church in the middle of the second century. In the minds of Jesus, of the twelve apostles, and of the first Christian community, Christianity was only a perfected Judaism, and hence essentially the same as the Ebionism afterwards condemned as heresy. Paul, the Apostle of the Gentiles,—no one knows how he came to be an apostle of Jesus Christ,—was the first to emancipate it from the bondage of Jewish particularism, and to apprehend it as a new and peculiar system; and that too, in violent, irreconcilable opposition to the other apostles, particularly to Peter, the leading representative of Jewish Christianity. Of this the Epistle to the Galatians and the well-known collision at Antioch, (Gal. 2 : 11 sqq.), give authentic proof; while the Acts of the Apostles throughout, and especially in its description of the apostolic council at Jerusalem, intentionally conceals the difference. This latter production, falsely attributed to Luke, was not written till towards the middle of the second century; and then, not from a purely historical interest, but with the twofold apologetic object of justifying the Apostle of the Gentiles against the reproaches of the Judaizers, and reconciling the two parties of Christendom. These objects the unknown author accomplished by making Peter, in the first part, come as near as possible to Paul in his sentiments, that is, approach the free, Gentile-

Christian position ; and in the latter part, on the contrary, assimilating Paul as much as possible to Peter, or, which is the same thing, to the Ebionites and Judaizers. A similar pacific design is ascribed to the epistles of Peter and the later epistles of Paul, which all come from the second century ; for, of all the epistles of the New Testament, Baur holds as genuine only those of Paul to the Galatians, Corinthians, and Romans ; and even from the Epistle to the Romans he rejects the last two chapters. At length, after a long and severe struggle, the two violent antagonists, Petrinism and Paulinism, or properly, Ebionism and Gnosticism, became reconciled, and gave rise to the orthodox catholic Christianity. The grand agent in completing this mighty change was the fourth Gospel ; which, however, is, of course, not the work of the apostle John—though the author plainly enough pretends to be that apostle,—but of an anonymous writer in the middle of the second century. Thus the most profound and spiritual of all productions comes from an obscure nobody ; the most sublime and ideal portrait of the immaculate Redeemer, from an impostor !! And it is not a real history, but a sort of philosophico-religious romance, the offspring of the speculative fancy of the Christians after the time of the apostles !! Here this panlogistic school, with its critical acumen and a priori construction, reaches the point, where, in its mockery of all outward historical testimony, its palpable extravagance, and violation of all sound common sense, it confutes itself. “Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools.” The notion, in itself true and important, of a difference between the Jewish Christianity of Peter and the Gentile Christianity of Paul, is pushed so far, that it becomes a caricature, a Gnostic fable. The process of sound criticism is tasked to its utmost by the Tübingen school. The most genuine and reliable testimony of the apostolic and old catholic church is rejected or suspected ; and, on the other hand, the self-contradictory, heretical productions of the second century, Ebionistic and Gnostic whims and distortions of history, are made the sources of the knowledge of primitive Christianity ! Such a procedure can, of course, amount to nothing but theological romancing, a venturesome traffic in airy hypotheses. And, in fact, the books of Baur and Schwegler form, in this respect, fit counterparts to the pseudo-Clementine Homilies and Recognitions, which charge the apostles James and Peter with a Gnostic Ebionism, and bitterly attack the apostle Paul under the name of Simon Magus ; clothing their theory in the dress of a historical romance.

Generally speaking, this whole modern construction of primitive Christianity is, substantially, but a revival, with some modification, of the ancient *Gnosticism* ; and of that, too, mainly in its heathen, pseudo-Pauline form. In truth, Baur and his followers are, in the principles of

their philosophy and criticism, the Gnostics of German Protestantism.¹ The only difference is, that they are pure theorists and scholars of the study ; while at least the more earnest of their predecessors joined with their fantastic speculations a rigid asceticism—seeking, by an unnatural mortification of the body, to work out the salvation of the soul. It was not, therefore, a mere accident, that Baur, in the very beginning of his theological course, paid so much attention to the Gnostic and Manichean systems. His affinity with the anti-Judaistic and pseudo-Pauline fanatic, *Marcion*, is particularly striking. In criticism, he seems to have taken this man for his model, only going beyond him. Marcion retained in his canon at least ten of Paul's epistles and the Gospel of Luke ; though he mutilated the latter in a very arbitrary way, to cleanse it of pretended Jewish interpolations. But Baur rejects all the Gospels, the Acts, all the General Epistles, and all but four of Paul's ; and then these four he either arbitrarily clips (condemning, for instance, the last two chapters of the Epistle to the Romans, as a later addition by another pen), or wrests, to suit his own preconceived hypotheses. This Tübingen school will, no doubt, meet the fate of the old Gnostic heresies. Its investigations will act with stimulating and fertilizing power upon the church calling forth, especially, a deeper scientific apprehension and defense of the historical Christianity of antiquity ; and, for itself, it will dry up like the streams of the desert, and figure hereafter only in the history of human aberrations and heresies.

The fundamental defect of this destructive method is the *entire want of faith*, without which it is as impossible duly to understand Christianity, its inspired records, and its inward history, as to perceive light and color without eyes. Here this school is on the same footing with the older Rationalism. But it differs from the latter in having a philosophical ground-work. It rests not, like the works of Semler, Henke, Gibbon, &c., on an abstract Deism, which denies the presence of God in history ; but upon a *logical Pantheism*, or a denial of the *personality* of God, which necessarily brings with it an entire misconception of the personality of man. Baur finds fault with Neander for recognizing merely the individual, nothing general, in doctrine history ; and claims for himself the merit of having advanced this branch of history from the empiric method to the speculative, and of having found, in the idea of the *spirit*, the motive power of history.² What, then, is this "spirit," this "dogma,"

¹ Had the late Dr. Möhler lived to see the subsequent course of his former colleague and opponent in Tübingen, he would have found in him a strong confirmation of the parallel between Protestantism and Gnosticism, which he draws in his able *Symbolik* § 27, p. 245 sqq. (6th ed).

² *Baur : Lehrbuch der christlichen Dogmengeschichte*, pp. 52 and 53. Comp., also

which, according to his ever recurring high sounding, but pretty empty terminology, "comes to terms with itself," "unfolds itself in the boundless multiplicity of its predicates, and then gathers itself up again into the unity of self-consciousness?" Is it the personal, living God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ? Of this that philosophy has, at best, but the name, making it the vehicle of an entirely different conception. The objective forces, which Baur justly declares to be the factors of history—are they substantial things, living realities? No! They amount to nothing, but bare formulas of the logical understanding, abstract categories, Gnostic phantoms. The entire history of doctrines is, according to this school, a mere fruitless process of thinking, which thinks thought itself; a tedious mechanism of dialectic method; the "reeling off of a fine logical thread;" which invariably runs out, at last, into Hegelian pantheism. The labor of the most profound and pious minds for centuries upon the mystery of the Incarnation, the Trinity, the Atonement, results merely in the philosophical formula of the identity of thought and being, the finite and the infinite, the subject and the object! Thus withers, beneath the simoom of a purely dialectic process, that glorious garden of the Lord, the history of the church and her doctrines, with its boundless wealth of flowers, with its innumerable fruits of love, of faith, of prayer, of holiness. All becomes a sandy desert of metaphysics, without a green oasis, without a refreshing fountain.¹ This method fails most, of course, in those parts of church history, where the leading interest is that of practical religion; as in the apostolic period, and the one immediately following. Here, under the pretence of objective treatment, it falls into the most wretched subjectivity of a hyper-criticism, which has no solid ground; and sets at defiance all the laws of history. But even the purely doctrinal investigations of Baur, highly as we are willing to rate their other scientific merits, need complete revision. For, interested only in speculation, he turns even the church fathers, the schoolmen of the Middle Ages, Calvin and Schleiermacher, into critics and speculators "upon the arid heath;" sunders their thinking from its ground in their religious life; and hence frequently loads them with opinions, of which they never dreamed.

This is true even of his celebrated reply to Möhler's *Symbolik* (1834), though written before his Gnosticism had fully developed itself. The conclusion of his latest work: *Die Epochen der kirchlichen Geschichtsschreibung* p. 247 sqq.

¹ Here apply, in their full force, the words of the poet:

'Ich sag' es dir: ein Kerl, der speculirt.
Ist wie ein Thier, auf dürrer Heide
Von einem bösen Geist im Kreis herum geführt,
Und rings umher liegt schöne grüne Weide.'

Protestantism which he seeks to guard from the ingenious assaults of Möhler, is by no means the faith of the Reformers in its purity, but corrupted by elements of modern pantheism and fatalism. Such assistance the true evangelical Christian is compelled to decline ; and he often feels tempted to join hands with the pious Catholic, in common opposition to modern skepticism and infidelity. Baur has since gone much farther from the proper ground and limits of history. He justly regards the grand antagonists, Catholicism and Protestantism, as the two poles, around which the entire history of the church now turns. But he looks at Protestantism almost exclusively in its negative aspect. "Protestantism," says he, "is the principle of individual freedom, freedom of faith and conscience, in which the person is a law unto himself, in opposition to all the outward authority involved in the Catholic idea of the church." Catholicism, he owns, was indispensable, as the only basis, on which this freedom could arise ;² and, so far, has great significance and full historical authority ; but only for the past. "The Reformation is the grand turning-point whence the whole tendency of the idea of the church seems to be, to unravel again the web, which itself had woven. If the development of the church previously moved only forward, it now appears to have suddenly veered, to have turned backwards, and to have bent back into itself. Opposition and protestation, hostility, negation of what exists ; this is the spirit, which now animates the church," (p. 255). Though he immediately adds, that this negation is, on the other hand, a deepening, which will lead to a new affirmation of what is true and permanent ; yet, in his system, this is saying very little or nothing. According to the whole texture of his views, as above explained, the history of Protestantism is a progressive dissolution of the church, as such ; till, at last, even the Holy Scriptures, on which the Reformers planted themselves in protesting against human additions, are, by a shameless, profane, conceited hyper-criticism, snatched from under our feet, and nothing is left us, but our own natural, helpless selves, with that empty notion of likeness to God, with which the fearful tragedy of the fall began. This is the legitimate and necessary result of this negative Protestantism of the extreme Left.

This extensive literature of modern philosophical and critical antichristianity would be absolutely disheartening, and would awaken the most gloomy anticipations for Protestantism, which imbosoms it, and even tolerates some of its champions in her chairs of theology, were we not assured,

¹ *Die Epochen der kirchl. Geschichtschreibung*, p. 257.

² P. 260 : "Protestantism must itself remain an inexplicable riddle, if, to be what it has become, it could think of itself in any other way, than by having its consciousness of itself mediated by papacy and Catholicism."

by the cheering testimony of many centuries of history, that God, in his infinite wisdom and love, can bring good out of all evil, and make all the aberrations of the human mind aid the triumph of the truth. Like all previous enemies of Christianity, this most learned, most ingenious, and therefore most dangerous form of ultra, false, infidel Protestantism, which appears in the exegetical and historical productions of the Tübingen school, will also surely miss its aim. Nay, it has already involuntarily given a mighty impulse to the productive energy of the positive, evangelical, churchly theology. As Strauss' "*Leben Jesu*" has already been philosophically refuted by the counter productions of *Tholuck*, *Neander*, *Lange*, *Ebrard*, *Hoffmann*, *Lücke*, *Ullmann*, &c.; so also the speculations of Baur, Schwegler, and Zeller on the age of the apostles and the succeeding period, have been directly or indirectly assailed with the invincible weapons of thorough learning, and their inward weakness exposed, by the investigations of *Dorner*, (in his *History of Christology*), *Lechler*, (on the Apostolic and Postapostolic Periods), *Weitzel*, (on the Paschal Controversies of the First Three Centuries), *Wieseler*, (on the Chronology of the Acts of the Apostles), *Neander*, (in the last edition of his *History of the Planting and Training of the Church*), *Bunsen* (on the Ignatian epistles, and on Hippolytus), *Thiersch*, (on the Formation of the New Testament Canon, and on the Apostolic church), and others. But certainly no work has yet appeared, which fully sets forth the whole history of the early church in its organic connection, with steady reference to these modern errors.

§ 37. *Marheineke. Leo. Rothe. Dorner Thiersch. Recapitulation.*

The *right* or *conservative* wing of the Hegelian school sought to reconcile this philosophical system with the faith of the Bible and the church; though it must be confessed, that, in so doing, they often too much spiritualized the articles of faith, and unwittingly did them more or less violence by their logic, resolving them pretty much into unsubstantial notions and metaphysical abstractions. Their case was even worse than that of Origen, in whom Platonism, instead of always bending to Christianity, sometimes gained the mastery over it. The older Hegelians of this class, moreover, have confined their labors almost entirely to the philosophical and systematic branches of theology. MARHEINEKE alone, († 1847), was, at the same time, a historian. His *General Church History of Christianity*, (First Part, 1806), is the first attempt to construct a history on the basis of the modern speculations, and to set up a more objective method against the rationalistic subjectivism. But the work is very defective, and, at all events, unfinished. Of far more permanent value is his *History of the German Reformation*,¹ drawn from the sources, and

¹ 4 volumes, 2nd ed. Berlin, 1851-'34.

presented in a purely objective way, but without the learned apparatus, and intended more for the general reader. This work, unsurpassable in its kind, is fortunately free from all that heavy dialectic accoutrement, in which his "Dogmatik" is clothed, and is distinguished for its genuine national, old German style and spirit, peculiarly appropriate to the character of its leading hero, the thoroughly German Luther. Marheineke has also won laurels in doctrine history and symbolism, and especially by his extended and on the whole faithful exhibition of the system of Catholicism, (3 vols. 1810-13).

As to orthodoxy, this theologian, though a member and advocate of the United Evangelical Church of Prussia, was predominantly of the Lutheran doctrinal stamp. This confession with its closer affinity to catholicism, speculation and mysticism, suited the Hegelian mode of treating history better, than the genius of the Reformed church, which recedes farther from the previous traditions, gives larger scope to subjectivity, and concerns itself more with practice than with theory. With the younger WIGGERS, author of a work on Ecclesiastical Statistics, (1842-3); still more with MARTENSEN, a Danish divine, but of purely German education, and a very spirited, original theologian; with THEODORE KLIEFOTH, the excellent author of an extended philosophical introduction to doctrine history; with KAHNIS, who has published a work on the history of the doctrine concerning the Holy Ghost, (1847), and another on the doctrine of the eucharist, (1851); and with the jurist, GOSCHEL, only an amateur, however, in theology, a confused compound of heterogeneous elements, Hegel, Göthe, and Christianity;—with all these the Hegelian philosophy has become a bridge to strict symbolical *Lutheranism*.

But on the same ground the method of history, started by Hegel, may be considered as involving also, to some extent, a tendency towards *Catholicism*. By its objective character it is better fitted than the more subjective method of the school of Schleiermacher and Neander, to appreciate and do full justice to the heroes of the Roman church, and especially to the Middle Ages. We have an example of this in F. R. HASSE's monograph on Anselm of Canterbury;¹ a model of purely objective and minute, yet living and clear historical representation, superior to Neander's Bernard.

This Catholicizing tendency is still more visible in HEINRICH LEO, and assumes with him an almost Romanizing form. Though not a theologian, he has yet, in his *Universal History*, carefully noticed religion and the

¹ The first volume, which appeared in 1843, exhibits the life, the second, 1852, the doctrine of the great father of the medieval scholasticism. The author holds up his hero with evident love and admiration, though without obtruding his own opinions, except in the introductory sections.

church ; and we cannot here omit his name. Leo, a man of great originality and native force, but rough, unsparing, and prone to extravagance, altogether threw off, it is true, in later life, the strait-jacket of the Hegelian logic and dialectics ; but the influence of this philosophy still appears in his making the subject entirely subordinate to the objective powers ; the individual, to the general. Since he exchanged his youthful free-thinking, however, which vented itself in his worthless *History of the Jewish Commonwealth*, for positive Christianity, he has meant by these objective forces, not dialectic forms and notions, but concrete realities, laws and institutions of the personal, Christian God, which to resist is sin and guilt, which to obey is man's true freedom, honor, and glory. He regards history as proceeding from above ; the will of God, not the popular will, and least of all the individual, as its motive power. Hence his favorable view of the Middle Ages, and his unfavorable, nay, one-sided and unjust judgment of the Reformation ; though his fault here may well be excused as a reaction against the blind eulogies of that movement. Leo's view of history is thoroughly ethical, churchly, conservative, absolutely anti-revolutionary, even to the favoring of despotism. He feels it to be his duty, amidst the distractions and instability of modern Europe, to lay the strongest emphasis on law, the necessity of the principle of authority and the general will. In this respect he goes undoubtedly too far ; he overlooks the real wants of the people and gets into conflict with the progressive spirit of the age. Yet in a polemical character so harsh, violent, irritable and uncompromising as Leo, who often falls like a bull-dog on what displeases him,¹ we cannot always take single expressions in their strict sense, any more than in the case of Luther, whom he much resembles in temperament, though his wrath is directed towards entirely different enemies. Hence, we are not to understand from his catholicizing tendency, that he would hold the restoration of an antiquated state of things—say of the Middle Ages, as possible, or even desirable ; but, with many of the profoundest minds of our time, he doubtless has in his eye a new age, which will embody what is true in the past, and yet, at the same time, stand on peculiar and higher ground.

Anticipations of such an advancement appear, also, in the works of the two professors of theology in Bonn, Dr. R. ROTHE, and Dr. J. A. DORNER, whom we consider the most important speculative divines of the

¹ Particularly in his occasional articles in the "*Evng. Kirchenzeitung*" of his friend *Hengstenberg*, who is, like himself, completely anti-democratic, anti-republican and absolutistic in his views of both church and state, and in this respect, wholly at variance with the Anglo-American taste, with which, in other points, in his orthodoxy especially his views of inspiration and his exegesis, he accords better than most other German theologians.

day. They have confined themselves chiefly, it is true, to the dogmatic and ethical fields, (especially Rothe) ; but they merit the most honorable mention, also, as historians. The philosophical principles of their theology, and, through these, their conceptions of history, have plainly received powerful impulse and direction from the philosophy of Hegel. But, at the same time, they have appropriated all the elements of Schleiermacher's theology. These two ingredients they have compounded with genuine originality, and wrought into a peculiar shape. Rothe's "Theological Ethics" stands forth as a thoroughly original work, and, in fact, as a master-piece of speculative divinity, with which very few works of ancient or modern times can compare. On account of this relation of both Rothe and Dorner to Hegel and Schleiermacher, and their essential agreement in a positively Christian, and yet genuinely speculative theology, we here put the two together ; though in many other respects they differ.

Dr. ROTHE, in 1837, published the first volume of a work on the *Beginnings of the Christian church, and its Constitution*,¹ which, in our view, has not yet received the attention it merits. It consists chiefly of an exceedingly thorough and acute investigation of the origin and development of the episcopal constitution, and, (what is closely connected with this), of the Catholic doctrine concerning the historical, visible church, its unity, holiness, catholicity, apostolicity, and exclusiveness. It comes to the conclusion, that the episcopate, as a necessary substitute for the apostolate in maintaining and promoting unity, reaches back even to the days of St. John, and thus has the apostolic sanction ; and that the above-named idea of the church arose by an inward necessity in the first centuries, particularly through the influence of Ignatius, Irenaeus, Cyprian and Augustine, and lay at the bottom of the whole conception of Christianity in those days.² This conclusion, if true, must have a powerful bearing on the final solution of the church question, which is now pressing so heavily on Protestant Christendom. But while Rothe puts the whole weight of antiquity into the scale of Catholicism, where all the church fathers, in their prevailing spirit, belong, he is, in so doing, far from giving up Protestantism. His position, in this respect, he sets

¹ The continuation he has unfortunately been obliged, thus far, to withhold from the public, on account of the almost universal opposition to his view of the relation of church and state.

² Hence Rothe not improperly terms his work, (Pref. p. ix.), a Protestant counterpart to Möhlers "Unity of the Church," a production, "to which," says he with noble impartiality, "I never return without joyfully admiring its original, profound, and, in the main, true conception of the inmost self-consciousness of the primitive church. Perhaps this expression is not the only one, which might draw upon me the charge of Catholicizing. I will never allow myself to be intimidated by such a report."

forth in language, which we particularly commend to the consideration of our fanatical anti-Catholics : "There is no more effectual way of defending Protestantism, than by just acknowledging, nay, expressly asserting, that, *in the past*, Catholicism *had*, in its essence, full historical reality and authority ; that it *contained* deep inward truth, high moral glory and power." He also supposes, however, that the Reformation of the sixteenth century was a shock to the whole institution of the church in its previous form, a serious breach in its unity and catholicity ; and, at the same time, he rejects the distinction of a visible and invisible church, as a mere shift of the older Protestant theologians, to save the catholic idea of the church, whose visible, historical reality had disappeared.¹ He, therefore, vindicates Protestantism on the hypothesis, which he unfolds at large in his philosophical introduction, that the church is but a temporary vehicle and a transient form of Christianity, through which it passes into the more perfect form of the kingdom of God, that is, according to Rothe, an ideal *state*, a theocracy. This result, moreover, is not fully attained till the end of the historical development ; and thus the institution of the church is still, for a time, even in Protestantism, of relative authority and necessity along with the state, in its present imperfect form, until the latter shall become wholly penetrated and transformed by Christianity. Rothe here starts from Hegel's overstrained idea of the state ; idealizing it, however, even far more than Hegel ; considering it, not indeed as it now is, but as it will one day be, (?) the most suitable form of moral society ; and identifying it with the idea of the kingdom of God itself. This is not the place to go more minutely into this remarkable theory. But we must here repeat the observation, previously made respecting Neander, that such a separation between the kingdom of God and the church seems to us to have sufficient ground neither in exegesis nor in history ; and that we very much doubt whether

¹ "In consequence of the Reformation," says Rothe, l. c. p. 103, "the visible church, i. e. the church, properly so called, (which is, in fact, essentially the body of Christ, therefore visible), had been lost. For though even the evangelical party did not dispense with an outward religious union, yet it had no longer a *church* ; its union was not really *churchly* ; because it had to give up the element of catholicity, i. e. universality and unity, which is absolutely essential to the church." But the Protestants, Rothe goes on to say, being unwilling to relinquish entirely this old hallowed notion of a church and communion of saints, sought a substitute for it, and thus hit upon the idea of an *invisible* church ; to this they transferred all those glorious predicates of unity, universality, holiness, and apostolicity, which they denied to the historical and visible Roman Catholic church. This whole Protestant conception of an invisible church, Rothe calls, p. 109, "a mere hypothesis, a pure fiction, a notion involving a contradiction ;" and, in the introduction to his work, he brings forth arguments against it, which are ingenious, and which, in fact, it is not so easy satisfactorily to refute, although there is, as we believe, a very important truth at the bottom of that old protestant distinction

Christianity could perpetuate itself without the church, which, St. Paul tells us, is the body of Christ, the fulness of him that filleth all in all. True, we too believe, that Catholicism in its former condition can never be restored, that Protestantism is preparing the way for a new outward form of the kingdom of God, and that church and state will, at last, be united in one theocracy ; not, however, by the church merging in the state, but rather conversely, by the state being taken up and glorified in the church, as art in worship, as science in theosophy, as nature in grace, as time in eternity. Of the indestructible permanence of the church we are assured by the express promise of our Lord, that the gates of hell shall not prevail against her.¹ Even from her present shattered and apparently ruined condition, therefore, she will rise, phenix-like, in loftier beauty and new power ; convert the whole world to Christ ; and thenceforth, as his bride, reign blissfully over the new heavens and new earth forever.

From Dr. DORNER we have a very valuable, (but, in its new, enlarged form, not yet finished), history of the doctrine of the Incarnation of God and the Person of Christ, (1845). He here traces the development of this central doctrine of Christianity, on which the solution of all other theological problems depends, and which is justly, therefore, again claiming the serious attention of our age. He sets forth the history with exemplary thoroughness, keen penetration, perfect command of the copious material, and in dignified, happy language, though not entirely without a certain scientific pretension and stiffness. At the same time he makes it bear throughout, and triumphantly, against Baur's investigations on the same subject. He is not a whit behind his opponent in speculative talent, while he far excels him in sound comprehension, and writes, in the service not merely of science, but also of the church. Similar in spirit and contents, but not so full and satisfactory, is the work of GEORGE AUGUSTUS MEIER on the history of the doctrine of the Trinity, (1844), in part, also, a successful positive refutation of Baur's work on the Trinity and Christology.

In this connection we must mention, finally, a younger theologian, Dr. HENRY W. J. THIERSCH, one of the most learned opponents of Dr.

¹ This is the natural sense of the well-known prophecy, Matt. 16 : 18, and of many other passages of Scripture. Here also, indeed, Rothe. p. 93, proposes to distinguish *ἐκκλησία* from *βασιλεία θεοῦ*, and to refer the promise : *πύλαι ἁδου οὐ κατισχύσουσι πύτῃς*, merely to the time of conflict. But this borders on sophistry, and has all exegetical tradition against it. According to Rothe's view, we should have to expect from our Lord the declaration, that the church, founded by him upon a rock, will gradually perish, to make room for the kingdom of God, or the ideal universal state. Comp. our remarks on this important book of Rothe's, in the "Deutsche Kirchenfreund," Vol. V. p. 171 sqq.

Baur and the Tübingen school. He has already written several interesting works ;—*Lectures on Catholicism and Protestantism*, a kind of conciliatory symbolism (1846) ; a book on the *Formation of the New Testament Canon*, against the modern hyper-critics and dealers in hypotheses (1845) ; and a *History of the Christian Church in Primitive Times*, the first volume of which, embracing the apostolic period, appeared in 1852.¹ Thiersch has no sympathy whatever with the Hegelian philosophy,² and as little with Schleiermacher's theology ; but fights against both with a zeal, which reminds one of Tertullian's war against Gnosticism. In his doctrinal persuasion, he was at first decidedly Lutheran, with a strong leaning to an ascetic pietism. But of late he has fallen out with the present state of Protestantism at large, and, in honorable disinterestedness and impatient haste, has resigned his professorship at Marburg and joined the *Irvingites*. Of all Protestant sects, this is the most churchly, catholic, hierarchical, sacramental, and liturgical. It arose in England A. D. 1831, and has of late made some little progress also in Germany and in the United States. It has in view the restoration of the apostolic church, with its peculiar supernatural offices, particularly the apostolate, and with its miraculous powers, as speaking with tongues and prophecy ; the collection of all the vital forces of the Catholic and Protestant churches into this community, to save them from the approaching judgment ; and preparation for the glorious return of the Lord. Thiersch is related to this so-called "Apostolic Community," as the essentially catholic and orthodox, and yet schismatic Tertullian was to the kindred sect of the Montanists in the second and third centuries.³ He is the theological representative of Irvingism, and stands mediating between it and Protestantism, especially in Germany. But the proper value of his historical works depends not so much, or not exclusively, on these Irvingite peculiarities and extravagances. It consists, rather, in his clear, elegant, and noble style, which everywhere evinces the classical scholar and worthy son of the celebrated Greek philologist of Munich ; in

¹ This work has been already translated into English by an Irvingite : *The History of the Christian Church. Vol. I. The Church in the Apostolic Age. By Henry W. J. Thiersch, Dr. of Phil. and Theol. Translated from the German by Thomas Carlyle. London. Bosworth 1852.* The work seems designed for general circulation, and is clothed, therefore, in quite a popular dress. It is the intention of the author, according to his preface, to bring down the history to the time of Leo the Great and the Council of Chalcedon, A. D. 451.

² So far as he speculates at all, he leans towards the later views of Schelling and the philosophy of Von Schaden.

³ Comp. our articles on *Irvingism and the church question*, in the February, March, May, and June numbers of the "Deutsche Kirchenfreund" for 1850, where we have taken particular notice of our esteemed and beloved friend and fellow-student, Thiersch, and of his spirited and suggestive *Lectures on Catholicism and Protestantism*.

his extensive and thorough acquaintance with patristic literature ; in the lovely spirit of deep and warm, though sometimes enthusiastic and visionary piety, which breathes in all his writings ; and in his mild, irenic, conciliatory posture towards the great antagonism of Catholicism and Protestantism. Even his latest work, the history of the Apostolic Church, is, as he himself says, "not a part of his new activity, as pastor in the Apostolic Community, but a sequel to his former labors as teacher of theology." Besides, Irvingism contains many elements of truth, well worthy of the most serious consideration ; and it is to be expected, that, through the writings of Thiersch, it will exert some influence on German theology. So Montanism wrought, through Tertullian, on the catholic church, though the system itself shared the inevitable fate of sects, death, without the hope of resurrection. Only the universal, historical church has the promise, that the gates of hell shall not prevail against her.

We have now traced the history of our science down to the labors of our contemporaries. It runs parallel with, and reflects, in an interesting manner, the development of the church itself in its different ages. We have seen, how, in the abounding historical literature of Germany, since the appearance of Neander, is mirrored the whole confused diversity of the elements of modern culture ; now repelling, now attracting one another, and now striving towards a higher position of union ; at one time bound, entirely or in part, in the fetters of a philosophical system ; at another, with free, untrammelled spirit, endeavoring to apprehend and do justice to every thing, according to its own peculiar nature¹ We have observed, too, that the most profound and earnest students in this department become more and more convinced of the high practical office of this science, to set forth faithfully and candidly the whole undivided fulness of the life of Jesus Christ, as it has continuously unfolded itself in time ; to aid thereby in understanding the present ; to animate for the work of the future ; and gradually to effect the final, satisfactory solution of the question of all questions, that of *Christ and his church*, in relation as well to the unbelieving world, as to the various parties in Christendom itself, especially to the colossal, all-comprehending antagonism of Catholicism and Protestantism

Unite, now, the most extensive and thorough learning with the simple piety and tender conscientiousness of a *Neander*, the speculative talent and combining ingenuity of a *Rothe* and a *Dorner*, the lovely mildness and calm clearness of an *Ullmann*, the sober investigation of a *Gieseler*, the

¹ Nothing, therefore, can be more shallow and unjust, than to dismiss the entire German theology with a few vague expressions and magisterial judgments, as we regret to see still done by many of our American journals.

fine diplomatic wisdom of a *Ranke*, the energetic decision of a *Leo*, the vivacity and elegant taste of a *Hase*;—unite all these, we say, in one person, free from all slavery to philosophy, yet not disdaining to employ it thankfully in the service of Scriptural truth; pervaded and controlled by living faith and genuine, ardent love; and working, not for himself, nor for a party, but wholly in the spirit and service of the Godman, Jesus Christ, the life-giving sun of history, and for the interests of His bride, the one, Holy, Catholic, Apostolic Church; weaving into a crown of glory for the Saviour all the flowers of sanctified thought, faith, life, and suffering, from every age and clime;—and we have, so to speak, the ideal of a Christian church historian in full form before us; an ideal, which, indeed, may never be realized on earth in any one individual, but to which all, who are called to labor in this most interesting and important field of theology, should honestly strive to conform.

§ 38. *The latest Protestant Church Historians in France, England, and America.*

While Germany has displayed, since Mosheim, an uncommon and uninterrupted activity in the field of historical theology, the other Protestant countries, on the contrary, have been, till very lately, remarkably inactive in this department. *Guizot* in France, *Macaulay* in England, and *Prescott* in America, have, indeed, treated several portions of secular history with talents of rare brilliancy. But church history, since the end of the last century, has plainly been neglected. It is now, however, beginning to receive renewed attention in these countries; partly, on account of the need which the various churches and their theological institutions begin, of themselves, to feel; and partly, on account of the direct or indirect influence of German literature. The interest in the study of history, for scientific and practical purposes, is evidently growing every year, especially in England and North America, and will, in time, undoubtedly, produce abundant fruit. Such a result is the more desirable, since the German church historians in general, with all their extensive and varied knowledge, have but a very superficial acquaintance with the religious world of the English tongue; have given it far less than its share of attention; and cannot duly appreciate its vast present and future importance for the kingdom of God. A general church history, which does full justice to the English and Anglo-American portions of Christendom, would, therefore, fill an important vacancy in this branch of theological literature.

1. FRANCE. The later theological productions of the *French Reformed Church* are almost entirely dependent, in the sphere of science, on the

Germans, and in the practical department, on the English.¹ The only prominent works on church history, besides a translation of Neander's History of the Apostolic Church, are those of MATTER in Strasburg, and of MERLE in Geneva. The former has written a general history of the church in four volumes;² a history of Gnosticism, and a history of the Alexandrian school, each in two volumes. They are, however, scarcely more than compilations from German works, and belong to the school of the older Rationalism.

MERLE D'AUBIGNÉ, undoubtedly one of the most gifted French authors of our day, is decidedly evangelical, and, with *Gaussen*, the author of a defense of the old Protestant doctrine of inspiration, stands at the head of the orthodox party, which seceded from the established church of Geneva on account of its apostasy to Socinianism and Rationalism, and which, by its theological seminary in Geneva, by colportage, and by theological publications, is seeking to evangelize France in the sense and spirit of Calvinism. Merle's yet unfinished *History of the Reformation*³ claims our notice here the more, because it has attained an almost unprecedented celebrity and circulation, especially in England and America (far more than in France or Germany), and, by its popular and elegant style, has spread a knowledge of the subject, where it would not otherwise have gone.⁴ As to its matter, the first four volumes of the work, containing the history of the Reformation in Germany and Switzerland, are almost entirely drawn from German works, especially those of Marheineke, Ranke, and Hagenbach, in this field. They present, therefore, nothing new; which, in fact, it would be very difficult to do in this thoroughly explored section of history. Merle d'Aubigné's peculiar excellence and chief merit lies in his extraordinary power of spirited, dramatic, and picturesque representation, by which he makes the reading of history a real pleasure. Yet it may not unjustly be said, that, in his zeal to make all the fortunes and deeds of his heroes as interesting as possible, and to keep the mind of the reader continually at a pleasing tension by brilliant pictures and eloquent declamation, he not seldom impairs the simplicity and truthfulness of his narrative; gives many facts and persons an undue importance, as though on each one of them hung the whole future of humanity; and thus too much confounds the task of

¹ The learned Strasburg theologians, *Bruch*, *Reuss*, *Schmidt*, and *Baum*, commonly write in German, and hence do not come into view here.

² *Histoire universelle, de l'église chrétienne*. Strasb. 1829. II vols.—Vols. III and IV, 1840.—The work of the Hollander, *P. Hofsteede de Groot: Institutiones hist eccl Gronov.*, 1835. we know only by name.

³ *Histoire de la réformation du 16 siècle*. Paris, 1835 sqq.

⁴ The author himself tells us in the Preface to the fourth volume, that from 150,000 to 200,000 copies of his work have been sold in the English language alone.

the earnest historian with that of the novelist. Another characteristic of Dr. Merle, which gives him so great popularity, especially with ultra-Protestants, is his enthusiasm for the cause of the Reformation, and his polemic zeal against the ancient and modern papacy, which vents itself on almost every page of his book in exclamations, apostrophes, and tirades. On this point, of course, persons of different ecclesiastical relations and views, will judge very differently. But from any point of view, a polemical spirit so prominent, whether in the service of Catholicism or Protestantism, seems to us hardly consistent with the dignity and impartiality of a historian. The true historian may oppose or defend only *indirectly*, by faithfully presenting the objective course of the matter itself, and perhaps by comprehensive philosophical introductions and reviews; and in this case he works with the greater effect, the more he keeps clear of all the influences of personal feeling and party interest. Dr. Merle has evidently written the history of the Reformation not for its own sake and *sine ira et studio*, but for the sake of combatting Catholicism; and hence his work, with all its brilliant style and other excellencies, can never entirely satisfy one, who is concerned simply for the pure, naked truth, and who subordinates his Protestant sympathies to love for the universal kingdom of God on earth.

2. In ENGLAND and AMERICA, the theological schools have contented themselves, strange to say, for a whole century, with *Mosheim*, who has attained much greater authority in these countries, than in his own; and, by way of practical complement to his learning, they have added the work of the pious *Milner*. Yet we must certainly admit, that *Mosheim's* Church History, as a *text-book* for use in lectures, has great formal excellencies, which the later works of Neander and Gieseler do not possess. Leaving out of view the translations of Neander by *Rose* and *Torrey*, and of Gieseler by *Davidson*, there have appeared in the English language, since Gibbon, only three works on the general history of the church, which can lay claim to learned scholarship; and these are written, also, in a much better spirit, (that is, the Christian), though certainly with far less brilliant talent, than the illustrious production of the English Tacitus.¹

¹ The well-known convert, Dr. *John Henry Newman*, before his transition to Rome, passed a very unfavorable, perhaps too unfavorable, judgment on his countrymen in reference to their knowledge of church history, when he remarked: "It is melancholy to say it, but the chief, perhaps the only English writer, who has any claim to be considered an ecclesiastical historian, is the infidel Gibbon." *Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine*, p. 12, (ed. Appleton). The ground of this he finds in the unhistorical character of Protestantism, (which, however, cannot include Germany): "Our popular religion," says he, "scarcely recognizes the fact of the twelve long ages, which lie between the councils of Nicaea and Trent, except as affording one or two passages to illustrate its wild interpretations of certain prophecies of St. Paul and St. John."

We mean, first, the Church History of WADDINGTON,¹ extending from the apostolic age to the Reformation. This work is founded on independent study, but, in general, treats its subject in quite an outward mechanical way, and does not rise above the position of Mosheim. It abandons, however, the centurial division, and substitutes for it a much more natural division of the history before the Reformation into five periods: the first, to Constantine the Great; the second, to Charlemagne; the third, to the death of Gregory VII.; the fourth, to the death of Boniface VIII.; the fifth, to the Reformation. The second English work, to which we refer, is the History of Christianity by MILMAN.² It comprises only the first five centuries, but contains, at the same time, an extended account of the life of Christ, (ch. 2-7), with reference partly to Strauss' work. Its plan, also, is new. Its principal object is to describe "the reciprocal influence of civilization on Christianity, of Christianity on civilization." This draws into it much that belongs more to the history of general culture, than to proper church history; while, on the contrary, the history of theology and doctrine is very imperfectly and unsatisfactorily treated. Milman, moreover, has an advantage over Waddington, in being extensively acquainted with the modern German investigations in heathen and Christian antiquity.³ The third work we have here to men-

A History of the Church from the earliest ages to the Reformation. Second ed. 3 vols. London, 1835. In 1841, Dr. Waddington, (Dean of Durham), published a *History of the Reformation on the Continent*, likewise in three volumes. This work gives a very favorable representation of the Reformation on the European continent, and shows more admiration of Luther, than we can commonly expect in an Anglican theologian, since the person of the German reformer is, in many respects, not at all to English and Episcopal taste.

² The History of Christianity, from the Birth of Christ to the Abolition of Paganism in the Roman Empire; by the Rev. H. H. Milman, Prebendary of St. Peter's and Minister of St. Margaret's, Westminster. Reprinted by Harper and Brothers. New York. 1844. The continuation, promised in the preface, has not, to our knowledge, appeared. Milman, who, like Waddington, belongs to the established church of England, had previously become known by a *History of the Jews*, (2nd ed. London, 1830; also reprinted by the Harpers), and by an edition of Gibbon's *History of the Decline and Fall*, &c., with notes; in commendation of which the London Quarterly Review says: "There can be no question that this edition of Gibbon is the only one extant to which parents and guardians and academical authorities ought to give any measure of countenance."

³ Milman says in his preface: "In these animadversions, and in some scattered observations which I have here and there ventured to make in my notes on foreign, chiefly German writers, I shall not be accused of that narrow jealousy, and, in my opinion, unworthy and timid suspicion, with which the writers of that country are proscribed by many. I am under too much obligation to their profound research and philosophical tone of thought not openly to express my gratitude to such works of German writers as I have been able to obtain which have had any bearing on the subject of my inquiries. I could wish most unfeignedly that our modern literature were so rich in

tion, is that begun by Dr. JARVIS, "historiographer of the church" (as he styles himself on the title of his book), which means of the Protestant Episcopal church of the United States, but interrupted by his death in 1851. Its plan is unfortunately very defective, and injudicious, and its execution by no means answers the demands of modern science. For the first volume is taken up entirely with a very learned and very dry mathematical and astronomical calculation of the true dates of Christ's birth and death; and the second goes back to give the history from the fall to the seventieth week of Daniel! The whole would have wound up probably with a pedantic vindication of high-church Anglicanism and its singular unhistorical pretensions.

The study of church history shared in the impulse given to English theology in general within the last twenty years by the important Anglo-Catholic movement of *Puseyism* or *Tractarianism*, which originated in the University of Oxford in 1833, and in a short time spread through the whole Episcopal church of England and America, and brought perhaps half her clergy to the brink of Romanism. The study of the church fathers was revived. Translations of them and compilations from them, and even a translation of Fleury's Church History, were prepared, and the history of the first five centuries variously elucidated in the celebrated "Tracts for the Times," and also in larger works, but for the most part under a bias in favor of this semi-Romish system.² But this very study of ecclesiastical antiquity, and the discovery, that its prevailing spirit was far more akin to Catholicism, than to Protestantism, contributed greatly towards the final transition of the theological leader of

writings displaying the same universal command of the literature of all ages and all countries, the same boldness, sagacity and impartiality in historical criticism, as to enable us to dispense with such assistance. Though, in truth, with more or less of these high qualifications, German literature unites religious views of every shade and character, from the *Christliche Mystik* of Goerres, which would bring back the faith of Europe to the Golden Legend and the Hagiography of what we still venture to call the dark ages, down, in regular series, to Strauss, or, if there be anything below Strauss, in the descending scale of Christian belief."

¹ *A Chronological Introduction to the History of the Church*, etc. New York, 1845. pages 618. Dr. Jarvis comes to the conclusion that Christ was born six years before the common Christian era, and, in all probability, on the 25th of Dec., and that he was thirty-three years and three months old, at the time of his death.

² One of the most industrious of the Puseyite divines, *William Palmer*, (of Worcester College, Oxford), has written also *A Compendious Ecclesiastical History, from the earliest period to the present time*. (5th ed. 1844); but it is merely a condensed review of the great field, and has no claim to importance for science. More learned and comprehensive are the *Origines Liturgicæ, or the Antiquities of the English Ritual*, (2 vols. 4th ed. London, 1845), and *A Treatise on the Church of Christ*, (likewise in 2 vols.) by the same author.

the movement, Dr. *John Henry Newman*, and a considerable number of like-minded and distinguished clergymen from the Anglican to the Roman church ; and the remarkably ingenious and learned work of *Newman* on the *Development of Christian Doctrine*,¹ which he wrote immediately before his decisive step, shows us the logical course from Anglo-Catholicism to the more consistent Roman Catholicism.

On the other hand, however, Puseyism has roused also the zeal and literary activity of the low-church party in the Episcopal body, and has called forth, in particular, a historical work, which we must not fail to mention here, on account of its extensive patristic learning and skillful representation. We mean ISAAC TAYLOR'S *Ancient Christianity*.² In this work the author adduces the writings of the most distinguished church fathers, especially their eulogies on the martyrs, their enthusiasm for the monastic and unmarried life, their extravagant veneration of Mary, and of the saints and their wonder-working relics, together with the extremely unfavorable, though certainly over-wrought pictures, which *Salvian*, a presbyter of Marseilles, drew about A.D. 440, of the moral condition of the church in his time ; and from these he attempts to show, that the Nicene age, which the present Puseyites hold up as a model, and would fain reproduce, was already suffering under almost all the errors and moral infirmities of Romanism ; nay, that the latter was in many respects an improvement on the old Catholic church.³ Assuredly the facts, which this original, vigorous, and earnest writer combines from the sources, form an incontrovertible argument against Puseyism, which rests to a considerable extent on illusions, and against that undiscerning and extravagant admiration of the ancient church, which makes it the golden age of Christianity and the model for our own. But, on the other hand, it must also be affirmed, that Taylor gives the dark side of the picture very disproportionate prominence ; erroneously derives the peculiar Catholic doctrines and usages of that period, especially the whole ascetic system, from the Gnostic and Manichean heresies, and regards them as the apostacy, the mystery of iniquity, the antichrist, predicted in the New Testament ; instead of recognizing the Christian element at the bottom of them, and appreciating their beneficent influence on the history of missions, for example, and the civilization of the

¹ *An Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine*. 1845. Comp. § 27, *Supra*.

² *Ancient Christianity and the Doctrines of the Oxford Tracts for the Times*. By the author of "Spiritual Despotism." 2 vols. 4th ed. London, 1844.

³ "I firmly believe," says *Taylor*, "that it were on the whole better for a community to submit itself, without conditions, to the well-known Tridentine Popery, than to take up the Christianity of Ambrose, Basil, Gregory Nyssen, Chrysostom, Jerome, and Augustine. Personally, I would rather be a Christian after the fashion of Pascal and Arnold, than after that of Cyprian or Cyril."

nations in the Middle Ages. He, moreover, involves himself in a striking and irreconcilable contradiction. Such men as Athanasius, Ambrose, Augustine, Chrysostom, he, on the one hand, greatly admires, for their learning, virtue, and piety, regarding the church fathers in general as the main bearers and heroes of Christianity in their day; and yet, on the other, he makes them the originators and grand promoters of the anti-christian apostasy.¹ Hence, notwithstanding all his beautiful and

¹ Read, for instance, the following representation of the fathers, in opposition to those, who depreciate them. Vol. I. p. 34, *Taylor* says: "These 'fathers,' thus grouped as a little band by the objectors, were some of them men of as brilliant genius as any age has produced; some, commanding a flowing and vigorous eloquence, some, an extensive erudition, some, conversant with the great world, some, whose meditations had been ripened by years of seclusion, some of them the only historians of the times in which they lived, some, the chiefs of the philosophy of their age; and if we are to speak of the whole, as a body of writers, they are the men who, during a long era of deepening barbarism, still held the lamp of knowledge and learning, and in fact afford us almost all that we can now know, intimately, of the condition of the nations surrounding the Mediterranean, from the extinction of the classic fire, to the time of its rekindling in the fourteenth century. The church was the ark of all things that had life, during a deluge of a thousand years." He further says, p. 36 sq.: "It will presently be my task—a task not to be evaded, to adduce evidence in proof of the allegation that extensive and very mischievous illusions affected the Christianity of the ancient church; nevertheless, *the very men*, whose example must now be held up as a caution, were many of them, Christians not less than ourselves, nay, some of those who were most deluded by particular errors, were eminent Christians. Nothing is easier (or more edifying, in the inference it carries) than to adduce instances of exalted virtue, piety, constancy, combined with what all must now admit to have been an infatuated attachment to pernicious errors. Our brethren of the early church challenge our respect, as well as affection; for theirs was the fervor of a steady faith in things unseen and eternal; theirs, often, a meek patience under the most grievous wrongs; theirs the courage to maintain a good profession before the frowning face of philosophy, of secular tyranny, and of splendid superstition; theirs was abstractedness from the world, and a painful self-denial; theirs the most arduous and costly labors of love; theirs a munificence in charity, altogether without example; theirs was a reverent and scrupulous care of the sacred writings; and this one merit, if they had no better, is of a superlative degree, and should entitle them to the veneration and grateful regards of the modern church. How little do many readers of the Bible, now-a-days, think of what it cost the Christians of the second and third centuries, merely to rescue and hide the sacred treasure from the rage of the heathen!" And yet, in spite of this well-merited acknowledgment respecting the church fathers, it belongs to the object of the whole book, not merely to reduce within proper limits, but formally to undermine, confidence in the ancient church, which they represented. After all this, he calls these same fathers "either the authors or the zealous promoters of the predicted apostasy," and "the most dangerous of guides in theology!" (Vid. Supplement to N. 5, Vol. II.) How these two diametrically opposite views logically agree, we must leave to the author of "Ancient Christianity" to show. Undoubtedly the church fathers, with their great virtues, had also many defects; but they cannot possibly have been at once the bearers of true Christianity and the progenitors of Antichrist. The "great apostasy" must be looked for somewhere else, than in them.

pointed remarks, in the beginning of his work, respecting the importance and necessity of church history, he himself lacks the great requisite for the proper study of it, the true historical standpoint.

The Puseyite and anti-Puseyite literature, especially this work of *Taylor*, and other valuable monographs of later date, as bishop KAYE's *Tertullian*,¹ proves that England, particularly the Episcopal church, which has always laid great stress on its real or supposed agreement with the Nicene and ante-Nicene age, and hence has far more interest in history and antiquities, than the dissenters and Presbyterians,² is by no means lacking in thorough knowledge of single sections of church history, which bear upon special denominational or party objects, as also in distinguished power of historical criticism and representation; though her most prominent talents, certainly, as in Macaulay, Grote, and Thirlwall, have been devoted chiefly to the history of modern England and ancient Greece.

3. AMERICA, in her language, culture, and literature, is so interwoven with England and Scotland, that we have already included her in the foregoing remarks on general church histories in the English language. To speak now more particularly of this country; it cannot be denied, that the new world, in its youthful buoyancy, undervaluing the past, reaching restlessly into the future, disposed rather to make than contemplate history, is by no means favorable to historical studies in general;³ and the lamentable division of the church into denominations and sects,

¹ The Ecclesiastical History of the Second and Third Centuries illustrated from the Writings of Tertullian. By John Kaye, D. D., Lord Bishop of Lincoln. 3rd ed. London, 1845.

² Yet even here there are exceptions; especially do the thorough monographs of the Scotch Presbyterian divine. *Thomas M'Crie*, on John Knox and Melville, and on the Reformation in Spain and Italy, merit very honorable mention.

³ Of this the most eminent American theologians are well aware. The Puritan divine, *Henry B. Smith*, Prof. of Church History in Union Theol. Seminary, N. York, in his excellent Inaugural Address, entitled: *Nature and Worth of the Science of Church History* Andover, 1851, (which evinces a clear insight into the nature and mission of this science, and commits itself, in general, to Neander's conception), very justly remarks of the Americans, p. 5: "As a people we are more deficient in historical training than in almost any other branch of scientific research. We live in an earnest and tumultuous present, looking to a vague future, and comparatively cut off from the prolific past—which is still the mother of us all. We forget that the youngest people are also the oldest, and should therefore be most habituated to those 'fearless and reverent questionings of the sages of other times, which,' as Jeffrey well says, 'is the permitted necromancy of the wise.' We love the abstractions of political theories and of theology better than we do the concrete realities of history. Church history has been studied from a sort of general notion that it ought to be very useful, rather than from a lively conviction of its inherent worth. History is to us the driest of studies—and the history of the church is the driest of the dry—a collection of bare names, and

which, in this country, under the protection of an unbounded freedom of conscience, is more consistently carried out than in Europe, calls forth, in itself considered, investigations of merely sectional and local interest, and party representations, and these, it is true, in abundance ; while it contracts and damps all sympathy with the one universal kingdom of God, the communion of the saints of all ages and climes. Our popular Protestant theology, from its predominantly Puritanic character, is especially strongly prejudiced against the Middle Ages, and, in fact, against the whole church before the Reformation back to the second century, on account of its deep Catholic hue ; and holds it, therefore, hardly worth while to trouble itself with this portion of history, save perhaps for the purpose of combatting Rome and finding a solution for some dark prophecies of Paul and John respecting the anti-christian apostasy. It takes the Bible with private judgment as an all-sufficient guide ; forgetting, in the first place, that the revelation of God is itself historical ; in the next place, that the history of the church, from the time of the apostles to our own, exhibits, according to our Lord's unfailing promise, Matt. 16 : 18. 28 : 20, the perpetual presence and control of Christ and his Spirit, in the lives and actions of his people, so as to be itself the best commentary on the Holy Scriptures ; and finally, that in proportion as we despise and reject, in false independence, the experience of eighteen centuries and the voice of universal Christendom, we rob the present, also, and private judgment, of all claim to our confidence, and that, as we shake the authority of history, in which we all strike root, we cut off the sources of our own life ; for the individual believer is just as

facts, and lifeless dates. It is learned by rote, and kept up by mnemonic helps," &c. And in an article on the *History of Doctrines*, by the Presbyterian divine, Dr. J. A. Alexander, in the "Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review," for January, 1847, p. 105, we find several striking remarks on this point. "Our national tendency," says this highly-gifted writer, "so far as we have any, is to slight the past and overrate the present. This unhistorical peculiarity is constantly betraying itself in various forms, but it is nowhere more conspicuous and more injurious than in our theology. Hence the perpetual resuscitation of absurdities a thousand times exploded, the perpetual renewal of attempts, which have a thousand times been proved abortive. Hence the false position which religion has been forced to assume in reference to various inferior yet important interests, to science, literature, art, and civil government. Hence, too, the barrenness and hardness by which much of our religious literature is distinguished, because cut off from the inexhaustible resources which can only be supplied by history. The influence of this defect upon our preaching is perhaps incalculable. But instead of going on to reckon up the consequences of the evil now in question, let us rather draw attention to the fact that it is not of such a nature as to be corrected by the lapse of time, but must increase with the increase of ignorance and lazy pride, especially when fostered by a paltry national conceit, and flattered by those oracles of hurra progress, who declare that history is only fit for monks. To counteract this tendency we need some influence *ab extra*, some infusion of strange blood into our veins."

dependent on the whole church and her history, as the branch on the tree, or the arm on the body.

In spite of these obstacles, however, there has been, of late years, a considerable awakening of interest and zeal in the study of church history; partly through the influence of German literature, the fruits of which, both good and evil, are assuming more and more importance as elements of our higher literary and scientific culture; partly through the momentous practical significance of the church question, and the growing seriousness of the contest between Romanism and Protestantism, which must evidently be decided not merely on dogmatical and exegetical grounds, but also on the field of history. A remarkable example of an altogether peculiar and powerful union of the scientific interest in church history communicated from Germany, and the practical interest proceeding from the English national character and the American church relations, we have in the historico-dogmatic and polemic treatises of the pious and learned Dr. JOHN W. NEVIN, some on the Eucharistic controversy of the Reformation, in opposition to the latent and open Rationalism of modern times, which degrades the Lord's Supper into an empty sign;¹ and some on the difference between early Christianity and the various forms of existing Protestantism.² The latter productions take a still bolder stand against the Rationalism and Sectarianism of our age, than the former, and possess, at the same time, a more general interest. They are intended to show, that the ancient church, the Christianity of the Apostles' Creed,

¹ The Mystical Presence. A Vindication of the Reformed or Calvinistic Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist. Philadelphia, 1846. With this must be compared his defence of it in the "Mercersburg Review," 1850. p. 421-548, against the review of Dr. Hodge. Dr. Nevin's smaller tracts on the *History and Genius of the Heidelberg Catechism* (1847), and on the *Life of Zacharius Ursinus* (1851), have special reference to the denominational interests of the German Reformed Church in the United States, and have done very much to awaken in this branch of the church a clear consciousness of its origin, and of its character as a Melancthonian, conciliatory medium between Lutheranism and Calvinism.

² Here belong particularly his spirited and uncommonly earnest, we may say, alarmingly solemn articles on the *Apostles' Creed*, *Early Christianity*, and the *Life and Theology of Cyprian and his Times*, in the first, third, and fourth volumes of the "Mercersburg Review," (1849, 51, and 52), which have filled many with the apprehension, that Dr. Nevin will ultimately despair of Protestantism and go over to Rome. This, however, he cannot consistently do, so long as he holds his theory of development, which makes room for different forms and phases of Christianity in the progressive march of the church. Those articles in the *Mercersburg Review* form an interesting parallel to Isaac Taylor's "Ancient Christianity," with which they agree in most of the historical positions; but they follow a different tendency, and evince a growing sympathy with the primitive church, and with Catholicism, for which the Protestant press of this country has raised an almost universal cry against them.

of the martyrs, confessors, and church fathers of the first five centuries, is essentially different from Anglicanism and Puseyism, on the one hand, which form the extreme right wing of orthodox Protestantism, and still more from modern Puritanism, on the other, which forms the extreme left; that it is, on the contrary, in its light and shade, evidently very closely allied to the Roman Catholic system; that Protestantism, therefore, can be scientifically vindicated only on the theory of development, as a new phase of Christianity in the course of its history; but that Protestantism must, for this very reason, acknowledge the historical authority, necessity, and moral glory of Catholicism, as the other and older grand form of the kingdom of God; if it would not in the end destroy itself as a church by giving up the Biblical doctrine of a supernatural and unbroken historical church, without which Christianity itself could not exist. With these views, however, he thus far stands almost solitary and alone. The prevailing tone of Protestant theology in America is radically anti-Catholic, but on this very account fitted, we fear, to call forth, sooner or later, a mighty reaction in favor of the opposite extreme.

The close connection, in this country, between theory and practice, theology and the church, gives historical studies and their results a much greater practical importance, than, for example, in Germany. Hence the high office and heavy responsibility of those, who are called to labor in this sphere, in a land, which gives free play to all parties of Christendom, developes itself with unexampled rapidity, and to all appearance, according to the maxim: "Westward the star of Empire takes its way," is destined to be the main theatre of the future history of the world and the church.

H I S T O R Y
OF THE
APOSTOLIC CHURCH.
A. D. 30—100.

HISTORY OF THE APOSTOLIC CHURCH.

A. D. 30-100.

INTRODUCTION.

THE PREPARATION FOR CHRISTIANITY IN THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD, AND THE MORAL AND RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF HUMANITY AT THE TIME OF ITS APPEARANCE.

§ 39. *Position of Christianity in the History of the World.*

To form a just view of the historical significance of Christianity, and of its vast influence upon the human race; we must consider how the way was prepared for it by the previous development of Judaism and Heathenism, and form a clear idea of the outward and inward posture, and especially the moral and religious condition, of the age in which it appeared.

Our religion, indeed, like its founder, is of strictly divine origin. It is a new, supernatural creation; a miracle in history. Yet its entrance into the world is historically connected with the whole preceding course of events. It took four thousand years to prepare humanity to receive it. The Saviour could be born only in the Jewish nation, and at that particular time. "Salvation is of the Jews," (John 4 : 22); and, according to St. Mark (1 : 15), Christ commenced his preaching with the declaration: "*The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand.*" "When *the fulness of the time* was come," says the Apostle, "God sent forth his Son, made of a woman," "made under the law." God is a God of order; and since Christianity is designed for man, to transform, to sanctify, to perfect him, it must have, like Christ himself, a nature not only eternal and divine, but also temporal and human. With its heavenly Father, it must have an earthly mother, and must consequently be subject to the laws of historical growth. That it might bring forth

¹ Gal. 4 : 4 (ὅτε δὲ ἡλθε τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ χρόνου); comp. Eph. 1 : 10.

fruit, when it fell into the soil of humanity, that soil must first be tilled and properly prepared.

This historical preparation for Christianity we must look for mainly, but not entirely, in the Jewish nation and its sacred records. Christ is the *centre and turning-point*, as well as the *key*, of *all* history. The entire development of humanity, especially of the religious ideas of all nations, before the birth of Christ, must be viewed as an introduction to this great event ; as the voice of one crying in the wilderness : " Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight in the desert a highway for our God." And all history after his coming is, in its ultimate import, the extension of his kingdom and the glorifying of his name. Around this central sun of the moral universe, which has risen in Jesus of Nazareth, all nations, created for him as their common Saviour, all significant movements and truly historical events are revolving, at various distances, and must, directly or indirectly, consciously or unconsciously, aid in building up his glorious kingdom. Only by such a view as this is it possible to reach any truly profound and complete understanding either of the old world, which Christianity overthrew, or of the new one, which it built upon the ruins. Every religion, so far as it is religion at all, is a longing and struggling after *religatio*, the re-union of fallen man with God. And as this reconciliation can be effected only through Christ, the sole Mediator, all ante-Christian history may be considered, consciously in Judaism, unconsciously in Heathenism, a prophecy of Christ.

This position of Christ, as the centre of the world's history, as well as of the yearnings of every individual heart, which has become sensible of its deepest wants, is one of the strongest arguments for the divinity of our Saviour, and an unanswerable apology for Christianity, as the only true religion for men.

The chief agent, besides the people of Israel, in paving the way for the new dispensation, was the classic Heathenism. There were, so to speak, three chosen nations in ancient history, the *Jews*, the *Greeks*, and the *Romans* ; and three cities of special importance, *Jerusalem*, *Athens*, and *Rome*. The Jews were chosen with reference to eternal things ; the Greeks and Romans, with reference to temporal ; but time must serve eternity, and earth carry out the designs of heaven. " Greek cultivation," says Dr. Thomas Arnold, " and Roman polity prepared men for Christianity." The great historian of Switzerland, John von Müller, confessed towards the close of his life, after repeated and most careful study of ancient literature : " When I read the classics, I observed everywhere a wonderful preparation for Christianity ; everything was exactly fitted to the design of God, as made known by the apostles."

§ 40. *Judaism and Heathenism in their Relation to Christianity.*

But though both the great religions of antiquity served to prepare the world for Christianity, they did it in different ways. And of this difference we must first take a general view.

JUDAISM is the religion of positive, direct *revelation*, in word and action ; a communication not only of divine doctrine, but also of divine life ; a gradual condescension and self-manifestation of the only true God to his chosen people in laws, prophecy, and types, which all testified of Christ. Here, therefore, the process was from above downward. God comes gradually into nearer relation to men, till finally he becomes himself man, and, in Christ, takes our whole nature, body, soul, and spirit, into intimate and eternal union with his divinity.

Not so with HEATHENISM. We here refer mainly to the religions of Greece and Rome, with which Christianity, in its first age, came more especially into contact. This is, generally speaking, the *spontaneous* development of *nature* ; religion in its *wild* growth (comp. Rom. 11 : 24) ; the evolution of fallen humanity in groping after God, under the general guidance of Providence, indeed, yet without the aid of a special revelation, or of a communication of divine life and truth. This the Apostle seems to intimate, when he says of the heathen, that God, in times past, suffered them "to walk in *their own ways*," (Acts 14 : 16). The same idea he expresses more definitely in Acts 17 : 26, 27 : God "hath made of one blood all nations of men, for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation ; *that they should seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after him, and find him*, though he be not far from every one of us." Here, then, the preparation for the Christian religion proceeded from below, from the wants and powers of man, as he gradually awoke to a sense of his own helplessness and the need of revelation. In Greece and Rome humanity was to show, what it could accomplish in its fallen state, with simply the *natural* gifts of the Creator, in science, in art, in political and social life. There was it to be proven, that the highest degree of natural culture cannot satisfy the infinite desires of the mind and heart, but only serves to make them more painfully felt, and to show the absolute need of a supernatural redemption. Thus Heathenism, at the summit of its exaltation, confesses its own helplessness, and cries despairingly for salvation.

Hence another distinction between these two systems of religion. Judaism was more a *positive*, Heathenism, a *negative* preparation for Christianity. Judaism was the only true religion before Christ ; and could, therefore, be abolished only in its temporal, national, and exclusive

form, while its divine substance was preserved and more fully unfolded in the Gospel. The Saviour came not to destroy the law and the prophets, but to fulfill them (Matt. 5 : 17). Heathenism is essentially a corruption of man's original consciousness of God ; (Rom. 1 : 19 sqq.), a deification of nature and of man ; hence a religion of error. Christianity is, therefore, opposed to it in principle, as a specifically different system.' The old dispensation, when it passed into the new, only reached the completion, for which it was inwardly destined. But Heathenism must undergo a radical revolution ; it must abandon itself, before it can receive the truth, as it is in Jesus.

To cover the whole ground, however, we must add to this view another, apparently opposite.

In the first place, we find that Judaism, along with the pure development of divine revelation, embodied, also, more or less human error and corruption. This appears especially after the cessation of prophecy, and quite generally at the time of Christ's birth, in the sects of the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes. In this form Judaism was, also, a *negative* preparation for Christianity ; and to this part of it, therefore, we find Christ and the apostles as decidedly opposed, as to Heathenism.

Then, on the other hand, Heathenism was not *absolutely* without God, not *pure* error. In its darkness there shone some sparks of truth, which were, also, elements of a *positive* preparation for Christianity. The heathen mind still retained, though in a degenerate form, some consciousness of a supreme being, which is always a manifestation, and, so far as this goes, a presence of God in man. It had a sense of want, a religious susceptibility, which made it accessible to the influences of the gospel. On this point Plutarch, himself a heathen and a disciple of Plato, remarks with much truth and beauty ;² "There has never been a state of Atheists. If you wander over the earth, you may find cities without walls, without king, without mint, without theatre or gymnasium ; but you will never find a city without God, without prayer, without oracle, without sacrifice. Sooner may a city stand without foundations, than a state without belief in the gods. This is the bond of all society and the pillar of all legislation." In all public enterprises, in war, and in peace, the heathens, with conscientious fear, were accustomed, first of all, to consult the oracles to secure the favor and assistance of their gods ; and, oppressed with the consciousness of guilt, they continually sought, by prayers, penances, and

¹ Comp., for instance, Matt. 6 : 7, 8, 32. Rom. 1 : 18-32. Eph. 2 : 11-13, where the heathen are represented as without hope, and without God in the world ; Eph. 4 : 17-19. Gal. 4 : 8. Acts 26 : 18, where the condition of the heathen is declared to be one of darkness and of the power of Satan ; also Acts 17 : 30. 1 Pet. 4 : 5-5

² Adv. Colotem (an Epicurean), c. 31.

bloody sacrifices, to appease the divine wrath.¹ Beneath the ashes of pagan superstition there glowed a feeble spark of faith in the "unknown God." Behind the veil of the slavish fear of idols was hid the feeling of reverence for the divine Being, which is the foundation of all religion. Through the dark labyrinth of mythological tales and traditions, we can trace the golden thread of a deep desire for re-union with God. The story of the prodigal son, who wandered away from his father's house, but retained, even in his lowest degradation, a painful remembrance of his native home, and at last resolved to return to it as a penitent sinner, is a true picture of the heathen world. In paganism are found relics of the divine image, in which man was created; glimmerings of that general revelation, which preceded the calling of Abraham; as well as faint types and unconscious prophecies of the religion of Jesus Christ. The myths of the Avatars; of the descent of the gods to the earth; of their union and intermarriage with mortal men; of the fall and suffering of Prometheus, and of his final deliverance by Hercules, the son of a divine father and a human mother—all are rude anticipations of the mystery of the Incarnation and Atonement. Instead of invalidating the leading truths of Christianity, they rather confirm them, by showing, that the gospel meets the deepest wants of human nature, as they appear in all nations and times. The noblest and most effectual way of defending Christianity, is not to condemn every thing which preceded it, to turn all the virtues of distinguished heathens into splendid vices, but rather to make them testify in its favor.² All the scattered elements of truth, beauty, and virtue, in the religion, science, and art of ancient Greece and Rome, we must refer, with the Greek Fathers, to the working of the divine Word before his incarnation;³ and, at the same time,

¹ Prayer and sacrifice are purely religious acts, springing from a need and desire of re-union and reconciliation with Deity. But these are found everywhere amongst the ancient heathens. *Plutarch* relates even of Pericles, the distinguished statesman of Athens (*Vita Pericl.* c. 8), that, whenever he had to speak in public, "he always first addressed a prayer to the gods, that not a word unsuitable to the occasion might escape him." This is confirmed by *Quintilian*, and by *Suidas*, who tells us, that Pericles wrote down his orations before pronouncing them in public. *Volumnia*, the mother of Coriolanus, beautifully said (*Plutarch, Vita Coriol.* c. 35): "Prayer to God is comfort in all need and tribulation." In times of great danger to the state, the Roman women, of their own accord, made processions to the temples, and day and night implored the gods to protect their native land.

² So the best defense of the Reformation consists not in a wholesale denunciation of Medieval Catholicism, as most of our radical anti-papery men believe; but in showing, that the whole Middle Age looked towards the Reformation as the necessary result of its labors and fulfillment of its desires. We are far more likely to gain our enemies by giving them their due, than by indiscriminately condemning them.

* *Λόγος ἄσαρκος, λόγος σπερματικός.*

regard to him, with the African Father, Tertullian, as the "testimonies of a soul naturally Christian," a soul leaning, in its deepest instincts and noblest desires, towards Christianity, and predestined for it, as the fulfillment of its wants and hopes. For man is truly made for Christ, and his heart is restless, till it rests in him.

This view of Heathenism, particularly that of Greece and Rome, to which, again, that of the East was preparatory—is clearly expressed and confirmed in various passages of Scripture. Our Lord himself acknowledges the religious susceptibility of the heathen, and sometimes shames the Jews by comparing them, in this respect, with the less favored Gentiles. He tells them, that the men of Nineveh, of Tyre, and of Sidon shall rise up in judgment and condemn the unbelieving generation of Chorazin, Bethsaida, and Capernaum (Matt. 11 : 21-24. 12 : 41, 42). Of the heathen centurion at Capernaum, he says : " Verily I say unto you, I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel," (Matt. 8. : 10. Luke 7 : 9) ; and to the woman of Canaan, who cried so urgently and yet so humbly for help : " O woman, great is thy faith : be it unto thee even as thou wilt," (Matt. 15 : 28).² According to St. John, the Logos, even before his incarnation, " shone in the darkness," that is, in the whole of humanity lying in sin and error ; and " lighteth every man that cometh into the world," (John 1 : 5, 9, 10). According to St. Paul, God has never left himself " without witness," (Acts 14 : 16, 17). He has revealed himself even to the heathen ; externally, in the works of nature, where the reflecting mind can and should discern " his eternal power and Godhead ; so that they are without excuse," (Rom. 1 : 19-21) ; and internally, in their reason and conscience, so that the Gentiles, having not the written law of Moses, " are a law unto themselves ; which show the work of the law written in their hearts, their conscience also bearing witness, and their thoughts the meanwhile accusing or else excusing one another " (Rom. 2 : 14, 15). Hence the same apostle, when proclaiming to the Athenians the " unknown God," to whom they had built an altar in testimony of their unsatisfied religious wants, hesitates not to quote, with approbation, a passage from a heathen poet (Aratus), on the indwelling of God in man, and to adduce it as proof of the possibility of seeking and finding God, (Acts 17 : 27, 28). St. Peter discovered in Cornelius the marks of preparing grace, and acknowledged, that there are in every nation such as " fear God and work righteousness," (Acts 10 : 35). Of course he does not mean by this, that man

² "Testimonia animae naturaliter christianae "

³ Comp. the parable of the good Samaritan by which our Lord intended to humble the Jews, who believed themselves to be the only pious people, Luke 10 : 30 sqq. Also such passages as Matt. 8 : 11, 12. John 12 : 32. 11 : 52. 12 : 32. cf 20, 21.

can at all fulfill the divine law, and be saved without Christ; for then Cornelius need not have been baptized; he might have remained a heathen. But the apostle does mean, that there are everywhere gentiles, with honest and earnest longings after salvation, who, like Cornelius, will readily receive the gospel, as soon as it is brought within their reach, and find in it satisfaction and peace.

Thus Judaism and Heathenism, notwithstanding their essential difference, have some common features and connecting links. And these aid us greatly in understanding the attempts made at the time of Christ's coming, to amalgamate the two; especially at Alexandria, in the school of Philo. Though, of course, these efforts must fail. Nothing short of a new spiritual creation, could break down the wall of partition between Jews and Gentiles; change their deadly hatred and contempt of one another into brotherly love; fulfill the deepest desires of both; and thus open a new channel for the stream of history. Christ made "in himself of twain one new man, so making peace;" and reconciled "both unto God in one body by the cross, having slain the enmity thereby," (Eph. 2 : 14-20).

To embody these remarks in a figure, we may well compare Heathenism to the starry night, full of darkness and fear, but also of mysterious forebodings and unsatisfied longing after the light of day; Judaism to the aurora, full of cheerful hope and certain promise of the rising sun; Christianity, to the perfect day, in which stars lose their light, and aurora its splendor.

We must now consider more in detail the preparation for Christianity, first, in *Heathenism*; then, in *Judaism*; and finally, in the *contact and attempted amalgamation of both*.

A. PREPARATION FOR CHRISTIANITY IN THE HEATHEN WORLD.

I. GREECE.

§ 41. *Greek Civilization and Christianity.*

Ancient Hellas is that classic soil, from which all the sciences and fine arts first sprang forth in an independent form, and rose to the highest perfection attainable without the aid of Christianity. This small, many-toothed peninsula was inserted by Providence in the midst of the three divisions of the old world, to educate and refine them. Its history most strikingly proves the lordship of mind over matter, of reason over physical force. The Attic state, including the islands of Saronis and Helena, embraced an area of but forty geographical squares

miles, with a population, three hundred years before Christ, of hardly half a million, and the majority of these, slaves.* Yet it played a far more important part in the history of the world, than the countless hordes of Huns and Mongols, nay, than the colossal empire of ancient Persia, or even that of modern China, with its three hundred and sixty-seven millions of souls. Huge masses can only excite dumb astonishment, or, at best, command a forced and temporary submission. But to the power of mind all bows, and does voluntary and cheerful homage. The Greeks, indeed, possessed bodily strength and bravery, as their honorable defeat at Thermopylae and their splendid victories at Marathon, Salamis, and Plataea abundantly show. But their brightest and most lasting glory, and their continued influence on the civilization of the world, flow from their peaceful creations of genius; from their enthusiastic love of wisdom and beauty; from their restless activity in all departments of science and art; in a word, from their ideality. It was in and through them, that the human mind first awoke to a consciousness of itself; bursting away from the dark powers of nature; rising above the misty oriental broodings; and beginning to inquire, with clear head and keen eye, into the causes, laws, and ends of all existence. The literature of this highly-gifted, elastic, and thoroughly original people survived the destruction of its national independence, and controlled the civilization of Rome; thus achieving a more noble and glorious victory over its own lordly conqueror. “Victi victoribus leges dederunt.” Nor has its power since been diminished. The works of Greek poets, philosophers, historians, and orators, have, to this day, an untold influence on the mental training of youth, by being made the basis of the higher scientific culture in all the colleges and universities of Christendom. The universal use of these heathen productions must have some good ground. The church cannot have been radically mistaken in giving classical literature so prominent a place in all the higher schools of learning, from the age of the Fathers to the present day. The fact can be satisfactorily explained only by admitting, that this literature was, in the hands of Providence, a *literary and scientific preparation* for Christianity, and is still well-fitted to serve the same purpose.

That the heathen literature forms, thus, an introduction to Christianity in the sphere of natural culture, is plain, first, as regards the *language*, in which the apostolic and the earliest Christian writings generally have come down to us. The language of Hellas is the most beautiful, rich, and harmonious ever spoken or written; and Christianity has conferred the highest honor on it, by making it the organ of her sacred truths. We may say, it was predestined to form the pictures of silver

* Cf. Böckh: *Die Staatshaushaltung der Athener*, I. p. 34 and 40.

in which the golden apple of the gospel should be preserved for all generations. To this end, Providence so ordered, that, by the conquests of Alexander the Great, and the planting of Greek colonies in the East, as also by reason of the copiousness, and intrinsic value of the Greek literature and its influence upon the Roman mind, this language had, before the birth of Christ, become the language of the whole civilized world. Through it the apostles could make themselves understood in any city of the Roman empire.¹ In addition to this, the Creator had endowed the Greeks with the general power to give the beautiful soul a beautiful body ; to provide for thought the clearest, most suitable and most natural expression ; in short, to develop the idea of *beauty*. Their poetical, philosophical, historical, and rhetorical works continue to be the best models of form, taste, and style. The greatest church teachers as well as profane authors in all ages have taken lessons of them, and of their Roman imitators, in these respects. The laws of thought, too, which are the basis, or, in fact, but the inside, of the laws of language, were thoroughly investigated first by the Grecian philosophers ; and hence the vast influence of the logic and dialectics of *Aristotle*, the greatest master in this field, upon the scholastic theology of Catholicism in the Middle Ages, and even of Protestantism in the seventeenth century.

Not only by these outward, formal excellencies, however, did Greece make a path for Christianity ; but also by the *substance* of her culture, which, in fact, can never be wholly separated from the form. The Greek writers and artists portray man in his natural state, yet untouched by the gospel. *Refinement* (humanitas) is their standing theme. Hence their works, as the basis of study, are justly called the "humanities," (literae humaniores). "Know thyself," (γνῶθι σεαυτόν), is the highest problem of their philosophy. Even their gods are but giant men, embodiments of the Grecian ideas of power and virtue, but abounding, also, in weakness and vice. They stand before us, beautiful shapes, risen from the waste of matter or the foam of the sea, exalted above all the oriental monstrosity and deformity ; but, at the same time, wholly finite, plastic forms, the representatives of petty human interests and humors. All Olympus is but a gallery of genuine Grecian men and women, elevated to the region of the clouds. Now this purely human element is the necessary basis of Christianity ; not to be annihilated by it, but redeemed, sanctified, and made perfect. It is the wild olive-branch, which must be grafted on the good olive-tree of divine revelation, (comp. Rom. 11 : 24), that it may be improved and richly fructified

¹ *Cicero*, for example, says, *Pro Archia*. c. 10 : "Graeca leguntur in omnibus fere gentibus, Latina suis finibus, exiguis sane, continentur."

Hence there is all reason for the arrangement, by which the studies of the learned professions always begin with the classics, introducing the young scholar to the laboratory of the human mind, and teaching him, first, what he is by nature. The course, by which the world was prepared for Christianity, must repeat itself, in some form, in every individual. The discipline of the Old Testament law, the experience of repentance and longing for salvation, are the necessary preliminaries to practical Christianity ; the study of the classic languages and literature is the door to a scientific understanding of our religion.

Were there no revelation, no Christianity ; or were sin no more than the necessary boundary of our finite nature, an amiable weakness ; we could conceive of nothing more beautiful and attractive, than the exquisite refinement, the keen, clear, sound philosophy, the youthful, lively, inspiring art of ancient Greece. Her history is, in fact, a smiling spring-time, with its gorgeous profusion of flowers ; or, as Hegel somewhere says, a real play of youth. Hence it is no accident, that it begins with the fabulous youth, Achilles, the hero of the greatest national epic, Homer's Iliad ; and ends with the actual youth, Alexander, the docile pupil of the most accomplished of philosophers, Aristotle. Her literature and art know nothing of the deepest woes and disharmony of life, of the awful nature and effects of sin ; otherwise she could not have ascribed the sinful passions to her very gods ; to Jupiter, anger ; to Juno, jealousy ; to Venus, lust. Even where pain and grief are represented, as in the statues of the serpent-wound Laocoon and the bereaved Niobe, the artistic harmony is still preserved, and the works produce an esthetic, pleasing impression.¹ But there is sin, which, like the viper in

¹ Hence Nicolas Lenau beautifully and aptly sings :

“ Die Künste der Hellenen kannten
Nicht den Erlöser und Sein Licht.
D'rum scherzten sie so gern und nannten
Des Schmerzes tiefsten Abgrund nicht.

Dass sie am Schmerz, den sie zu trösten
Nicht wusste, mild vorüberführt,
Erkenn' ich als der Zauber grössten
Womit uns die Antike rührt.”

So with *Göthe*, a true Greek. He is pure nature, and would be a most beautiful lovely form, were there no sin, or were sin but a shadow, which serves to heighten the diversity and changefulness of the universe, to variegate the life of man. *Göthe*, it is true, was acquainted with Christianity ; but not as the power, which redeems, and sanctifies, and controls the whole life ; he treated it as a natural curiosity, which occasionally, perhaps, and transiently pleases the eye. His true home, especially after his tour to Italy, was classic heathendom ; his divinity, art and natural beauty. In him, as in Hellenism, man celebrates his apotheosis ; whereas Christianity glorifies the condescending grace of God.

the grass, is most dangerous, where men do not or will not see it. There is death, the wages of sin, which is most comfortless, where a smiling Cupid puts out the torch, and strews the grave with flowers. For this poison of life, science and art have no antidote. The cure must come from above, from the person of the immaculate Mediator, the Prince of a new supernatural Life. Without a personal Saviour, the fairest bloom of human culture fades hopelessly away, like the flower of the field, which to-day flourishes in all its vigor, and to-morrow dies.

Grecian science and art, therefore, were, in the hand of Providence, only means to an end, to prepare the way for Christianity; and to this day they are invaluable, as the natural basis of Christian culture and theology. But considered as themselves an end, and sundered from Christianity, they prove utterly powerless. Not a single man can they make truly happy, much less redeem his soul from corruption. Of this the subsequent history and tragical end of Greece give striking proof. In spite of all its former glory, it lies before us, at the appearance of Christ, a mouldering corpse.

This is the negative view of the preparatory process, which we come now more fully to consider.

§ 42. *The Decline of the Grecian Mind.*

The death of Alexander the Great exhausted the political and military strength of Greece. Hellas proper had already fallen, nobly fallen with Demosthenes, her greatest orator and patriot. The semblances of republics were, indeed, kept up for some time afterwards in the Ætolian and Achaean confederacies. But they had no power to withstand the pressure of the iron Roman nationality. There was now no Miltiades, no Leonidas, no Themistocles, no Aristides, to save his native land. The independence of the Grecian states, already inwardly rotten, fell beneath the sword of the conqueror. After Perseus, the last Macedonian king, was led in triumph to Rome, B. C. 168, the Achaean league was also dissolved, and Corinth destroyed, B. C. 146. The ruin was cheerless and hopeless. The political power of the nation, once so full of youthful vigor and drunk with freedom, was for ever broken; and the noble soul of her patriot could not but sink in despair at the sight of her wretchedness.

The Grecian culture and literature retained, indeed, their power and influence; but they could afford no consolation or peace. Just when the Hellenic mind had brought forth its proudest creations of art and science and expected joyfully to repose on its laurels, it found them all unsatisfying. Genius was extinct and mind degenerate. The taste of the later Greek artists and rhetoricians is entirely vitiated; outward pomp and empty sound must compensate for the poverty of ideas.

More than all, *philosophy* fell into conflict with the popular religion ; overthrew the belief in the gods, without furnishing any positive substitute ; and evaporated into cold negations. Even in the time of Socrates, the Sophists had derided the old traditions, and made light of truth in general. At a later day *Euhemerus*, of the Cyrenaic school, proposed to account for the whole theogony on natural principles ; just as the Rationalist, *Paulus*, in our times, has treated the gospel history. The systems of philosophy most prevalent in the time of Christ and the apostles, excepting the Platonic, are sad proof of the theoretical aberration and the irreligious and immoral bent of the educated and half-educated classes of the later Greeks.

The EPICUREAN philosophy, which is simply deduction from the principles of *Aristippus*, a disciple of Socrates, but did not make its appearance till after Alexander the Great, was most congenial to the degenerate, frivolous spirit. It made pleasure, (*ἡδονή*), and, in truth, sensual pleasure, the highest good and the aim of life ; derived everything from chance and the will of man ;² and denied immortality. Of course it could see nothing but folly in the popular belief, nothing but fable in the theogonies of Homer and Hesiod, and must be destructive of all good morals. The nation and the age, (about 300 B. C.), which originated and favored such a system, must have already contained the seeds of dissolution.

The doctrines of the NEW ACADEMY, founded by *Arcesilaus*, (†244 B. C.), which were likewise quite prevalent, were no essential improvement. This school was essentially skeptical by denying, in opposition to Stoicism, the possibility of any firm conviction and sure knowledge of truth. In skepticism philosophy publishes its own bankruptcy, and mocks its own name. The legitimate end of skepticism would be nihilism, self-annihilation. But this step, from doubt to despair, the light, worldly mind does not commonly take. With its theoretical skepticism it unites a practical Epicureanism, a rude or refined sensuality, the motto of which is : Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die. So the Sadducees, who may be called the Jewish Skeptics and Epicureans. In Pilate's question to Christ : "What is truth?" which belonged to a very prevalent mode of thinking at that age, we discern nothing of an earnest longing for truth,

¹ By pleasure Epicurus meant an undisturbed satisfaction, a constant feeling of comfort. But his disciples went further. His friend, Metrodorus, did not blush to avow, that the true philosophy of nature allows all sensual indulgence. See the citations in *H. Ritter : Geschichte der Philosophie*. Part III., (1831), p. 455 sqq.

² Epicurus, in *Diog. Laertius*, one of his admirers, X. 133 : ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ τύχης, τὰ δὲ παρ' ἡμῶν. If he did not fully deny the existence of the gods, he, at all events, put them away beyond the clouds, and cut them off from all intercourse with the world. Such an abstract deism is but one remove from downright atheism ; and to this the more consistent disciples of Epicurus actually advanced.

but a skeptical worldling's sneer at all effort to grasp it ; as though truth were a phantom.

A third philosophy, which exhibited the extreme degeneracy of the Grecian mind, is that of the CYNIC school, founded by the Athenian, *Antisthenes*, a disciple of Socrates. His master's sublime independence of all the externals and accidents of life he endeavored to preserve, but caricatured. The earliest advocates of this philosophy, notwithstanding their eccentricities, were distinguished for many noble traits ; their simplicity, for instance, their self-control, and their freedom from want. We cannot fail to recall the significant interview of the world-contemning Diogenes of Sinope with the world-conquering Alexander the Great. But Cynicism, true to its name, soon sank into the lowest vulgarity and the most brazen shamelessness. Lucian has drawn a vivid picture of its degenerate features in his *Daemonax* and his *Peregrinus*. Bedaubed with mud, a pouch-girdle round the waist, an enormous cudgel in one hand and a book in the other, their hair uncombed and bristly, their nails like beasts' claws, and their bodies half naked, these canine philosophers straggled in swarms about the markets and streets of the populous cities, carrying under this disgusting garb an abandoned character for conceit, censoriousness, gluttony, avarice, and unnatural vice. Such men would obviously be bitter enemies of the Christians ; and, in fact, one of them, *Crescens*, in Rome, is thought to have occasioned the martyrdom of *Justin*.

The Cynics were, indeed, despised even by the more respectable of the heathens. Yet the foundations of religion and morality were everywhere undermined. Even the great historian, *Polybius*, looked upon the popular religion as a mere bugbear, a political institution to serve the purposes of the statesman, to keep the masses in check ; and the geographer, *Strabo*, in the time of Cæsar Augustus, regarded superstition, myths, and marvellous legends as the only means of infusing piety and virtue into the women and common people. We have a mournful proof of the frivolous spirit of the later Greek literature in the numerous works of the spirited and witty *Lucian*, who wrote in the second century after Christ. He fell with biting sarcasm upon the popular religion, as a jumble of absurd stories ; occasionally came out upon Christianity, as folly and fanaticism ; and may not improperly be called the Voltaire of his age. *Justin Martyr*, (†166), says of the generality of philosophers in his day,—and certainly without exaggeration : “ Most of them now never think at all, whether there be one God, or many gods ; whether there be a Providence, or not ; as though this knowledge had nothing to do with happiness. They seek rather to persuade us, that the divinity cares, indeed, for the universe and for the species, but not for me and thee, or for individual men. It

is of no use, therefore, for us to pray to it ; for every thing repeats itself according to the unchangeable laws of an eternal cycle."¹

The only exceptions to the irreligion and profligacy of the educated classes of those days are found in the adherents of the *Stoic* and especially the *Platonic* philosophy. This latter system bore a much higher character and a certain affinity to Christianity. To it we must now attend more closely, leaving Stoicism to its more proper place in the sections on Rome.

§ 43. *Platonism.*

Of all the systems of Greek philosophy, the one, which undoubtedly exerted the most powerful and beneficial influence on the religious life of the heathens, and was pre-eminently fitted to be a scientific schoolmaster to bring them to Christ, was PLATONISM. All the other systems were mostly negative, and tended to undermine the heathen superstition, and thereby to overthrow idolatry, without substituting any thing better in its place. But Platonism may be regarded as, in many respects, a direct guide to the gospel. It carries us back to SOCRATES (†399 B. C.), the greatest and most remarkable moral personage of Heathendom. In one view, this philosopher exhibits the perfection of a Grecian sage ; in another, he towers far above his nation and his age, as the prophet of a glorious future. He attacked with the stinging lash of irony all sophistry, falsehood, and levity ; with all his noble talents, humbly confessed the weakness and insufficiency of human powers ; ascribed his deepest thoughts and loftiest efforts, not to himself, but to supernatural influences, to a good genius, his well-known Daimon ; taught his pupils to listen to the inward voice of the divine law of morality ; and at last, with imposing calmness, dignity, resignation, and hope of a better life, died a martyr to his own superior knowledge and virtue.² His greatest disciple, PLATO (428–348 B. C.), an original poetico-philosophical thinker, wrought the disconnected, but prolific elements of his master's wisdom into an organic system of universal philosophy. He lived in the ethereal region of the idea, and of creative thought ; while his pupil, ARISTOTLE (384–322), who proceeded from sensible phenomena to general laws, and exhibited the perfection of the well-balanced intellectual culture of the Greeks, concerned himself more with the forms and laws of thought, and hence exerted, for the most part, a merely formal influence on the theology of

¹ In the beginning of his *Dial. c. Tryphone Judæo*.

² Plato, at the close of his *Phaedon*, concludes his account of the death of his master with this just tribute : "This, Echecrates, was the end of our friend, the best man we may say, we have known in his time, and moreover, the wisest and most just."

the Middle Ages. The one was gazing continually into the heights of heaven; the other, into the depths of earth.¹

The Platonic speculation is of an exalted, ideal character. It leads man from outward phenomena into the depths of spirit; gives him a glimpse of his affinity to God; raises him above the visible and sensible to the eternal archetypes of the beautiful, the true, and the good, from which he has fallen; and fills him with that longing for them, which expresses itself so beautifully in the profound myth of Eros.² It places the highest good not in sensual pleasure, but in the dominion of reason over sense; in virtue, as consisting, according to its well-known division, of Wisdom (*φρόνησις*), Courage (*ἀνδρία*), Temperance (*σωφροσύνη*), and Justice, (*δικαιοσύνη*), corresponding to the three primary faculties of the soul, and their harmonious union. Nay, to the shame of many a nominally Christian system of morality, the Platonic philosophy makes the aim of man, which is to be reached through virtue, to be the highest possible degree of *godliness*; and regards human life not as an unmeaning sport of chance, but as a preparatory step to a higher world, where

¹ We are here far from denying the claims of the Aristotelian philosophy to a certain elevation of character. Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, II. 37, has preserved to us, in a literal translation, from a lost work of Aristotle, the following beautiful passage, which displays, in some measure, the inspiring power of Plato's genius, and shows, that the abstruse metaphysician could sometimes also soar in poetic flight; like his intellectual kinsman, Hegel, in the introduction to his Lectures on the philosophy of religion, and often, too, in his Esthetics: "If there were beings," says Aristotle, "who had always lived in the depths of the earth, in dwellings decorated with statues and pictures, and with every thing, which those who are deemed happy possess in the greatest abundance; if then these beings should be told of the government and power of the gods, and should come up through opened fissures from their secret abodes to the places, which we inhabit; if they should suddenly behold the earth and the sea and the vault of heaven, perceive the extent of the clouds and the power of the wind, admire the sun in its greatness, its beauty, and its effulgence; if, finally, as approaching night veiled the earth in darkness, they should behold the starry heavens, the hanging moon, the rising and setting of the stars, and their eternally ordained and unchangeable courses; they would exclaim with truth: *There are gods, and such great things are their work.* On this Alex. von Humboldt, in his *Cosmos*, Vol. II. p. 16, remarks: "Such demonstration of the existence of heavenly powers, from the beauty and infinite magnitude of the works of creation, appears in ancient times to have been very much used."

² As unfolded by Socrates in Plato's *Symposium*. According to this fable, *ἔρως* is the son of *πόρος* (wealth), and *ἀπορία* (poverty); thus typifying a longing after the true riches, springing from the consciousness of poverty; something intermediate between God and man. The Platonic Eros does not answer to the idea of Christian love, so much as to that of faith. It is that, by which the soul is plumed to fly into the higher world, its true home (hence *ἔως περοφύτων* in the *Phaedrus*); that, by which the spirit is raised from the phenomenon to the idea, from appearance to reality and is filled with enthusiasm for the eternal and divine.

³ Theaet. ed. Bip. II. p. 121: *ὁμοίωσις τῷ θεῷ κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν.*

the good are rewarded and the evil punished.¹ In all these views it testifies to the working of the divine Logos in the heathen world, and seems prophetic of Christianity. It rises above the common mythological belief, in its glimpses of a higher unity underlying the multiplicity of gods, of a "father and creator of the universe, whom it is hard to discover, and whom, being found, it is impossible to make known to all."² But it was far from falling, like an Epicurus or a Lucian, into the arms of infidelity and religious nihilism. On the contrary, it acknowledged, and sought only to purify the deep sense of religious want, which lay at the root of the popular polytheism. PLUTARCH, for example, who wrote at the close of the first century, and was one of the most gifted, pious, and amiable of Plato's disciples, compares the old myths to reflections of light from diverse surfaces; or to the rainbow in its relation to the sun. In accounting for phenomena, he thinks, we must neither confine ourselves, like the ancients, to the supernatural and divine, nor, like the later infidels, ascribe everything to finite causes; but must suppose that both the divine and the human agencies work together. On this ground he vindicates the divinity of oracles, without running into superstition. Oracles, in his view, as to their particular versified or prose matter, are not, indeed, word for word divinely inspired; but the deity gave the first suggestion to the priestess, Pythia, and she then acted in her own peculiar person. This speculative religion regarded the many gods as powers radiating from the primal unity, as the various emanations of the Absolute. Yet this feeble presentiment of a divine unity in the Platonic and Neo-Platonic systems is, of course, something very different from the Jewish or Christian monotheism.³

The Platonic philosophy, thus raising the soul above the bondage of the material world, spiritualizing the popular religion, awakening earnest longings of the mind, striving after likeness to God, and pervaded throughout by a deep moral and religious tone, was well fitted to lead its followers to Christianity, as affording, in fact, the ideal, they were seeking. Thus we may say, (to draw a comparison from a natural phenomenon of the polar regions), the evening twilight of decaying Grecian wisdom blended with the dawn of the gospel. To many great church fathers, as Justin Martyr, Clemens of Alexandria, Origen and his school, this philosophy became, in fact, a bridge to faith, or, at least, exerted a

¹ Comp., for instance, the beautiful conclusion of the tenth and last book of the *Politia*; many passages in the *Timæus*, the last and most genial of Plato's dialogues; and, on this whole subject, the interesting work of Ackermann: *Das Christliche im Plato*. Hamburg, 1835.

² The celebrated words of Plato in his *Timæus*, c. 28.: τὸν μὲν οὖν ποιητὴν καὶ αὐτὸν τοῦδε τοῦ παντὸς εὐρεῖν τε ἔργον, καὶ εὐρόντα εἰς πάντας ἀδύνατον λέγειν.

³ Comp. K. Vogt: *Neoplatonismus und Christenthum* (Berlin, 1836), p. 47 sqq.

very powerful influence on their theology. Eusebius says of Plato, that "he alone, of all the Greeks, reached the vestibule of truth, and stood upon its threshold." Even Augustine owes to him his deliverance from the shackles of the probabilism and skepticism of the New Academy, and confesses, that the Platonic and New Platonic writings kindled in his breast "an incredible fire," though, of course, he missed in them the "sweet name of Jesus," and "humble love." These works have done the same for such men as Marsiglio Ficino in the sixteenth century, and, to some extent, for Schleiermacher and Neander in our own time; and they will long continue noiselessly to give impulse and shape to noble and profound minds.

Yet this fairest bloom of heathen wisdom is infinitely below the truth of Christianity. It never reached the root of human corruption; much less could it discover any proper way of redemption. Plato, indeed, in a remarkable passage in his *Leges*,² expresses the very profound thought, that excessive self-love is one of the greatest evils of the human soul, innate, and the origin of all wicked action. But he elsewhere confounds evil with finiteness, (τὸ κενόν;) represents it as residing in the body, thus making it unavoidable and even unconquerable, except by the annihilation of the body; and expressly denies, that any man is wicked or commits actual sins of his own free will.³ Bad conduct he regards only as self-deception, in mistaking apparent good for real. On the other hand, he held that salvation was to be found in philosophy, in knowledge, and thus made it accessible only to the few. In this way he established a permanent opposition between the educated and the uneducated, the esoteric and the exoteric, which was altogether foreign to the spirit of Christianity, and favored one of the most powerful obstacles to a child-like faith—the spirit of scientific aristocracy.⁴ He never rose to the

¹ *C. Academ.* l. II. § 5: "Etiam mihi ipsi de me ipso incredibile incendium in me conciarunt." *De civitate Dei*, VIII. 4: "Inter discipulos Socratis * * * excellentissima gloria claruit, qui omnino caeteros obscuraret Plato." *De vera rel.* IV. 7, speaking of the Platonists: "Paucis mutatis verbis atque sententiis christiani fierent." *Calvin*, too, calls Plato the most pious and sober, (religiosissimus et maxime sobrius), of all philosophers. (*Inst. rel. chr.* l. I. c. 5. § 11).

² *L. V.* p. 731. e. sqq.

³ *Κακὸς μὲν ἐκὼν οὐδεὶς*. This assertion *Aristotle* ingeniously contests in his *Ethic. Nic.* III. 7, showing, that evil-doing is a free act, and that all penal laws are founded on this presumption.

⁴ It must be acknowledged, however that of all the ancient systems of philosophy Plato's is the only one, which at all approaches the conception of Christian *humility*. While the word *ταπεινός*, *humilis*, never occurs in the classics but in a bad sense, synonymous with mean, base, *Plato* uses it, in one instance, (*De legibus*, l. IV. ed. Bip. VIII. p. 185), to denote a man's proper sense of his dependence on God, and on the moral order of the world. His disciple, *Plutarch*, uses the word in precisely the

view, that every man, as such, is called to freedom and happiness. In his ideal state, (which, however, is not a pure fiction, but founded partly on the Pythagorean covenant, partly on the civil constitution of the Spartans), he makes perfect slaves of the third, the *laboring* class, the rude mass, who can go no further than mere opinions. This class, in his system, corresponds to the lowest element in the human constitution, to lust, (*ἐπιθυμητικόν*), and exists only to minister, in abject servitude, to the physical necessities of the two higher classes, the *soldiers*, answering to courage, (*θυμοειδές*), and the virtue of bravery, and of the *rulers*, (*philosophers*), which correspond to the reason, (*τὸ λογιστικόν*), and the virtue of discernment. Here, therefore, the principle of assimilation to God reaches an impassable limit, excluding the majority of mankind from this exaltation ; whereas Christianity puts all men in the same relation to God, and makes it possible even for the meanest to attain the highest moral excellence, and the image of God. And even in the higher classes Plato destroyed all the dignity of marriage, by permitting promiscuous concubinage, at least in the military caste ; and abolished the peculiar form of family life in general, by making children the exclusive property of the state, and giving government the right to expose such as were infirm. And further, Plato's idea of a commonwealth is contracted within national limitations, and rests on the identification of morals with politics. With all its points of resemblance, therefore, it is yet vastly unlike the Scriptural idea of a kingdom of God. The most that can be said of Platonism, in its worthiest representatives, is, that it earnestly sought the truth, but never found it.

The Platonic system, and the heathen philosophy in general, wound up with NEO-PLATONISM, a system founded by AMMONIUS SACCAS, at Alexandria in the beginning of the third century. This system supported chiefly by PLOTINUS, (205–270), PORPHYRY, (233–305), and, somewhat later, JAMBlichus, combined Platonism with the fantastic philosophical and religious notions of the East ; sought to revive the popular faith of the heathen by refining and spiritualizing it ; and thus vainly attempted to keep the field against Christianity. It was the last desperate struggle of philosophical heathenism ; the flash of the departing soul in the eye of the dying. In Neo-Platonism the Greek mind, which had started from the finite and human, ended, where the Oriental had begun, in pantheistic monoism, before which every thing finite evaporates into mere

same sense, in his work, *De sera num. vind.* c. 3, where he represents divine punishments as intended to make the soul meditative, humble, and fearful of God : *σύννοους καὶ ταπεινὸς καὶ κατάφοβος πρὸς τὸν Θεόν*. We might further quote here a passage from that earnest tragedian, *Æschylus*, in his Prometheus Bound, v. 321, where Oceanus upbraids Prometheus for want of humility: *Σὺ δ' οὐδέπω ταπεινὸς, οὐδ' εἴκεις κακοῖς*.

appearance ; and now, instead of calmly and diligently studying the laws of thought, as they lay open before it, it lost itself in the cloudy and dreary region of magic, necromancy, and pretended revelations. The Hellenic deification of the finite resulted in an Oriental annihilation of it ; Heathenism, with all its wisdom and science, completed its circuit by returning into itself, thus condemning itself, as a fruitless effort to attain through nature and study, what nothing but the condescending grace of God, in a new creation from above, can give. After all its toil, it found itself unable to heal a single infirmity of our nature, and had to see its pretensions sadly put to shame by the divine foolishness of the crucified carpenter's son, whom illiterate Galilean fishermen preached as teaching, suffering and dying for the salvation of the world. So literally true is the language of the Apostle : " Not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble, are called : but God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise ; and God hath chosen the weak things of the world, to confound the things which are mighty ; and base things of the world, and things which are despised, hath God chosen, yea, and things which are not, to bring to naught things that are ; that no flesh should glory in his presence," (1 Cor. 1 : 26-29).

II. ROME.

§ 44. *The Universal Dominion of Rome as a Preparation for Christianity*

From the buoyant, idealistic youth of classic Heathendom we pass now to its energetic, intellectual, sober manhood. In science and art the ROMANS were far behind, and altogether dependent on, the Greeks. Even in the more practical sciences, those connected with civil life, in rhetoric and historiography, they show the influence of Grecian models, as may at once be seen by comparing Cicero with Demosthenes, Cæsar with Xenophon, Sallust and Tacitus with Thucydides. But the Romans had another problem to solve. They were to develop the idea of *jurisprudence*, and of the *state* ; to conquer the world, and subject it to the dominion of law.¹ They were properly the *jurists*, the predominantly *practical* nation of antiquity.² With them everything must bend to the idea of the state ; religion and politics were inseparably interwoven. They had a distinct divinity for each condition and occupation of life.³

¹ *Virgil* has this thought in his famous verse : " Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento !"

² In modern times, the German and English are similarly related to each other, as the ancient Greeks and Romans.

³ Thus the Romans had even such a divinity as *Fornux*, a *I'ea Cloacina*, a *Juno Inxia*, which last had to anoint the door-hinges at weddings ;

Hence whilst the Greek mythology has been styled the religion of *beauty*, the Roman religion, which, compared with the Greek, is exceedingly prosaic, may not improperly be characterized as the religion of *policy* and *utilitarianism*. The Roman law, an organism wonderfully complete even in the minutest particulars, is to this day the basis of most systems of legislation in the Christian world ; just as Greek philosophy and art are the foundation of the higher literary and artistic culture. Science and art, also, were fostered in Rome, but generally speaking not so much from inward impulse, as for the sake of practical advantage ; for they furnished a sure means of controlling minds, of increasing pleasure, and of adorning life.

This peculiarity of character shows that the Romans were born to rule the outward world with their will, as the Greeks to rule the inward with their intellect. This is indicated even by the name of the state, (Rome, from *ρῶμη*, bodily strength, bravery, force), and the familiar story of its founders, Romulus and Remus, who, begotten by Mars, the god of war, and nursed by a wolf, typified and prophetically foreshadowed the warlike and rapacious spirit of the future nation. Ambition, we may say, was her characteristic, constitutional sin. After inwardly strengthening herself by seven centuries of discipline, she succeeded in founding that colossal empire, which, in the time of the Apostles, reached from the Euphrates to the Atlantic, from the Lybian desert to the banks of the Rhine. This universal empire, however, was destined to prepare the way for the *universal* spread of Christianity. For Christianity is not, like all other religions, designed merely for one nation, or two, or three, and for this or that period, but for all mankind and all ages. It aims to unite all people of the earth into one family of God, and kingdom of heaven. To furnish facilities for accomplishing this great end, the national barriers of the old world must be broken down, and mutual exclusiveness and hatred among the nations must be done away. To these results the conquests of Alexander the Great had, indeed, already contributed, by bringing Europe and Asia into political and social intercourse, and introducing the Grecian culture into the East. But the greater and more lasting effects of this kind are due to the universal empire of Rome, which was not only more extensive, but also far better organized, and bound together by a central power. Then *one* Roman law, *one* state ruled everywhere in the civilized world. All national and individual interests were merged in the massive political pantheism of a universal will, and the gods of all nations were gathered into one temple in the Pantheon of Rome. To this must be added the general prevalence of the Greek language, which was known and spoken by all

the educated, like the French in the last century in Europe, or the English at this day in North America.

This state of things must, of course, have been highly favorable to the messengers of the gospel. It gave them free access to all nations ; furnished them all the advantages possible at that time for communication ; gave them everywhere, as citizens, the protection of the Roman laws ; and, in general, prepared the soil of the world, at least outwardly, to receive the doctrine of one all-embracing kingdom of God.¹ As it was chiefly the Grecian nationality and literature, which laid the foundation of the theological science and artistic activity of the old Greek church ; so the national character and history of Rome form, so to speak, the natural basis of the Latin church, which, unlike the Greek, manifested from the first a more practical bent, and attempted to organize a new spiritual empire over the world ; thus exposing itself, however, at the same time, like its heathen predecessor, to the evils of ambition and tyranny. But the universal empire of ancient Rome was, of course, but a brittle, temporary structure. Like the science and art of Greece, it was utterly powerless to satisfy the deeper wants of man, and make him truly happy. Christianity alone, by the power of faith and love, could bind the nations together in an inward and enduring unity.

§ 45. *The Internal Condition of the Roman Empire.*

This vast empire of Rome, imposing as it appeared, was in the days of the Apostles, as to its inward, moral and religious condition, at the point of dissolution, and called despairingly for a saviour, a new, divine principle of life. We find it generally the case, that the summit of outward power is the very beginning of inward decay. This empire was a giant *body*, without a living soul. Christianity alone could animate and save it.

The Romans, it is true, had constitutionally more moral earnestness, than the Greeks. Their religion was originally closely connected with morality, and formed its basis. In the first centuries of their republic, they were noted, not only for civic virtues, veracity, public integrity, faithfulness to oaths, obedience to law, but also for domestic morality, family discipline, and that chastity and reverence for the marriage relation, so rare in heathendom. Posidonius speaks with admiration of their fear of God ; and Polybius, in his time, found them inflexibly faithful to one oath, where a Greek could not be bound by a hundred. But the destruction of Carthage and Corinth made a great change. Oriental

¹ So, in our day, it is of no small importance for the missions in Asia and Australia especially in India and China, that England, the Christian Rome, has so widely extended her dominion in those countries.

luxury, and sensuality, Grecian infidelity and frivolity, in short, the vices of all nations rushed in, and made the capital of the world a receptacle of all immorality.¹ Unlimited conquest poured enormous wealth, with all its temptations, into the city, contrasting most revoltingly with the dreadful misery of her poorer classes, and of the provinces she had drained. The conquerors sought to enjoy their conquests in an intoxication of sensuality, which, with shameful ingenuity and most refined art, endeavored to extort from nature more gratification, than she could give or bear. *Brutus*, the last representative of the old Roman character, began to doubt the very existence of virtue. On the battle field of Philippi, amidst the convulsions of the expiring republic, he cried in the starless night: "O Virtue! I did think thou wert something; but now I see thou art a phantom!" and in despair fell upon his sword. The rulers, indeed, still clung outwardly to religion; for it was the foundation of the whole civil edifice. But they regarded it merely as a political institution, a means of restraining the ignorant masses by superstitious fear. To the inward life of religion they were perfect strangers. Even *Cicero*, in whom we still find so many beautiful lineaments of the old Roman piety,² says in a well known passage, that one *haruspex* (one, who divines by the entrails of sacrificial victims,) could not look at another without laughing. The gods had to share their honors with the vilest tyrants. Rome proudly called herself free; but she was, in fact, the slave of a fearful military despotism and the most arbitrary self-will. Here and there, it is true, there was a worthy emperor, a *Titus*, a *Trajan*, an *Antoninus Pius*, a *Marcus Aurelius*; but these were not the products of the national life. They were anomalies, accidents, so to speak, and could not change the spirit of their age. The throne of the world was filled, in general, after *Tiberius*, with monsters, tyrants, whose entire reigns were a tissue of unexampled prodigality, hideous licentiousness, unnatural cruelty, and a demoniacal misanthropy, which found its highest satisfaction in witnessing the death-struggles of its victims, and spared not even sons and brothers. And yet a *Caligula*, a *Claudius*, a *Nero*, a *Heliogabalus*, claimed divine honors!³ A more complete subversion of every idea of morality, a more wanton mockery of all religion, cannot be conceived.

The dark picture, drawn by the apostle Paul, Rom. 1 : 28 sqq., of the

¹ *Tacitus* says of Rome, *Annal.* XV. 44 : . . . "per urbem etiam, quo cuncta undique atrocia aut pudenda confluunt celebranturque."

² For instance, *De natur. Deor.* II. 28 : "Deos et venerari et colere debemus. Cultus autem Deorum est optimus, idemque castissimus atque sanctissimus plenissimusque pietatis, ut eos semper pura, integra, incorrupta et mente et voce veneremur."

³ The emperor Domitian, according to *Suetonius* (*Domit.* 13), even used to begin his letters : "Dominus et Deus noster hoc jubet" !

moral state of Heathendom, is not a whit over-wrought. Its truth is confirmed by the astounding representations of the corruption of those times of the empire, which we find in the most celebrated and earnest-minded heathen writers. Read the satires of *Persius* and *Juvenal*. Hear the philosopher, *Seneca*, saying, that all is lawlessness and vice, that innocence has not only become something rare, but has altogether disappeared.¹ *Tacitus*, the greatest of Roman historians, begins his history of the brief portion of the imperial period, which he proposes to write (from Galba to Domitian), with these words: "I enter upon a work full of misfortunes, atrocious wars, discord, seditions; nay, hideous even in peace."² Then in the third chapter he says: "Besides the manifold accidents of human things, there were prodigies in heaven and earth, threatening flashes of lightning, and forebodings of the future, joyful and gloomy, doubtful and plain. Never by more grievous miseries of the Roman people, or more just tokens of the divine displeasure, was it proved, that the gods wish not our welfare, but revenge."³ His whole immortal production has a tragic tone, and breathes the spirit of a hopeless, Stoical resignation. Wherever *Tacitus* looks, whether to heaven, or upon earth, he sees nothing but black night and deeds of cruelty. He feels, that the destruction of the world is near, when she must drink the cup of divine wrath to the dregs. The elder *Pliny*, too, lost in wonder at the works of nature, could enjoy no rest in contemplating them. He could find nothing certain, but that there was no certainty; and nothing more miserable, than man. He could wish for no greater blessing, than a speedy death; and this he found in the flames of *Vesuvius*, (A. D. 79).

¹ *De ira*, II. 8: "Omnia sceleribus ac vitiis plena sunt: plus committitur, quam quod possit coercitione sanari. Certatur ingenti quodam nequitiae certamine, major quotidie peccandi cupiditas, minor vecundia est. Expulso melioris aequiorisque respectu, quocumque visum est, libido se impingit. Nec furtiva jam scelera sunt: praeter oculos sunt; adeoque in publicum missa nequitia est et in omnium pectoribus evaluit, ut innocentia non rara, sed nulla sit. Numquid enim singuli aut pauci rupere legem? undique, velut signo dato, ad fas nefasque miscendum coorti sunt."

² "Opus adgredior opimum casibus, atrox praeliis, discors seditionibus, ipsa enim pace saevum," etc. *Hist. l. 1. c. 2.*

³ "Præter multiplices rerum humanarum casus"—as the original reads, in its old Roman earnestness and nervous brevity—"coelo terraque prodigia et fulminum monitus et futurorum praesagia. lacta tristia, ambigua manifesta. Ne enim unquam atrocioribus populi Romani cladibus magisque justis indiciis approbatum est, non esse curae Dei securitatem nostram, esse ultionem."

§ 46. *Stoicism.*

Thus even the nobler spirits, who stood entirely aloof from the corruptions of their age, could find no real comfort. They flung themselves into the arms of a philosophy, which only saved them from Scylla to plunge them into Charybdis.

After the Athenian embassy to Rome (155 B. C.), the various systems of Greek philosophy, notwithstanding all the opposition they at first met, had gained entrance to the cultivated classes of the Romans. Some, like *Cicero*, who was rather an amateur in speculation, than an original philosopher himself, culled out from several systems what suited them best, and thus constructed a heterogenous eclecticism. The great majority, among whom were such poets as *Lucretius*, *Horace*, *Ovid*, had more affinity for the trifling Epicureanism, which indulged sensual and all vicious passions; or for Skepticism, which ridiculed all earnest striving after truth. Those of the old Roman stamp, *Cato*, *Seneca*, *Tacitus*, *Marcus Aurelius*, embraced Stoicism, and were the first to unfold this Grecian system, which dates from *Zeno*, a contemporary of Epicurus and Pyrrho, in its full practical proportions. This grave and heroic, but proud, harsh, and repulsive philosophy was in perfect harmony with the genuine Roman character, and only brought its real, inward nature more distinctly to view. After the boasted liberty of the republic was exchanged for a tyrannical monarchy, the patriot was the more eager to find compensation for his loss in a system of philosophy, in which he saw the image of the manly, giantlike independence and inflexibility of his ancestors, and which, in the lofty self-sufficiency of a moral heroism, bid defiance to the lawless immorality and effeminate imbecility of the age.

Stoicism rose above the popular superstitions, by referring the prevalent anthropopathic notions of personal gods to the general elementary powers of the universe. But in so doing, it lost them in Pantheism, and put nothing better in their place. The Stoical Zeus is by no means a loving father who knows how to harmonize the good of the whole with the good of the individual; but an iron necessity of fate (the *εἰμαρμένη*), which pays no regard to individual life. All moves in an unchangeable circuit; and evil is as necessary to the harmony of the world and to the existence of good, as the shadow is to the body. "Evil, also," says *Chrysippus*, "takes place according to the fixed order of nature, and, I may say, is not without its use in the whole scheme of things; for without it good would not exist."¹ Wisdom consists in coldly submitting

¹ In *Plutarch, De stoic. repugn.* c. 35: γίνεται καὶ αὕτη πως (ἡ κακία) κατὰ τὸν τῆς φύσεως λόγον, καὶ, ἐν' οὕτως εἶπω, οὐκ ἀχρόστως γίνεται πρὸς τὰ ὅλα οὔτε γὰρ τάχα θὰ ᾔν.

to this necessity, and, at the hour of death, in cheerfully giving back one's own life to sink into the absolute being, the soul of the universe, as the drop into the ocean. Immortality was at least doubted, sometimes boldly denied. Cato is quoted in Sallust¹ as agreeing with Cæsar, who, in his speech for Catiline, calls death a rest from all toil, deliverance from all evil, the boundary of existence, beyond which there is no more care or joy.² Marcus Aurelius says of this absorption of the individual personality in the impersonal life: "The man of disciplined mind reverentially bids nature, who gives everything, and then takes it back again to herself: Give what thou wilt, and take what thou wilt."³ Seneca regarded immortality as a fiction. "Once," says he, "trusting the word of others, I flattered myself with the prospect of a life beyond the grave; and I longed for death, when suddenly I awoke, and lost the beautiful dream."⁴

We are free to confess that those Romans, in whom Stoicism became flesh and blood, towering above all the tempests of fortune, like the immovable rock in the storm-lashed sea, present an imposing appearance. We grant, further, that there are, especially in the writings of Seneca, many beautiful sentences and moral maxims, which, though not seldom artfully designed for effect, often *sound* at least like passages of the New Testament. Some of the old church teachers thought that these coincidences could only be explained by assuming a *pia fraus*, by supposing that the apostle Paul had some correspondence with this Stoic sage.⁵ But we have no occasion for such a hypothesis, which is destitute of all proper historical foundation. To say nothing of the fact, that Christianity consists not in this and that exalted doctrine and moral maxim, but

¹ *Catiline*, c. 52.

² *Ib.* c. 51: *Ultra neque curae neque gaudio locum esse.*"

³ *Monol.* X. 14., comp. X. 27; II. 14; XII. 5, 23; and Neander's *Kirch. Geschich.* I. 28 sq.

⁴ "Quum subito experfectus sum et tam bellum somnium peridi." *Epist.* 102. Tacitus, also, in one place speaks of immortality, but only conditionally: "*Si quis piorum manibus locus, si, ut sapientibus placet, non cum corpore exstinguuntur magnae animae* (which can just as well be referred to the mere immortality of fame), *placide quiescas,*" etc. *Vita Jul. Agricolae*, c. 46. *Pliny. Hist. Nat.* II. 7, argues against the omnipotence of God, that he cannot endow mortals with immortality. "Non potest mortales aeternitate donare."

⁵ Even the renowned author of the "Four Books of True Christianity," *John Arndt*, (1555-1621), of whom one would hardly expect it, seems to have supposed an influence of the Holy Ghost on Seneca. In a letter to the great theologian, John Gerhard, then a student in Wittenberg, after distinguishing such works as are written of the flesh, and such as are written of the Spirit, he proceeds: "Inter omnes philosophos neminem scio, qui *ex spiritu scripserat*. (qui ubi vult, spirat). praeter unum *Senecam*, quem si necdum legisti, per otium quaeso legito; emas autem Godefredi editionem." This letter may be found in *E. R. Fischer's Vita Joannis Gerhardi*. (1723). p. 24.

in divine facts, in a new life, which the very best philosophy could never give ; not to mention that Seneca's private character was far from exemplifying his own precepts ; we have but to look a little closer, to discern in a moment the pagan corruption behind the mask of sublime virtue. The entire morality of Stoicism is fundamentally wrong ; and, with all its natural glory, it is to the heavenly life of the child of God, what the night, or at best the murky dawn, is to the splendor of noon.

For, in the first place, it rests on a totally false basis, on egoism and pride, instead of humility and love to God. This is the foul blot on the heathen virtues in general ; so that the church father, who called them "splendid vices," was not, after all, absolutely wrong. *Fame* was set forth in the Olympic games as the highest aim of life, as the most exalted object for the Grecian youth. It was for *fame*, that a Miltiades, a Leonidas, a Themistocles fought against the Persians ; for the love of country, among the ancients, was but an expanded love of self. It was for *fame* that Herodotus wrote his history, that Pindar sang his odes, that Sophocles composed his tragedies, that Phidias sculptured his Zeus, that Alexander set out on his tour of conquest. Æschylus, otherwise one of the most sublime and earnest of poets, holds fame to be the last and highest comfort of mortal man.¹ We find the same selfish view among the Romans. The vain Cicero said, with perfect freedom, before a great assembly, that all men are guided by the desire of fame, and that the noblest are the very ones most under its power.² In another place he says, we justly glory in our virtue, and are praised for it ; and takes this very fact as proof, that virtue is our own work, and not a gift of the gods.³ This pride, this self-sufficiency, this self-deification of fallen humanity reaches its height in Stoicism ; and, having nothing in reality to support it, falls over into its direct opposite, self-annihilation, which the Stoics advocated on the well-known maxim : If the house smokes, leave it. According to Seneca, the wise man is on

¹ See, for example, *Fragm.* 301 :

"He, to whom God has given grief,

Has for his comfort still grief's dearest offspring, fame."

² *Pro Archia poeta*, c. 11 : "Trahimur omnes laudis studio, et optimus quisque maxime gloria ducitur." In his beautiful passage on the continuance of the soul after death, (*De Senect.* c. 23), the notion of posthumous fame takes, in his mind the place of personal immortality.

³ *De Nat. Deor.* III. 36 : "Num quis quod bonus vir esset gratias Deis egit unquam ? at quod dives, quod honoratus, quod incolumis ! Propter virtutem enim jure laudamur et in ea recte gloriamur ; quod non contingeret, si id donum a Deo, non a nobis nabere-mus." The same Cicero held, that man could, of himself, attain to perfect virtue. *De fin.* V. 15 : "Est enim natura sic generata vis hominis, ut ad omnem virtutem percipiendam facta videatur ;" *Comp.* V. 9 : "Secundum naturam vivere, i. e. ex hominis natura undique perfecta et nihil requirente." This is worse than Pelagianism.

a level even with the Father of the gods, except in length of life ; nay, above him, since the Stoic's equanimity is the act of his own will, and not merely a property of his nature.¹ Pride may, indeed, restrain a man from all those rough outbreaks of passion, those gross crimes which bring him into public disgrace. But upon the ruins of these sins pride rises, as itself the most refined and dangerous of all sins, transforming its victim into the image of Satan. No natural man can overcome it ; the Stoic not only cannot, but would not ; nay, he finds in it his highest joy. He is all absorbed in himself, and, with blasphemous audacity, fancies himself equal with God. The Christian's strength, on the contrary, lies in feeling his own weakness, and in not merely apparently, but really, overcoming by divine power, the infirmity of the flesh.

As Stoicism knows nothing of humility, so, also, it is destitute of love, the soul, the ruling principle of all true morality. Every one is familiar with that terrible "*Cæterum censeo*" of the elder Cato, that much admired expression of a cruel, all-crushing patriotism. Upon the rock of Stoic virtue the raging billows may break harmlessly ; but upon it, too, the unfortunate ship goes hopelessly to wreck. In short, Stoicism is egoism in its grandest, indeed, and most imposing, but also most dangerous form. In this view it is diametrically opposed to Christianity ; and the change from a Stoic to a Christian is one of uncommon difficulty. Tacitus, as is well known, with a contempt for Christianity, of which even his ignorance is but a poor palliation, spoke of it as an "*exitiabilis superstitio*," and Marcus Aurelius was one of the bitterest persecutors of the church.

Finally, the apathy, the heartless resignation of Stoicism, closely connected with its want of love, is altogether unchristian and unnatural.² It must by no means be mistaken for that humble, silent, meek and cheerful submission to God, which reigns in the soul of a believing, loving and hopeful Christian, and which rests in the firm conviction, that a merciful

¹ This passage, presumptuous even on heathen principles, occurs in *Epist.* 73 : "Jupiter quo antecedit virum bonum ? diutius bonus est. Sapiens nihil se minoris aestimat, quod virtutes ejus spatio breviori clauduntur. Sapiens tam aequo animo omnia apud alios videt contemniture, quam Jupiter ; et hōc se magis suspicit, quod Jupiter uti illis non potest, sapiens non vult." *Comp. Ep.* 53 : "Est aliquid, quo sapiens antecedit Deum, ille *naturae* beneficio non timet, suo sapiens."

² Zeno, it is true, goes on the principle, that virtue consists in living according to nature, and says, (Diogenes Laërtius, Zeno, c. 53) : τέλος τὸ ὁμολογουμένως τῇ φύσει ζῆν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ κατ' ἀρετὴν ζῆν. ἄγει γὰρ πρὸς ταύτην ἡμῶς ἡ φύσις. He even makes a distinction between the false ἀπάθεια, which is susceptible of no emotion whatever, and the true ἀπάθεια, the ἀνέμπτωτον, the complete dominion of reason, that perfect firmness of soul, which can never be shaken by the πάθος. Yet this is after all, nothing but the self-control of proud, unbroken, cold reason, which is essentially inconsistent with Christian humility and love. The true moral heroism consists in subduing the πάθος with a full, experimental knowledge of their whole depth and compass.

Heavenly Father is making everything work for the good of his children, and has only purposes of peace towards them even in the hour of tribulation. We are not to kill the natural feelings of the heart, joy and sorrow, pleasure and pain, but only to moderate, control, purify, and sanctify them. The Scriptures allow and command us to rejoice with those who rejoice, and to weep with those who weep. Paul forbids us, indeed, to mourn as the *heathen*, "which have no hope," (1 Thess. 4 : 13) ; but he does not forbid sorrow in general. He himself "had great heaviness," nay, even "continual sorrow in his heart," in view of the unbelief of his Jewish brethren, (Rom. 9 : 2). A Cato, who, as the Republic expired, fell, without a murmur, on his sword ; the Stoic sage, who consigns his wife and children to the grave without a tear, and at last cheerfully, yet hopelessly surrenders his own being, and, as he thinks, loses forever his personality in the dreary abyss of the universal spirit, as a drop dissolves itself in the ocean,—may perhaps call forth admiration, as a heartless and lifeless statue. But infinitely greater, even as a mere man, is Jesus Christ, shedding tears of sorrow over unbelieving Jerusalem, and tears of friendship at the grave of Lazarus ; sweating drops of blood in Gethsemane in sympathy with a sinful, dying world ; nay, crying in anguish on the cross : "My God, My God, why hast thou forsaken me ;" yet in all this, submitting his own will entirely to that of God, and, having drunk the cup of suffering to its dregs, with the shout of triumph : "It is finished !" yielding up his soul to his Heavenly Father. There, all is fictitious, unnatural rigidity, which came not from God, and is not pleasing to him ; the forced equanimity of pride, cold as ice, repulsive as the grave. Here, warm nature, genuine humanity ; full of the tenderest emotions ; cordially sympathizing in the joys and sorrows of its neighbor ; nay, pressing all mankind to its glowing heart, and saving them, by its self-sacrificing love, from the power of sin and death.¹

B.—PREPARATION FOR CHRISTIANITY IN JUDAISM

§ 47. *The Old Testament Revelation.*

From the world of polytheistic religions we pass into the sanctuary of monotheism ; from the sunny halls, where nature and men are deified, to the solemn temple of Jehovah, the only true God, of whose glory all nature is but a feeble ray, and who makes the earth his footstool. About two thousand years before the birth of Christ, God called Abraham, to be the progenitor of a nation, which appears amid the idolatry of the old world,

¹ Even *Rousseau* says, Socrates died like a sage, but Christ, like a God : "Si la mort et la vie de Socrate sont d'un sage, la vie et la mort de Jésus sont d'un Dieu."

like an oasis in the desert. Its history, from beginning to end, is one continuous miracle ; and its once glorious exaltation, with its dismal fall, and present condition, one of the most overwhelming proofs conceivable, of the divinity of Christianity, and the truth of the Bible. Its historical eminence, its pure knowledge of God, its manifold covenant privileges, Israel owed not to its own merit, but solely to the sovereign mercy of God. For the Jews were by nature, as Moses and the prophets often lament, the most stiff-necked, rebellious, and unthankful nation on earth.

The religion of the Old Testament is specifically distinguished from all the heathen religions in three points : (1). It rests on a *positive revelation* of Jehovah, exhibiting the progressive steps of his gracious condescension to man ; whereas Heathenism is the product of fallen human nature, and at best, but a kind of instinctive groping after the unknown God : (2). It has the only true notion and worship of God, who is the foundation of religion ; in other words, it is *monotheism and the worship of God*, as opposed to polytheism, dualism, and pantheism, and the empty worship of idols and of nature : (3). It is *purely moral* in its character ; that is, its whole aim is to glorify God and sanctify men ; in opposition to the more passive and, in some cases, directly immoral character of the heathen mythologies. With the Greeks religion was more a matter of fancy and poetical taste ; with the Romans, a matter of policy and practical utility ; but with the Israelites, it was a concern of the heart and will, upon which was laid the solemn injunction : “ Be ye holy, for I am holy.” Israel bore a relation to the ancient heathen nations and religions, very much like that of conscience,—the inward voice of God, the law written in the heart,—to the individual sinner. It was a constant witness of the truth in the midst of surrounding wickedness. To maintain this peculiarity, and keep clear of all pagan admixture, the Jewish nation had to be excluded from intercourse with the heathen ; which was the more necessary, on account of its own natural propensity to idolatry. God, therefore, chose a people to be his own, to be a royal priesthood, a living bearer and representative of a pure worship. This people was at first comprehended in an *individual*, in Abraham, the friend of God, the father of the faithful. From him sprang the patriarchal *family*, with its exalted, childlike piety, its fearless trust in God. Through Moses, Israel became a *theocratic state*, which maintained an objective conscience ; written, in its *law*, living, in its *prophets*.

Israel had not to develop the idea of beauty, like Greece ; nor the idea of civil law, like Rome. Her laurels are not those of the politician, or the philosopher, or the artist.¹ Her office was, to preserve and unfold

¹ That is, so far as the arts of design, (painting, sculpture), and secular poetry are concerned. For the *sacred poetry*, the *religious lyrics* of the Old Testament,—aside from

the proper religion of *repentance and the fear of God*. Hence John the Baptist, the personal representative of the ancient covenant, came crying "Repent!" The Greeks, who had no proper conception either of sin, or of holiness, celebrated a reconciliation between heaven and earth, between God and man, which was altogether premature, and proved at last a miserable delusion. The Jews, on the other hand, must first feel the woes of life, the dreadfulness of sin, the awfulness of the divine holiness and justice, and thus be brought to see the infinite distance and the opposition between the sinner and Jehovah; as the only true ground for a reconciliation not imaginary, but real and permanent. To this end they received, through Moses, the written *law*, which sets forth our duty, the ideal of morality, far more completely and clearly, than the natural conscience, and, at the same time, in the form of express divine command, promising the obedient life and happiness, and threatening the transgressor with death and perdition. By this ideal man could measure himself; and the more he endeavored to conform to the holy will of God as here expressed, the more must he see and painfully feel his inward opposition

the nature of their contents, which is altogether the most important thing,—far surpass, in real, intellectual beauty, in sublimity, in richness and boldness of conception, and in force of expression, even the loftiest creations of the Grecian muse. This is especially true of the Psalms; as has, in fact, been admitted by many great students and admirers of classic antiquity. The renowned philologist, *Henry Stephanus*, for example, (in the preface to his *Exposition of the Psalms*, 1562), remarks, that, in the whole compass of poetry, there is nothing *more poetical, more musical, more thrilling*, and, in some passages, *more full of lofty inspiration*, than the Psalms of David: "Nihil illis esse ποιητικώτερον, nihil esse μουσικώτερον, nihil esse γοργώτερον, nihil denique plerisque in locis διδυραμβικώτερον aut esse aut fingi posse." And the German Tacitus, *John von Müller*, wrote to his brother, (*Sämmtliche Werke*, V. p. 122. cf. 244): "My most delightful hour every day is furnished by David. There is *nothing in Greece, nothing in Rome*, nothing in all the West, like David, who selected the God of Israel, to sing Him in higher strains, than ever praised the gods of the Gentiles. His songs come from the spirit; they sound to the depths of the heart; and never, in all my life, have I so seen God before my eyes." Well worth attention, also, are the judgments passed, merely on the principles of a cultivated taste, by the naturalist, *Alex. von Humboldt*, who is at home in all the visible universe, the created cosmos, but, we regret to say, seems to be a stranger to the invisible, eternal world, and to the sanctuary of the Christian faith, without which even nature loses its beauty and history its deeper meaning. They are given in the second volume of his magnificent work, *Cosmos*, p. 45 sqq., where he speaks of the representations of nature in the Hebrew poetry; especially of the 104th Psalm which "presents in itself a picture of the whole world;" of the book of Job, which "is as graphic in its representations of particular phenomena, as it is artistic in the plan of the whole didactic composition;" and of the book of Ruth, which he calls "a most artless and inexpressibly charming picture of nature." *Goethe*, also, says of this latter book, (in his *Commentar zum westöstlichen Divan*, p. 8), that it is "the loveliest thing, in the shape of an epic or an idyl, which has come down to us"

to it. But the law was not merely a written letter. It was embodied, also, in all sorts of institutions and ceremonies, which, as a whole, had a typical reference to the future redemption. The daily sacrifices, especially, pointed to the absolute sacrifice upon the cross ; and, as they afforded but a transient feeling of reconciliation, they served to keep alive continually the need and desire of a full and lasting atonement with the holy and just God. The law, therefore, both the decalogue and the ceremonial law (for we must not abstractly sunder these two), was, on the one hand, a hedge about the Jewish people, to keep them from being polluted by the moral corruption of the heathen ; and, on the other, it served to awaken in them the knowledge of sin, (Rom. 3 : 20), and an effort after something beyond itself, a sense of the need of salvation, and a yearning after a redeemer from the curse of the law. So far it is, as the apostle Paul calls it, "a schoolmaster to lead to Christ." Taken by itself, the law would, indeed, have led to despair. But God took care to associate with it a comforter, an evangelical element, namely *prophecy*, which awakens hope and trust in the penitent soul. In fact, the sweet kernel of promise lies hid even beneath the hard shell of the law ; otherwise were the law but a cruel sport of God with men, a fearful irony upon their moral impotence. It were impossible, that the Creator should lay such earnest demands upon his creatures, and hang eternal life and death upon obedience, without also intending, in his own time, to give them power to obey.

Promise is the second peculiar element of Judaism, which made it a direct preparation for Christianity ; and in this view the Jewish religion may be called the religion of *the future*, or the religion of *hope*. The Old Testament gives the clearest evidence of its being but a forerunner of Him that should come, and humbly points beyond itself to the Messiah, whose shoe-latchet it was not worthy to unloose. This characteristic is its fairest ornament.

Prophecy is properly older than the Mosaic law ; as says the Apostle : "The law entered," came in by the side.¹ It was immediately connected with the fall, in the Protevangelium, as it is called, respecting the seed of the woman, which should bruise the serpent's head. It is predominant in the patriarchal age, where piety bears pre-eminently the character of childlike faith and trust, and where the consciousness of sin does not yet come into full view. But from the time of Samuel, four hundred years after the Exodus, and nearly eleven centuries before Christ, it passed from the mere sporadic utterances, in which it had previously appeared, into an independent power, deposited in a formal and perma-

¹ Rom. 5 : 20 : νόμος δὲ παρεῖσθαι, ἵνα πλεονάσῃ τὸ παράπτωμα.

ment prophetic *office* and *order*.¹ Thenceforward, this prophetic order, as the mouth of God, the conscience of the state, in some sense the evangelical Protestantism of the Jewish theocracy, kept along uninterruptedly side by side with the Davidic kingship and the Levitical priesthood, into the Babylonish captivity, and back to the rebuilding of the temple ; predicting the judgments of God, but also his forgiving grace ; warning and punishing, but also comforting and encouraging ; and always culminating in a plainer reference to the coming Messiah, who should deliver Israel and the world out of all their troubles.

Prophecy, or the Old Testament gospel, like the law, was embodied not merely in words, but also in institutions and living persons, which pointed to the future. Moses, Joshua, the Judges, David, and all the temporal deliverers and instructors, the earnest preachers of repentance and comforters of Israel, down to John the Baptist, were forerunners and pledges of the true Deliverer ; and the more they failed to afford complete and enduring aid and consolation, the more did they enliven the desire for the great Anointed, who, as prophet, priest, and king, should combine in his own person all the theocratic offices, and perfectly fulfill all the glorious promises. Since the present was thus pregnant with the future ; since the Biblical prophecy had a genuinely historical groundwork and a practical significance for its own times, as well as for the latest posterity ; the Messiah was intended and described in all the theocratic types ; while at the same time all the prophecies found their preliminary fulfillment in the Old Dispensation, and the entire theocratic history was typical of future things—the deliverance from Egypt and the restoration from the Babylonish captivity, for example, of redemption from sin and misery. But through their calamities and sufferings the people became more and more aware, how far their actual conduct

¹ The society, founded by Samuel at Rama (1 Sam. 19 : 18–24), has been called a *school of prophets*. We must not understand by this, however, an institution for regular instruction in the sense of our modern seminaries of learning, but rather a free association, perhaps like that of John the Baptist and his disciples, or of Christ and the apostles, for the purpose of arousing the intellectual faculties and promoting piety by the study of the law, by prayer, singing, conversation, and discipline. Such schools of the prophets there were at Rama (1 Sam. 19 : 19, 20) ; at Jericho (2 Kings 2 : 5) ; at Bethel (2 Kings 2 : 3) ; and at Gilgal (4 : 38). Most of the pupils were already adult, and some of them married. They dwelt together, and were sometimes sent out by the superiors as prophetic commissioners (2 Kings 9 : 1), as Christ, also, sent out his disciples two by two even before his resurrection. It is scarcely necessary to remark, that among the prophets are included not only the four major and twelve minor prophets, whose predictions, (all since about 800 B. C.), have come down to us in writing ; but also many others, whose history is recorded in the books of Kings and Chronicles, as in the cases of Samuel, Nathan, Elijah, Elisha ; and some of whom are known to us only by name.

fell below the standard of their religion, and were led to look with ever increasing longings into the future. The Jews, it is true, conceived of the Messianic kingdom as a glorious restoration of the throne of David. But the most profound prophets, especially Isaiah, in whom all the previous streams of prophecy collected themselves, to gush forth again more copiously into the most distant future, announced, that suffering, an act of general expiation, was the necessary preliminary to the establishment of the kingdom of glory. The "Servant of God" must first bear the sins of the people, as a silent sufferer, as the true paschal lamb, and make an atonement, not only for a given time, but for ever, with God, the holy Lawgiver. The same Isaiah breaks through the confines of Jewish nationality; beholds already, with clearest vision, the absolute universality of the promised salvation, in whose light the Gentiles also should walk; and, in the bold flight of his hope, rests not, till he reaches new heavens and a new earth (c. 60 : 3 ; 66 : 19 sqq. etc.).

With Malachi prophecy ceased, and Israel was left to herself four hundred years. But at last, immediately before the fulfillment of the Messianic promises, the whole Old Dispensation appears summed up and embodied once more in the greatest of them that are born of women; in one, who went before the Lord, like the aurora before the sun, till, in unrivalled humility, he disappeared in its splendor. John the Baptist, by his earnest preaching of repentance, his abode in the wilderness, and his ascetic life, personified the *law*; while, at the same time, pointing to Him, for whom he was not worthy to do the most menial office, who should baptize with the Holy Ghost and with fire, to the Lamb of God, which bears the sins of the world, he also embodied the cheering word of *promise*. Around him were collected the noblest and best of that generation, including several of the future apostles. These disciples of John, these genuine Nathanaels, and those souls, who silently hoped and looked for the redemption of Israel by the Messiah alone, as the aged Simeon, the prophetess Anna, the mother of our Lord with her friends and kindred, the lovely group at Bethany, with whom the Lord lived in the most familiar intercourse;—these were the true representatives of the Old Testament in its direct and strong bearing towards Christianity. They were the people of holy aspirations and exalted hopes; the first fruits of the New Covenant, sealed by the blood of the Son of God. Above all must the antitype of Eve, the blessed virgin Mary, who bore under her heart the Saviour of the world, be regarded as the living embodiment and the pure temple of the deepest longing after the coming of the Son of God in the flesh, and after the redemption of Israel; and thus well fitted and worthy to be the mother of our

Lord and Saviour, the guardian of his childhood, and "blessed among women."

While, thus, the Heathenism of Greece and Rome ends negatively, in comfortless mourning over the dissipation of its youthful dream of a golden age, and in a despairing cry for redemption; Judaism closes its development by giving birth to Christianity (for "salvation is of the Jews," Jno. 4 : 22), and ends with the glorious fulfillment of all the types and prophecies from the serpent-bruise to the lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world.

But when we inquire into the condition of the great mass of the Jews at the birth of the Messiah, we are compelled to view the preparation for Christianity with these as more of the negative kind. All was ripe for destruction, and a Saviour was absolutely indispensable.

§ 48. *The Political Condition of the Jews at the Time of Christ.*

First, as to the *political* condition of the Jewish nation at the birth of our Saviour. The Maccabean princes for a time united the priestly and kingly functions, and enlarged the Jewish kingdom by conquering Samaria and Idumea, the inhabitants of which, the Edomites, were made proselytes and circumcised. But this power was soon broken. Palestine fell, with the whole civilized world, into the hands of the Romans. After the battle of Philippi (B. C. 42), the East bowed to the power of Marcus Antonius, who, with Cæsar Octavius and Lepidus, formed the second triumvirate. He and Octavius transferred the crown of Palestine, as a Roman province, to Herod (B. C. 39), who, after the battle of Actium (B. C. 30), which made Octavius, or Augustus, sole ruler of the Roman empire, was confirmed in this office. Herod the Great was an Idumean, the son of Antipater, a shrewd, energetic, but ambitious, cruel, and thoroughly heathen prince. At his accession, the Maccabean house, already inwardly destroyed by all sorts of vice and cruelty, was also outwardly forever annihilated, and Israel came under the influence of heathen Rome, which must, of course, accelerate its national dissolution. Herod used all his power against the Jewish morality and institutions, and sought to introduce Roman usages. This roused the stiffly conservative Jews, especially the Pharisees, and he was unable to reconcile them even by building for them a far more magnificent temple in the place of the old one on Mt. Moriah. He did not, therefore, enjoy his power, and after having procured the execution of all the remaining members of the Maccabean family, including even his beautiful wife Mariamne and her sons Aristobulus and Alexander, he fell into a wild melancholy, and at last into a loathsome disease, of

which he died in the year of Rome 750 or 751, and of our era 3 or 4. Herod's hatred of the Jews, his jealousy of his power, and the confusion and spirit of rebellion then prevailing, enable us to understand fully the cruel procedure of this tyrant with the babes of Bethlehem, when the account reached his ears through the wise men of the East that an heir to the throne of David was born in that city.

After his death, his kingdom was divided among his three sons. *Archelaus*, (Matt. 2 : 22), received Judea, Idumea, and Samaria ; Philipp, Batanaea, Ituraea, and Trachonitis ; Herod Antipas (mentioned in Luke 3 : 1, as Herod the Tetrarch), Galilee and Peraea. Archelaus, however, was banished six years after Christ, and his portion turned into a Roman province. Judea, Idumea, and Samaria were governed by a procurator, under the supervision of the proconsul of Syria. The fifth of these procurators, or provincial governors, was the Pontius Pilate named in the Gospels, A. D. 28-37. The second son, the tetrarch Philipp, died A. D. 34 ; and A. D. 37 his kingdom fell into the hands of Herod Agrippa, who, under the emperor Claudius, A. D. 41, after the banishment of Herod Antipas, A. D. 39, was raised to the throne of all Palestine. This Herod Agrippa I., grandson of Herod the Great and Mariamne by their eldest son, Aristobulus, was a vain and unprincipled man, and appears in the Acts of the Apostles (c. 12), as a persecutor of the Christians. But after his sudden and miserable death, A. D. 44, his whole kingdom was again made a Roman province, ruled by procurators, two of whom, Claudius Felix and Porcius Festus, figure in the Acts of the Apostles. The last procurator was Gessius Florus, under whom the tragical fate of the Jewish nation, so long in preparation, was finally decided.

All these foreign rulers vied with one another in cold contempt and deadly hatred of the disgracefully enslaved nation ; and the Jews, on their part, retaliated with the same contempt and the same hate, known as the *odium generis humani* ; stuck to their stiff, exclusive forms and traditions, from which, however, the spirit and life had long departed ; and planned one insurrection after another, every one only plunging them into deeper wretchedness. Sinking into such a bottomless misery, the nobler and better souls, who still retained a spark of the pure Old Testament spirit, must gladly throw themselves into the arms of Christianity, while the stiff-necked slaves to the letter, who trod under foot the incarnate Word, were only led by the Christian religion ever nearer to their doom ;—a doom, which plainly testified, that the old was passed away,

¹ Our era is fixed, however, at least four years too late. Herod, therefore, died one or two years after the birth of Christ. Comp. *Wieseler Chronologische Synopse der vier Evangelien*. 1843. p. 50 sqq.

and through Christ all was made new ;—a doom, which stretches along through all history to the second coming of the Lord, as a living witness to all ages of the divine origin and authority of the Old and New Testaments. The priest, Josephus (born A. D. 37, died about 93), himself a Jew and a historian of the tragical downfall of his nation, openly declares of his countrymen and contemporaries : “ I believe, that, had the Romans not come upon this wicked race when they did, an earthquake would have swallowed them up, or a flood would have drowned them, or the lightnings of Sodom would have struck them. For this generation was more ungodly than all that had ever suffered such punishments.”

In such a time of corruption, and of the most abject civil slavery ; when the royal house of David was sunk in poverty and obscurity, and the chosen people were the laughing-stock of their heartless heathen oppressors, appeared, in wonderful contrast, the Son of God, the promised Messiah ; in the form of a servant, yet radiant with divine glory ; proclaiming the true freedom from the most cruel bondage, and shedding amidst the dismal darkness the light of everlasting life.

§ 49. *The Religious State of the Jews at the Birth of Christ.*

The *theology* and *religion* of the Jews were in no better state than their political affairs. Here, too, we discern a sad bondage to the letter, “ which killeth ;” a morbid attachment to forms and traditions which had long lost their spirit. Hopes of the Messiah still lived, indeed, in the people, but they had become carnal and sensuous. The Messiah had come to be regarded as a servant of the baser passions, whose great business it was to free the Jews from the oppression of the Romans, to chastise these hated heathens with a rod of iron, and to establish a splendid, outward, universal theocracy. Such expectations were very favorable to the pretensions of false prophets and false Messiahs, who preached rebellion against the reigning power ; as Judas of Gamala, or Judas Gaulonites (A. D. 6), and Theudas (under Claudius, A. D. 44).

In theology and practical religion the Jews were split, at the time of Christ, into three sects, the *Pharisees*, the *Sadducees*, and the *Essenes*. These sects arose in the days of the Maccabees, about 150 years before Christ. They answer to the three tendencies, which are usually found to arise when a religion decays, viz., sanctimonious formalism, trifling infidelity, and mystic superstition. The Pharisees correspond to the Stoics among the heathen ; the Sadducees, to the Epicureans and Skeptics ; the Essenes, to the Platonics and Neo-Platonics.

1. The PHARISEES, the *separate*¹—so called from their pretended holiness—represent the traditional orthodoxy, the dead formalism, the legal self-righteousness of Judaism. They were, in general, the bearers of true doctrine ; whence Christ commanded his disciples to do all they bid them, (Matt. 23 : 3), that is, all that they prescribed in their official capacity, as teachers of the law of Moses, and in accordance with that standard. But to this pure doctrine they added many foreign elements, especially from the Parsic system, which found their way in after the Babylonish exile, and were foisted by allegorical interpretation into the Old Testament. Besides these, they held, also, to certain subtle Rabbinical traditions, belonging to the theological and juridical exposition of the law, and often contravening the spirit of the canonical Scriptures, (Matt. 15 : 3) ; tending, in fact, by their whole influence, to make the word of God, which was acknowledged along with them, of none effect, (Mark 7 : 13).² For this reason Christ, on the other hand, warned his disciples against the “leaven,” that is, the false doctrine, of the Pharisees, (Matt. 16 : 6, 12. Mark 8 : 15). But then again, in all their conduct, they showed the want of the great thing, the deep spirit of the law, holiness in the inner man. For this they substituted a dead intellectual orthodoxy, a slavish routine of ceremonies, a pedantic observance of fasts, prayers, alms-givings, washings, and the like ; and fancied this was true piety. Their natural descent from Abraham and outward circumcision seemed to them to constitute a sufficient title to an inheritance in the kingdom of God. They were the ones who could strain at a gnat and swallow a camel ; blind leaders of the blind, as our Lord calls them in his fearful denunciation, Matt. 23 : whited sepulchres, outwardly beautiful, but within full of dead men’s bones and all uncleanness. Instead of awakening in the people, by the discipline of the law, the knowledge of sin and sincere repentance, and, by the exposition of the prophets, a longing for redemption ; they rather promoted, by the abuse of the law, a hypocritical formalism and spiritual pride ; by the abuse of prophecy, a fanatical spirit of political revolution ; and, by both, the final destruction of their nation. At the time of our Saviour’s appearance the Pharisees occupied, at least in Judea, almost all the posts of instruction ; were held in the highest veneration by the people as the only true expounders of the Scriptures and the law ; stood at the head of

¹ From פָּרָשׁ (parash, perushim.) in the sense of “to separate.” Thus the Talmud itself explains the name, (Talm. babylon. Chagiga f. 18, b.)

² In like manner the Roman Catholic church is not unjustly charged with the fault, of having added to the orthodox doctrines of Christianity, which she plainly acknowledges in her symbolical books, and will never give up, later traditions and human inventions, which cover, like a shell, the sweet kernel of the plain gospel, and in a measure obstruct its power.

the hierarchy ; and formed the majority of the Sanhedrim, (comp. Acts 5 : 34. 23 : 6 sqq.). The New Testament gives us a full account of them, and shows them to us as the deadly enemies of our Lord. The Talmud, which was composed about the end of the second century and the beginning of the third, breathes throughout the genuine spirit of Pharisaism.

It would be wrong, however, to suppose, that all the members of this sect were hypocrites and ambitious hierarchs. There were among them those, who, like Nicodemus, (Jno. 3 : 1. Mk. 12 : 34), honestly sought the truth, though they were bound by the fear of men. Many, though a small minority, certainly strove earnestly to be righteous and holy before God, and experienced such painful inward conflicts, as Paul, himself once a Pharisee and even then, like his master, Gamaliel, undoubtedly a noble and earnest man, relates in the seventh chapter of his Epistle to the Romans ;—conflicts which ended in a helpless cry for redemption, (Rom. 7 : 24). Hence many of the Pharisees embraced the Christian faith, (Acts 15 : 5). This faith they might apprehend in two ways. Either they might become as zealous for justification by faith, as they had formerly been for justification by their own works ; like the great Apostle of the Gentiles. Or they might drag in with them much of the Pharisaic leaven of self-righteousness and outward legalism, and thus hinder the pure development of Christianity. This we observe already in the Judaistic opponents of Paul ; and we trace it through the whole history of the church, in which there is Pharisaism enough to this day, baptized indeed with water, but not with the fire of the gospel.

2 Directly opposed to the Pharisees and their stiff conservatism stood the less numerous SADDUCEES.¹ They rejected all tradition, and would acknowledge nothing but the written law to be of any religious authority. Many learned men maintain, that, of the Old Testament canon, they rejected all except the Pentateuch ; but there is no sufficient proof of this, and it is in itself improbable, since the Sadducees held seats in the Sanhedrim, (Acts 23 : 6 sqq.), and sometimes exercised even the office of high priest.² It is certain, however, that they denied the existence

¹ Rabbinical tradition derives the name from one *Zadock*, the supposed founder of the sect ; but Epiphanius, from צדק, just. According to the latter etymology, therefore, it would be like the name of the Pharisees, a title of honor, which they gave themselves.

² *Josephus*, also, c. *Apion* I. 8. says without qualification, that all the Jews received the twenty-two books of the Old Testament as divine. The main reason, urged for the opinion that the Sadducees rejected the prophetic books, is their denial of immortality, which is clearly taught, for instance, in Daniel. But they might easily have caused in arbitrary exegesis to their aid, as is done to this day with the New Testament by rationalists and all sorts of sects

of angels, the immortality of the soul, and the resurrection of the body.¹ Respecting the human will they held Pelagian views, denying any divine influence upon it. They were, in general, a rationalistic sect, inclined to moral levity, skepticism, and infidelity. Few of them belonged to the learned professions. With the common people they found not much favor, and their followers were chiefly, as Josephus tells us in his *Antiquities*, amongst the rich, the worldly-minded, and persons of rank. We cannot wonder, therefore, that, in spite of their general hatred of the Pharisees, they made common cause with them in opposition to the Saviour.² For men, so entirely destitute of all deeper sense of religious need, Christianity had but little power of attraction. After the destruction of Jerusalem they disappear even from Jewish history, and are only occasionally mentioned in the Talmud as heretics and Epicureans.

3. The misfortunes and party strifes of the Jews finally called forth a third sect, called the ESSAEANS, or ESSENES.³ We have no information respecting them from the New Testament, but they are spoken of in the writings of Josephus, Philo, and Pliny. They must be regarded as the Jewish monks, a mystic and ascetic sect, of a chiefly practical tendency though not without a theosophic and speculative element, derived either from the Platonic philosophy, or, more probably, from the Oriental systems, especially Parsism. They were a quiet, secluded people, who dwelt, far from the wild turmoil of their distracted age, on the western coast of the Dead Sea. They were divided into four orders; allowed marriage only in one of these; and abolished the oath, except in receiving persons, after their probation, into the number of the initiated. Yea and nay were, with them, a sufficient guarantee of veracity. They were noted for industry, benevolence, hospitality, and honesty. They held their goods in common. The Sabbath they scrupulously observed. They sent gifts to the temple at Jerusalem, but never entered it. Even in their mutual intercourse they observed great secrecy; dreaded contact with the uncircumcised; and would rather die than eat food not prepared by themselves or their brethren. Thus, as is frequently the case in mystic sects, their pure religious sense became vitiated with superstition; their spiritual earnestness, with rigid formalism; their quiet seclusion and self-mortification, with the pride of caste.

These Essenes might, in one view, be easily attracted by the mystic element of Christianity; in their pretensions to holiness, they might set

¹ Matt. 22 : 23. Mk. 12 : 18. Luke 20 : 27. Acts 23 : 8.

² Matt. 3 : 7. 12 : 38. 16 : 1, 6, 11 sqq. 22 : 23, 34. Luke 20 : 27. Acts 4 : 13 : 17.

³ From the Chaldaic, אֲסֵסִי *physician*. Others think the word a corruption of אֲסֵסִי הַיָּד, *the ha-y, unde*: which name the Essenes appear, also, in the Talmud

themselves against the sermon which pronounced the poor in spirit blessed ; or, finally, if they went over to Christianity, they would be likely to carry with them much of their monkish spirit and mechanical asceticism. Thus they would favor monasticism in the church, and give rise to many heretical sects, the germs of which we find already noticed in Paul's epistle to the Colossians and the pastoral letters.

C.—THE MUTUAL CONTACT OF JUDAISM AND HEATHENISM.

§ 50. *Influence of Judaism on Heathenism.*

Since Christianity, as the universal religion, was destined to break down all the barriers which had before so rigorously separated religions and nations, and to teach men to view the whole race as one family, we must regard not only the political union of the nations under the Roman sceptre, but also the intellectual and religious contact of the two great systems of the old world, Heathenism and Judaism, as a preparation for the spread of the gospel. We notice, first, the influence of Judaism on Heathenism.

It is well known, that, after the Babylonish exile, the Jews were scattered over the whole world. Comparatively few of them availed themselves of the permission, granted by Cyrus, to return to Palestine. The majority remained in Babylonia, or wandered into other lands. In Alexandria, for example, at the time of Christ, almost half the inhabitants were Jews, who, by trading, had become rich and powerful. In Asia Minor and Greece there was hardly a place without its Jews. In Rome they possessed almost the greater part of the Trastevere (on the right bank of the Tiber) ; and Julius Cæsar allowed them to build synagogues, and granted them many other privileges. All these Jews, who lived out of Palestine—the *dispersion* (ἡ διασπορά), as they were called—still considered Jerusalem as their centre ; regarded its Sanhedrim as their highest church court ; sent yearly gifts of money (δίδαρχμα), and sacrifices to the temple ; and visited it from time to time at the great festivals.

We see at once, how this state of things must aid the spread of the gospel. In the first place, the feasts of the Passover and of Pentecost brought Jews from all quarters of the globe to Jerusalem, to witness the death and resurrection of Jesus and the out-pouring of the Holy Ghost (comp. Acts 2 : 5, 9–11), and to carry the news of Christianity to their homes. Then again, the apostles, in their missionary travels, found in all the considerable cities synagogues and Messianic hopes, which furnished them places and occasions for the preaching of the cross. Every

synagogue was, as it were, a missionary station in readiness for them. Finally, the influence of the Jews helped to undermine Heathenism, and thus to prepare the ground for Christianity. The Jews were, in general, it is true, bitterly hated by the Gentiles, and regarded as misanthropists. Yet the distractions of that age, and the dissolution of the existing mythologies, opened many a door to the influence of their religion. They themselves, on their part, especially the Pharisees, were very zealous in making proselytes. In addition to all this, there were hosts of magicians, who, by their skillful legerdemain, contrived greatly to surprise and overawe the superstitious heathens. The Roman authors complain of this influence of Judaism; and, judging from the later imperial interdicts, and from the passage in Seneca's work on Superstition, where he says of the Jews: "The conquered have given laws to the conquerors," it must, indeed, have been quite noticeable.

The proselytes, however, were of two kinds; those who fully, and those who only partially, adopted the Jewish religion. The former were called proselytes of *righteousness* (פְּרִי הַצְדִּיק). They adopted circumcision and the whole ceremonial law, and were commonly much more fanatical than the Jews themselves, since they had laid hold of the religion of Moses from their own choice and from firm conviction. Hence our Lord tells the Pharisees, that they made such proselytes two-fold more the children of hell than themselves (Matt. 23 : 15); and, in fact, they were the most violent persecutors of the Christians. Justin Martyr, in his Dialogue with the Jew, Trypho, remarks: "The proselytes not only do not believe, but blaspheme the name of Christ two-fold more than ye, and wish to kill and torture us, who believe in him; for in every thing they try to be like you." The second class, which especially included many women, were the proselytes of the *gate* (פְּרִי הַשַּׁעַר), as they were formerly called, according to Ex. 20 : 10, and Deut. 5 : 14;

¹ "Victi victoribus leges dederunt,"—in Augustine's *De civit. Dei*, VII. 11. Josephus tells us, that many of the Jews held high offices, and lived at the courts of princes, and that even the empress Poppaea was a proselyte to Judaism (θεοσεβής), Antiqu. XVII. 5, 7. XVIII. 6, 4. XX. 8, 11. In his *Autobiography*, § 3, he relates, that, when in Rome, he made the acquaintance of this empress through a Jewish favorite of Nero, and at once received from her the release of some imprisoned Jewish priests, together with large presents. Juvenal, *Satir.* XIV. v. 96 sqq., thus ridicules the Romans, who affected Jewish ways:

"Quidam sortiti metuentem sabbatha patrem
Nil praeter nubes et coeli numen adorant,
Nec distare putant humana carne suillam,
Qua pater abstinuit, mox et praeputia ponunt.
Romanas autem soliti contemnere leges,
Judaicum ediscunt et servant ac metuunt, jus,
Tradidit arcano quodcunque volumine Moses."

or the *devout*, the *fearers of God*, as they are termed in the New Testament and by Josephus.¹ These appropriated the monotheism of the Jews, their doctrine of providence and the divine government of the world, and, in not a few cases, their hopes of the Messiah; observing also the seven so-called Noachic commandments, that is, abstaining from gross crimes, blasphemy, murder, incest, theft, worship of the heavenly bodies, &c. But they did not acknowledge the ceremonial law, and hence, being uncircumcised, were counted still unclean. There were among them many honest and noble spirits, who, like Cornelius, longed for salvation; whom a sense of the emptiness and barrenness of heathenism had prepared to receive revelation; and with whom, therefore, as is evident from various passages of the Acts of the Apostles,² the gospel found readiest acceptance. Their conversion formed the natural bridge from the Jews to the Gentiles in the missionary work. (Comp. § 60 infra.)

§ 51. *Influence of Heathenism upon Judaism.*

On the other hand Heathenism, in those times of agitation, exerted, in its turn, a powerful influence on the Jewish religion and theology. In the translation of the Holy Scriptures into Greek under Ptolemy Philadelphus, and the adoption of this translation (the Septuagint, as it is called) in the worship of the synagogue, Judaism took the first step in her approach towards the Hellenic culture, and broke through the narrow limits of her exclusiveness. This approach took place chiefly in the Egyptian capital, ALEXANDRIA. In this renowned seat of Grecian learning there arose, among the educated Jews, a peculiar mixture of the theology of the Old Testament revelation and the Platonic philosophy, and, as the offspring of this, an ascetic mode of life, founded on a misconception of the nature of the body. The first suggestion of this appears already in the Apocryphal books of the Old Testament, particularly the book of Wisdom. But the great representative of this syncretism, which also reappeared afterwards in manifold shapes in Gnosticism, is the spirited and prolific theologian, PHILO of Alexandria († between 40 and 50 A. D.), a contemporary of Christ. He held to the divine character of the Old Testament; had very strict views of inspiration; and thought that the Mosaic law and the temple worship were destined to be perpetual. He ascribed to the Jews a mission for all nations; boasted of their cosmopolitanism; and called them priests and prophets,

¹ οἱ εὐσεβεῖς, οἱ φοβούμενοι or σεβόμενοι τὸν θεόν, comp. Acts 10 : 2. 13 : 16, 50. 16 : 14. 17 : 4, 17. 18 : 7. Rev. 11 : 18; and Josephus, *Antiq.* XIV. 7. 2. Such proselytes were Naaman the Syrian (2 Kings 5 : 17); the centurion of Capernaum (Luke 7 : 4 sqq.); the centurion, Cornelius; and Lydia.

Acts 10 : 2 sqq. 13 : 43. 16 : 14 sq. 17 : 4.

who offered sacrifice and invoked the blessing of God for all mankind. But he attempted to reconcile their religion with that of the Gentiles, in the first place, by distinguishing, in the interpretation of Scripture, a *literal* or common, and an *allegorical* or deeper sense; and secondly, by supposing, that the divine Plato had drawn from the Holy Scriptures. This allegorical interpretation he was not, indeed, the first to discover; for all the believing Jews and the apostles themselves, especially the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, regarded the Scriptures as having a deeper, mysterious meaning. But, we may say, he was the first to abuse it and sometimes carry it to excess, so as to make it a convenient door for smuggling foreign heathen elements into the store of divine revelation, and thrusting out all, which, like the anthropomorphisms for instance, seemed offensive to the culture of the time. This mode of treating the Scriptures leads very easily to contempt of the letter, and thus to an unhistorical, abstractly spiritualistic tendency. It is, in truth, not to be denied, that the mythical view of the sacred history, which explains its facts as merely the embodiments of the subjective religious ideas of imaginative Christians in early times, has at least some affinity with this Philonic method of exposition.¹ Thus we may see already even here the germs of tendencies, which afterwards made their appearance in the church. Yet Philo was as far as Origen, who assumed even a three-fold sense of Scripture, from denying the historical reality of the events related in the Old Testament; and allowed the literal interpretation to be just and necessary, as a means of moral and religious training for the uneducated classes. But he certainly regarded as higher, that conception of Scripture, which penetrated beneath the shell of the letter to what he thought to be the kernel of the philosophical truth; beneath the anthropomorphic and anthropopathic representations of God, to that spiritualistic and idealistic view of God, which, in fact, divests him in the end of all concrete attributes. In this way, in spite of his opposition to the *Hellenic* mysteries, he set up a radical distinction of initiated and uninitiated, which contradicts the principle and spirit of the Christian religion.

The most striking counterpart to Christianity, especially as set forth in the introduction to John's Gospel, is presented by Philo in his celebrated and latterly much discussed doctrine of the Logos, or *Word* of God. The apocryphal book of The Wisdom of Solomon had already interposed *Wisdom* between God and the world, as the reflection of the

¹ It is well known, that even the infidel Dr. Fr. Strauss has not failed to appeal, though certainly with very limited right, to Philo and the Alexandrian fathers in support of his mythical view of the life of Christ. Vid. his *Leben Jesu*. 4th ed I v. 50 sqq.

eternal light ; the fountain of all knowledge, virtue, and skill ; the mold of all things ; the medium of all the Old Testament revelations (c. 7-10). This idea Philo more fully developed. His *Logos* is a sort of intermediate being between *God*, who is, in his nature, hidden, simple, without attributes, and the eternal, shapeless, chaotic *matter* (the Platonic *ελη*). It is the reflection, the first-born son of God ; the second God ; the sum of the ideas, which are the original types of all existence ; the ideal world itself (*κόσμος νοητός*) ; the medium, through which the actual, sensible world (*κόσμος αἰσθητός*), is created and upheld ; the interpreter and revealer of God ; the arch-angel, who destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah, spoke to Jacob and to Moses in the burning bush and led the people of Israel through the wilderness ; the high priest (*ἀρχιερεύς*), and advocate (*παράκλητος*), who pleads the cause of sinful humanity before God, and procures for it the pardon of its guilt.¹ We see at once the apparent affinity of this view with the christology of St. Paul and St. John, which gave it no small influence with the early church fathers in the evolution of their doctrine of the *Logos*. But, at the same time, we must not overlook the very essential difference. For, in the first place, Philo, with these Hellenico-Judaistic speculations, quite eclipses the practical idea of the Messiah. This idea, with him, becomes simply the hope of a miraculous restoration of the dispersed Jews from all parts of the world to Palestine, through the agency of a superhuman appearance (*ὄψις*) ; and even this supernatural phenomenon has no legitimate place in his system ; it means nothing. But again, his dualistic and idealistic view of the world absolutely excludes an incarnation, which is the central truth of Christianity.² His Christ, if he needed any, could have been, at best, but a Gnostic, docetistic, fantastic Christ ; his redemption, but ideal and intellectual. He attained only an artificial harmony between God and the world, between Judaism and Heathenism ; which hovered, like a "spectral illusion," an "evanescent *Fata morgana*," on the horizon of dawning Christianity. The eternal atonement, which Philo imagined already *made* and *eternally being made* by his ideal *Logos*, could be effected only by a creative act of the condescending love of God ; and it is a remarkable instance of divine wisdom in history, that this redeeming act was really performed about the same time, that

¹ It is a question not yet entirely settled, whether Philo's *Logos* was a personal hypostasis, or merely a personification, a divine attribute. While Gfrörer, Grossmann, Dähne, Lücke, Ritter, and Semisch maintain the former view, Dorner, (*Entwicklungsgeschichte der Lehre von der Person Christi*, 2nd ed. I. p. 23 sqq.), has latterly attempted to re-establish the other. To me, Philo himself seems to vibrate between the two views ; and this obscurity accounts for the difference among so distinguished scholars on this point.

² Comp. on this subject Dr. Dorner, l. c. p. 50 sqq.

the greatest Jewish philosopher and theologian of his age was dreaming of and announcing to the world a ghostlike shadow of it.

This Jewish-Heathen philosophy of religion was carried into *practice* by the THERAPEUTAE,¹ or *servants of God*, who considered themselves the genuine, spiritual, contemplative worshippers. They are to be viewed as Jewish monks, like the Essenes, whom they strongly resemble, though no outward connection can be shown. They dwelt in a quiet, pleasant country on lake Moeris, not far from Alexandria,² shut up in cloister-like cells (σεμνεῖα, μοναστήρια), and devoted to the contemplation of divine things and the practice of asceticism. Their meditations on the Old Testament were founded on the allegorical interpretation. Among their ascetic practices, fasting, in many cases protracted to six days, held a prominent place. They generally lived on nothing but bread and water, and ate only in the evening, being ashamed to take material nourishment in daylight. Every seventh Sabbath was, with them, specially sacred. They then united in a common love-feast of bread, seasoned with salt and hyssop; sang ancient hymns, and performed mystic dances, emblematic of the passage of their fathers through the Red Sea, or, according to their allegorical exegesis, of the release of the spirit from the bonds of sense. The fundamental error of these Jewish ascetics was, that they regarded the sensible as intrinsically evil, and the body as a prison of the soul. Consequently the aim of the wise man was outward mortification. The ascetic death was the birth to true life. These views could allow no proper faith in the real incarnation of God, but must rather resolve it into a mere Gnostic phantom. As little could they consist with faith in the resurrection of the body; and this, in fact, the mystic Jews openly denied. In other respects, the relation of the Therapeutic system to Christianity is the same as that of Essenism above described.

We have yet to remark, in fine, that those Grecian Jews, or *Hellenists*, also, who had nothing to do with the systems of Philo or the Therapeutae, still usually lost, in a measure, their exclusive spirit by constant intercourse with the Gentiles, and hence were much better qualified for the heathen mission and for larger views of the gospel, than the stricter Hebrews, or those Jews who lived in Palestine and spoke the Hebrew language. We shall have examples of this hereafter in the history of the

¹ From θεραπεύειν, *to serve*; according to Alexandrian usage, *to serve God*. The Jewish Cabbala of the Middle Ages is, in a measure, a revival of the mystico-ascetic Judaism of the Therapeutae and Essenes.

² Yet their influence was widely extended in Egypt. Philo, *De vita contemplativa*, § 3., expressly says of the Therapeutae: Πολλαχού μὲν οὖν τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐστὶ τοῦτε τὸ γένος. Ἦδε γὰρ ἀγαθοῦ τελείου μετασχεῖν καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὴν Βαβυλῶνα.

deacons, Stephen and Philip, and of Barnabas and Paul, who were all of Graeco-Jewish descent.

§ 52. *Recapitulation.*

From this whole representation it is plain, that the old world, at the appearance of Christ, had already begun to putrefy, and, from directly opposite quarters, evinced the absolute necessity of an entirely new principle of life, to save it from hopeless ruin. The world had, indeed, been preparing for Christianity in every way, positively and negatively, theoretically and practically, by Grecian culture, Roman dominion, the Old Testament revelation, the amalgamation of Judaism and Heathenism, the distraction and misery, the longings and hopes of the age ; but no tendency of antiquity was able to generate the true religion, or satisfy the infinite needs of the human heart. The wants of the world could be met only by an act of God, by a new creation. The mythologies had plainly outlived themselves. The Greek religion, which aimed only to deify earthly existence, could afford no comfort in misfortune, nor ever beget the spirit of martyrdom. The Roman religion was ridiculed, and forever stripped of its power by being degraded into a mere tool for political ends, and by the exaltation of worthless despots to the rank of gods. The Jewish religion, in Pharisaism, had stiffened into a spiritless, self-righteous formalism ; in Sadducism, had been emptied of all its moral and religious earnestness ; in the system of Philo, had gone out of itself and become adulterated with elements entirely foreign to its original genius.

As is usual in times of a general decay of existing institutions ; so, especially in the transition period, of which we now speak, we find two extremes co-existing. On the one hand we see *infidelity*, casting away all the old religions, without putting any thing else in their place ; on the other, *superstition*, morbidly clinging to the lifeless mythologies, and even going beyond them in all sorts of fantastic extravagances. Not rarely were infidelity and superstition united in the same individual ; for it belongs to the nature of man to believe something. If he believe not in God, he will believe in ghosts. The crafty emperor Augustus, who concerned himself with the religion of his fathers, at best, perhaps, as a mere matter of policy, was frightened, when, one morning, he put on his left shoe first, instead of his right ; and the skeptical Pliny wore amulets as a protection against thunder and lightning. The swarms of magicians and fanatical defenders of the heathen superstition, such as *Alexander of Abonoteichos*, and *Apollonius of Tyana*, (A. D 3-96), as well as the Jewish *Goëtae*, often found access even to the more highly cultivated classes of the Greeks and Romans. That the artificial superstition

begotten by fear, which we so frequently meet with in those times, was properly only concealed infidelity, even Plutarch perceived, when among other things, he said :¹ "The infidel has no belief in the gods ; the superstitious man would fain have none, but he believes against his will, for he is afraid to disbelieve. . . . The superstitious man is, in disposition, an infidel ; only he is too weak to think of the gods as he gladly would. The unbeliever contributes nothing to the production of superstition (?) ; but superstition has always given rise to infidelity, and furnishes it, once existing, an apparent ground of justification." But Plutarch here fails to see, that as superstition easily falls over into unbelief, so, conversely, infidelity just as often begets superstition ; the two being only symptoms of one and the same deep mental disease.

But, on the other hand, (what Plutarch likewise overlooks), there is also a superstition, grounded in a deeper religious need, and only mistaken in the choice of its object ; a superstition, therefore, in any case, preferable to infidelity. Finally, even unbelief, by producing a feeling of emptiness, may negatively prepare, at least the more earnest minds, as well for the true faith as for superstition. Hence it is not inconsistent with what we have said, that there should be, at the time of Christ, so much religious yearning, as we find, only waiting to be satisfied. The very Samaritans, who were so carried away with the juggleries of Simon Magus, that they called him "the great power of God," readily received, also, the preaching of the gospel, (Acts 8 : 5 sqq.) ; and the same Sergius Paulus, who, dissatisfied with heathenism, had with him the Jewish sorcerer and false prophet, Elymas, was won to the Christian faith on the spot by the Apostle of the Gentiles, (Acts 13 : 6 sqq.).

The best feature of this age is plainly just this religious *yearning*, which takes refuge from the turmoil and pain of life in the sanctuary of hope, but, unable to supply its own wants, is compelled to seek salvation entirely beyond itself. Expectations of the coming of a Messiah, in various forms and degrees of clearness, were at that time, by the political, intellectual, and religious contact and collision of the nations, spread over the whole world, and, like the first red streaks upon the horizon, announced the approach of day. The Persians were looking for their Sosiosch, who should conquer Ahriman and his kingdom of darkness.² The Chinese sage, Confucius, pointed his disciples to a Holy One, who should appear in the West. The wise astrologers who came to Jerusa-

¹ In his interesting work : *περὶ δεισιδαιμονίας καὶ ἀθεότητος*, cap. 11. Comp. *Neander's Kirchengesch.* I. p. 21 sqq.

² Stühr refers the saying respecting this conqueror to a later date, and assumes here an influence of the Hebrew idea of the Messiah. But, irrespective of the uncertainty of the date, the saying still shows, in any case, that Parsisr, too, was struggling towards the idea of the Redeemer.

lem to worship the new-born king of the Jews (Matt. 2 : 1 sqq.), we must look upon as the noblest representatives of the Messianic hopes of the Oriental heathens.¹ The western nations, on the contrary, looked towards the East, the land of the rising sun and of all wisdom. Suetonius and Tacitus speak of a current saying in the Roman empire, that in the East, and more particularly in Judea, a new universal empire would soon be founded.² It was probably, also, the same blind, instinctive impulse towards the East, which brought the Galatians from Germany and Gaul into Asia Minor.

Thus in a time, the like of which history, before or since, has never seen ; an age sunk in unbelief and superstition, yet anxiously waiting for deliverance from its outward and inward misery ;—in such an age appeared the SAVIOUR of sinners. In lowliness and humility, in the form of a servant as to the flesh, yet effulgent with divine glory, he came forth from a despised corner of the earth ; destroyed the power of evil in our nature ; realized in his spotless life, and in his sufferings, the highest ideal of virtue, and piety ; lifted the world with his pierced hands out of its distress ; reconciled mankind to God ; and gave a new direction to the whole current of history. To stiff-necked unbelief he was condemnation, a savor of death unto death ; to the spirit yearning for salvation, an immeasurable blessing, a savor of life unto life. Says Augustine, with as much beauty as truth : “ Christ appeared to the men of the aged, dying world, that, while every thing around them, (even that, which had once been the object of their enthusiastic love, and had filled their souls with a lofty inspiration), had withered away, they should receive through Him a new, youthful life.” With the cry : “ Repent and believe !” the Iliad of humanity closed, and its Odyssey began. Now, instead of reaching outward, like Homer’s heroes before Troy, with the powers of sense, it turned its eye within, and sailed towards its long lost home, its faithful Penelope.³ Rome, indeed, still

¹ Respecting the star of the Magi, and the remarkable astronomical calculations of a *Kepler* and others, which have shown, that, at the time of Christ’s birth, (four years before the Dionysian era), a conjunction of the planets Jupiter, Saturn, and Mars took place in the constellation Pisces, to which was added an extraordinary star, comp *Wieseler’s Chronologische Synopse der vier Evang.* 1843. p. 57 sqq.

² *Suet. Vespas. c. 4* : “ Percrebuerat Oriente toto vetus et constans opinio : esse in fati, ut eo tempore *Judaea* profecti rerum potirentur.” *Tacit. Hist. V. 13* : “ Pluribus persuasio inerat, antiquis sacerdotum literis contineri : eo ipso tempore fore, ut valesceret *Oriens*, profectique *Judaea* rerum potirentur.” That these historians falsely apply the saying to Vespasian, is altogether immaterial here.

³ Die Götter sanken vom Himmelsthron
Es stürzten die herrlichen Säulen,
Und geboren wurde der Jungfrau Sohn,
Die Gebrechen der Erde zu heilen :

dragged out her infirm and wasting life ; but she was finally compelled to bow before the foolishness of the cross, and thereby cease to be old Rome. Impenitent Judaism, it is true, with its deadly hatred of the Christian name, still wanders, ghostlike, through all ages and countries ; but only as an incontrovertible living witness for the divinity of the Christian religion. Christianity has long since conquered the world, and become the centre of all higher culture, the spring of every important movement in history, the source of every blessing to renewed humanity ; and it shall still spread, in spite of all opposition, till " every tongue shall confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father."

§ 53. *The Apostolic Church. General View.*

When the fulness of the time was come, God sent his only begotten Son. Darkness and the shadow of death covered the earth. The starlight of longing Heathenism and the brighter dawn of Judaism announced the approach of day. The central Sun of the world's history rose. The Word was made flesh. The Eternal Life appeared in personal union with human nature, to redeem it from sin and death, and reconcile it eternally with God, the fountain of all salvation and peace. The incarnation of God, the earthly life of the Redeemer, his atoning sufferings and death, his triumphant resurrection and ascension, form, therefore, the immovable divine rock of the church.

Upon this living foundation, besides which no other can be laid, the apostles, under the immediate guidance of the Holy Ghost, erected the building itself. On the day of Pentecost at Jerusalem, A. D. 30, the building was begun. The apostles, who had formerly been associated with the person of the Godman in his visible manifestation in the flesh, then for the first time came forth before the world as independent witnesses of their ascended and glorified, yet still invisibly present Master ; and the result of their testimony was the formation of that religious community, which is destined to embrace all humanity and lead it to an abiding union with God.

The apostolic period we regard as closing about A.D. 100 ; as the life of John, according to reliable tradition, reached over into the reign of Trajan, A.D. 98–117. This space of seventy years may be again divided into three subordinate periods : (1.) The founding of the Christian church among the *Jews*, or the labors of St. Peter. The activity of this apostle was specially prominent during the twenty years from Pentecost to the apostolic council at Jerusalem, A.D. 30–50 ; but it was also continued afterwards, as a complement to that of Paul. We shall

Verbannt war der Sinne flüchtige Lust,

Und der Mensch griff denkend in seine Brust.'—Schiller.

therefore, thus divide it in our representation, in order as much as possible to preserve the chronological order. (2.) The founding of the Christian church among the *Gentiles*, or the labors of St. Paul, who took the lead in the work of missions during the years 50-64. Through his instrumentality Christianity becomes gradually more independent of Judaism ; until, by the destruction of Jerusalem, the last cord that bound the Christian church to the Mosaic economy is broken. (3.) Then follows the final *summing up* and organic *union of Jewish and Gentile Christianity* in one fixed, independent whole. This is the work mainly of St. John, the apostle of completion in perfect love, who outlived all his colleagues, and accompanied the church through the threatening dangers and errors of the last thirty years of the first period to the threshold of the second, thus forming the connecting link between the two.

These three stages in the development of the apostolic church, in which we recognize striking types of the whole subsequent history of the church,¹ have their local centres in the cities of *Jerusalem*, the mother church of Jewish Christianity, *Antioch*, the starting-point of the heathen missions, and *Ephesus*, the later residence of John and the principal seat of the process of amalgamation, which he completed. At the same time *Rome*, where Peter and Paul, the representatives of the first two forms of apostolical Christianity, spent their last days and suffered martyrdom, witnesses a similar amalgamation and becomes a centre for Christianity in the West.

The *sources* of our knowledge here are the apostolic Epistles of the New Testament and the Acts of the Apostles by Luke, who, from the tenth verse of the sixteenth chapter speaks in the first person plural, plainly representing himself as a companion of Paul and an eye-witness of most of the events, which he records. The epistles, especially those of Paul, give us an authentic and inexhaustibly instructive picture of the inward development of doctrine and life in the apostolic church ; while the Acts of the Apostles present a simple, clear, and graphic view rather of its outward history. The first part of this book, to the thirteenth chapter, describes, from older documents and credible tradition, the missionary labors of Peter among the Jews, and the preparations for the Gentile mission by the conversion of the Samaritans and of Cornelius, and the founding of the church at Antioch. The second part records, chiefly from the author's personal observation, the missionary work of Paul, the Apostle of the Gentiles, down to his imprisonment at Rome. This whole book, therefore, covers only the first two stadia of this period. For the third and last we are confined almost entirely to

¹ Comp. the closing paragraph of this volume, on the Typical Import of the Apostolic Church.

the writings of St. John, which were all composed during his residence in Asia Minor, and therefore, probably not till after the year '70.¹ So far, we properly stand altogether on exegetical ground. But for the subsequent life and the death of the Apostles, we must have recourse, also, though with great critical caution, to the traditions of the second and third centuries, to complete the picture.

The apostolic period, though, on the one hand, the first link in the chain of the organic development of the church, is, on the other, essentially different from all the subsequent periods. In the first place, Christianity here appears still in intimate union with the Old Testament economy. It comes forth from the bosom of Judaism, and for a long time clothes itself in the forms of that religion. The apostles are all Jews. In their preaching they all, not even excepting Paul, go first to their brethren, preach in the synagogues, visit the temple at Jerusalem, which is, in a certain sense, the outward centre even of *their* religious life. But the church gradually separates from this home of its birth, and with the destruction of Jerusalem its outward connection with the Old Testament cultus is completely sundered.

The second and a more important peculiarity of the apostolic period, which places it above all others, is its unstained purity and primitive freshness of doctrine and life, and its extraordinary spiritual gifts, working harmoniously together, and providing, by their creative and controlling power, for all the wants and relations of the infant church. This is, so to speak, the age of heroes or demigods, fresh from the visible presence of God manifest in the flesh, and shining with the radiance of his glory, full of grace and truth. Hence John von Müller has justly called the first century, "the century of wonders." At the head of the church stand men, who enjoyed immediate intercourse with the Saviour of the world, were trained by him in person, and filled in an extraordinary degree with the Holy Ghost. Such infallible vehicles of divine revelation, such sanctified and influential persons are found in no subsequent age. They are emphatically the pillars of the church, the teachers of all ages; even the most distinguished productions of the Christian mind of later times all depend on the apostles and their writings, as the stream on the fountain. The apostolic period is rudimental and pre-formative, and at the same time typical and prophetic, for the whole history of the church; in other words, it contains the germs of all subsequent periods, Christian personalities, and tendencies. We may say, all the past

¹ An extended vindication of the credibility of the Acts of the Apostles against the profane and sophistical attacks of the modern hypercritics, *Baur*, *Schwegler*, and *Zeller*, is the less necessary here, as our whole subsequent representation will be, in some sense, a continuous apologetic commentary on the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles. Comp. also § 149 below.

and future of the church is but a progressive exposition and application of the principles and spirit presented in the New Testament. Even in the false doctrines and practices of the first century, the beginnings of Ebionism and Gnosticism, as pointed out and condemned in the apostolic writings, we see the rudiments of all the countless heresies, which have since appeared in history. This is nothing inconsistent with the idea of development. It is an invariable law of history, that each new period and tendency is headed by some great, ruling personality, embodying a long and pregnant future. Augustine, for example, was the father of the Latin theology of the Middle Ages. Luther and Melancthon were the fathers of the Lutheran church, which is, in all its history, but the unfolding of their thoughts, feelings, and faith. Gregory VII., nay, we may say, even Leo the Great, in the fifth century, carried in himself the whole papacy with all its good and evil, though it required centuries to carry out fully the idea, which floated before him. Now the apostles bear the same relation to the *whole* church, which Augustine held to the scholastic and mystic divinity, Leo and Hildebrand to the papacy, Luther and Calvin to the history of Protestantism, Spener to Pietism, Zinzendorf to the Moravians, Wesley to Methodism. They furnish the theme ; they set forth the principle, which can be fully unfolded only by the cooperation of all ages ; whereas the sphere of other men's activity is confined to a definite time and to a particular branch of the church. To this add the further distinction, that the most enlightened church teachers can lay no claim, like the apostles, to infallibility.

But it must not be forgotten here, that there is a great difference between the fulness of the Christian life in the apostles themselves, and the exhibition of it in the actual condition of the Christian communities of that period. The idea of the church was far from being perfectly realized. It had by no means become, in the strict sense, historical. It still stood above the age and the existing Christianity, as something supernatural. The apostolic churches, we see from the New Testament itself, labored under all sorts of infirmities. In this view, the succeeding ages may be said to be an advance, not upon the apostles, much less, of course, upon Christ, but upon the extent, to which the Spirit of Christ and the doctrine of his disciples was apprehended and appropriated by the apostolic churches. It is the more important to keep these two views of primitive Christianity clearly distinct, because they are so frequently confounded. In purity of doctrine and energy of life, the apostles tower far above their age, as extraordinary bearers and organs of the Holy Ghost. This is at once clear from their vast and acknowledged superiority to the so-called apostolic fathers and the church teachers of the second century, who had, nevertheless, enjoyed personal intercourse with the apostles themselves.

FIRST BOOK.

FOUNDING, SPREAD, AND PERSECUTION OF
THE CHURCH.

FOUNDING, SPREAD, AND PERSECUTION OF THE CHURCH

CHAPTER I.

THE BIRTH-DAY OF THE CHURCH.

§ 54. *The Miracle of Pentecost.*

NEXT to the incarnation, death and resurrection of the Son of God, the outpouring of the Holy Ghost and the birth of the church is the most momentous fact in history. Itself a miracle, it could only enter the world with a retinue of miraculous appearances. Yet it daily reappears, on a smaller scale, in every individual regeneration, and will thus be perpetually repeated, till all humanity shall be transformed into the image of Christ and united with God. For we have here not an isolated and transient occurrence, but the generative beginning of a vast series of workings and manifestations of God in history; the fountain of a river of life, which flows with unbroken current, through all time, till it merge in eternity. The Holy Ghost had thus far only temporarily and sporadically visited the world, to enlighten certain specially favored individuals, the bearers of the Old Testament revelation. Now he took up his permanent abode upon earth, to reside and work in the community of believers, as the principle of divine light and life, to apply more and more deeply and extensively to the souls of men the redemption objectively wrought by Christ. The relation of the Holy Ghost to the Son is like that of the Son to the Father. The Holy Spirit reveals and glorifies the Son in the church. "No man can say that Jesus is the Lord but by the Holy Ghost," (1 Cor. 12 : 3). Our Lord had expressly connected the bestowment of the Spirit of truth on his people, as their permanent possession, with his ascension to the Father. "It is expedient for you that I go away; for if I go not away, the Comforter (Helper) will not come unto you: but if I depart I will send him unto

you.” This mission of the Holy Ghost was the burden of Christ’s parting discourses before his death, as well as of his last words to his disciples at his ascension (Acts 1 : 8), when he also directed them to tarry in Jerusalem till the promise should be fulfilled, and they should be baptized with the Holy Ghost (v. 4, 5). For “out of Zion, the perfection of beauty, God hath shined,” (Ps. 50 : 2). “Out of Zion,” as predicted in Isa. 2 : 3, should “go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem.”

That this great fact, which, in the highest sense, forms an epoch, might be known at once to all the world, God had chosen as the time of its occurrence one of the great feasts of the Israelites, and, indeed, the very one, which bore a typical relation to the founding of the Christian church, like that of the Passover to the death and resurrection of Christ. *Pentecost* fell on the fiftieth day² after the day following the Paschal sabbath (Lev. 23 : 15 sq.), and was therefore reckoned, according to the common acceptance, from the 16th of Nisan, when the corn-harvest began (Lev. 23 : 11. Deut. 16 : 9). It had, with the Jews, a twofold import, physical and historical. It was, first, a festival of thanksgiving for the first fruits of the harvest, which had been gathered during the preceding seven weeks. Hence it is called in the Old Testament the *feast of weeks*,³ or the *feast of harvest*.⁴ At the same time, according to the old Rabbinical tradition, this feast had reference to the founding of the theocracy, the giving of the law on Mt. Sinai, which occurred at this time of the year, seven weeks after the exodus from Egypt. According to Jewish tradition, the giving of the law was on the 6th of the third month, Sivan, and thus exactly on the fiftieth day after the 16th of Nisan (comp. Ex. 19 : 1). This feast was accordingly called also the feast of *the joy of the law*.⁵ In both these views the day was strik-

¹ Jno. 16 : 7. Comp. the remarkable passage, Jno. 7 : 39 : “The Holy Ghost was not yet given (to believers); because that Jesus was not yet glorified;” and Jno. 12 : 24, where the Lord says with reference to his approaching death : “Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone; but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit.”

² Hence the name, from the Greek *ἡμέρα πεντεκοστή*, or simply *πεντεκοστή*, used as a substantive. (So Tobias, 2 : 1. 2 Macc. 12 : 32).

³ הַגְּשֵׁבֻעֹת (Deut. 16 : 9 sqq. Lev. 23 : 15 sqq.), *ἀγία ἑπτά ἑβδομάδων*, (Tobias 2 : 1).

⁴ הַגְּקָצִיר (Ex. 23 : 16), also הַבְּבִרְרִים (*day of first fruit*, Num. 28 : 26).

⁵ שִׂמְחַת הַתּוֹרָה. Of this signification of the feast there is, indeed, no certain trace in the Old Testament, or even in Philo or Josephus. But it was inferred by Jewish and Christian theologians from a comparison of Ex. 12 : 2 with 19 : 1, whence it appears, that the day of the giving of the law on Sinai was, in fact, the fiftieth day after the departure from Egypt, and therefore after the passover. For Israel encamped at Sinai, according to Ex. 19 : 1, on the third new moon (שְׁלִישִׁי), of the Jewish year

ingly suitable for the first Christian Pentecost, in which the Old Testament types were to find their glorious fulfillment. Then were gathered into the garner of the church the first-fruits of the Christian faith, the ripe harvest, as it were, of the Jewish people. Then was founded the fellowship of the new covenant, and that no longer merely for one nation and a few centuries, but for all mankind and forever. Then God wrote the law of the life-giving Spirit upon the hearts of men, as formerly he had written the law of the letter, which killeth, on the tables of stone.

The narrative of this momentous event is given, though very briefly, in the second chapter of Acts. On the Pentecost after the resurrection of the Lord, in the year 30 of our era,¹ on a Sunday,² the apostles and

which began with the month Nisan (reckoned from the new moon of April); on the second day Moses went up to Jehovah (v. 3); on the third, he received the answer of the people (vs. 7, 8); on the fourth he brought this answer to the Lord (v. 9), and thereupon the order was given him, that the people should sanctify themselves to-day and to-morrow, to receive the law on the third day after, i. e., as the Jewish tradition has it, on the sixth day of the third month. But the 6th of Sivan, as the third month was called, was the fiftieth day from the 16th of Nisan. For from the 16th to the 30th of Nisan are fifteen days; the second month, Siv, had twenty-nine days; which with the six days of the third month, Sivan, make fifty. Perhaps, too, there is in the law respecting Pentecost, Deut. 16 : 9-12, a hint of the historical significance of this feast, when it concludes, v. 12, with a reference to the bondage in Egypt, and to the commandments of Jehovah.

¹ We suppose, however, with Bengel and Wieseler, that this number is too small by four years at least; comp. Wieseler's *Chronol. Synopse der vier Evangelien*, 1843. p. 48 sqq. Christ died in the thirty-fourth year of his age; for, according to Luke (3 : 23; comp. the coincident date of Jno. 2 : 20), he was about thirty years old, when he was baptized, and, according to John, his public ministry lasted three years.

² In this specification of the day we come, for the first time, into conflict with the very learned and valuable "Chronologie des apostolischen Zeitalters," by Wieseler, 1848. p. 19. This author, in his chronological system, puts the first Christian Pentecost on a Sabbath, and that, the 6th of Sivan or 27th of May; as he makes the day of Christ's death the 8th of April, A. D. 30. The decision of this question depends on the determination of the day of our Lord's death. As to this date, it is well known, there is a difference among Biblical chronologists, arising from an apparent contradiction in the gospel narratives themselves. It is certain and on all hands admitted, that Christ died on a Friday. But while this Friday, according to the Synoptical Gospels, seems to have been the 15th of Nisan, an unbiased interpretation of several passages in the Gospel of John would make it the 14th. Wieseler decides for the first, and attempts, by an ingenious, but strained interpretation, to reconcile the relevant passages of John with this date. But, on different grounds, which we cannot here specify, we hold the latter date to be the true one, and think, that the accounts of the Synoptical Gospels on closer inspection harmonize with this, and that, therefore, the contradiction between them and John's Gospel is only apparent (comp. Bleek: *Beiträge zur Evangelienkritik*. 1846. p. 107-156; Weitzel: *Die christliche Passafeyer der drei ersten Jahrhunderte*. 1848. p. 296 sqq.; and Ebrard: *Wissenschaftliche Kritik der evang. Geschichte*. 2nd ed. 1859. p. 506 sqq., where the learned and ingenious arguments of Hengstenberg

other followers of Jesus, to the number of a hundred and twenty, ten times twelve (comp. Acts 1 : 15), were assembled with one accord for devotion in their accustomed place, most probably an apartment of the temple, perhaps Solomon's porch (comp. 3 : 11. 5 : 12). During the first hour

and Wieseler are thoroughly refuted).—If now the death of Jesus fell on a Friday, and on the 14th of Nisan; then the 16th of Nisan in that year was Sunday; and if we number from this Sunday, according to the direction Lev. 23 : 15, fifty days, we have a Sunday again for the Pentecost. This view is supported, also, by the primitive and universal custom of the Christian church. The church always celebrated Pentecost on Sunday, the fiftieth day after Easter—which likewise always falls on Sunday—and the tenth day after the Ascension. The whole controversy respecting the day of this feast would be easily settled, if we should suppose, with the Caraites, that פֶּנֶת in Lev. 23 : 11, 15, 16,—the decisive passages for the point before us—does not mean, as the pharisaical Jews maintained, the first day of the feast of the passover, which was kept as a sabbath, on whatever day of the week it came, but the *proper* Sabbath, the seventh day of the week. In this case Pentecost would always fall on a Sunday. This view has latterly been ingeniously advocated by Hitzig, mainly on lexicographical grounds, (*Ostern und Pfingsten. Sendschreiben an Ideler*. Heidelb. 1837). It cannot be certainly proved, however, that the custom of the Caraites reaches back to the time of Christ. Yet in any case it is rather in favor of our view, and against Wieseler's.

¹ The determination of the place, also, like the fixing of the time, of this event is full of difficulty. Luke designates the locality simply by οἶκος, c. 2 : 2. This expression, in itself, certainly suggests at first a private house; and thus most interpreters, including Neander (*Ap. Gesch.* I. p. 13. 4th ed.), understand it. In this case we must suppose, that the disciples were assembled in an upper room (מִטְעָה, ὑπερφῶν), which, according to Oriental custom, was the apartment generally used as a place of devotion, (comp. Acts 1 : 13), and then came out on the flat roof to address the multitude gathered in the street and court; for the house itself could certainly not have held all the hearers, of whom there were three thousand baptized. But οἶκος does not necessarily denote a private dwelling. In 1 Kings 8 : 10 (LXX), it is applied to the temple in general, much more may it be used for ἱερόν, when, as in the case before us, a single apartment of the temple is spoken of. The temple itself embraced several buildings, οἶκους, οἰκοδομάς; comp. Mk. 13 : 1, 2. Matt. 24 : 1; not to mention the passage in *Josephus : Antiqu.* VIII. 3, 2, where the thirty side-chambers around the main building are termed οἶκοι. That we are to understand the word, in the present case, not of a private house, but, with Olshausen and Wieseler, of an apartment of the temple, seems to us evident on the following grounds :

1. According to Luke 24 : 53, and Acts 2 : 46, comp. 5 : 42, the disciples assembled daily in the temple. They still adhered strictly to their ancestral mode of worship. These statements of Luke sufficiently authorize us, without waiting for an express notification, to suppose, that on the days of Pentecost also, and especially on this one, they met in the temple. Besides, he intimates as much, in the remark, 2 : 15, that the event took place at the third hour, or 9 o'clock in the morning, at which time the Jews were accustomed to bring their daily morning sacrifice, and to pray in the temple.

2. The whole story becomes more clear and striking. The vast concourse of people, particularly, can be much better explained, if it was to the temple.

3. We may add, finally, with Olshausen, that the event gains in significance, if "the solemn inauguration of the church of Christ" took place "in the sanctuary of the Old

of prayer, about 9 o'clock in the morning, unusual signs announced the fulfillment of the Saviour's solemn promise, for which they had anxiously waited and fervently prayed—the outpouring of the Spirit and the beginning of a new moral creation. As, through the mysterious sympathy between the physical and the moral worlds, the great epochs of history are usually preceded or accompanied by extraordinary phenomena in nature ; as, for example, the promulgation of the divine law on Sinai was solemnly announced by “thunders and lightnings and the voice of the trumpet exceeding loud,” (comp. Ex. 19 : 16 sqq.) ; so was it here ; and the disciples recognized in the sensible form, under which God now revealed himself to them, a fit emblem of what was taking place in the spiritual world. A sound from heaven, as of rushing wind, suddenly filled the quiet house of prayer ; a precursor, announcing the approach of the supernatural power of God. The Holy Spirit, who had once brooded over the chaos of the material world, as the creative, animating breath of God, now, in a higher form, as the Spirit of the glorified Redeemer, with all the fulness of his theanthropic life ; as the principle of the new moral and religious creation ; as the Spirit of faith and love, of truth and holiness ; descended upon the worshippers, and rested upon them in the form of cloven tongues, like as of fire. Wind and fire are here plainly symbolical of the purifying, enlightening, and enlivening power of God ; the sacramental channels, as it were, of the promised baptism with the Holy Ghost and with fire (Matt. 3 : 11) ; and, at the same time, prophetic of the lofty inspiration of the messengers of the faith, and of the life-giving nature of their future labors. These heavenly tokens, moreover, were probably visible only to the inward eyes of the believers, like the effulgence of the opened heavens at the baptism of Christ and the death of Stephen.

Covenant.” The organic connection of the two Testaments, and the typical relation of the Jewish Pentecost to the Christian, are more distinctly brought out. Yet it might be objected to this, that Christianity, as a worshipping of God in spirit and in truth, attaches less importance, than either Judaism or Heathenism, to the sacredness of particular times and places.

But the first two considerations seem to us sufficient to establish the opinion that the outpouring of the Spirit took place in the temple. The very mention of Pentecost, c. 2 : 1, directs the mind to the temple, and the whole connection would fix it there, unless there be some positive declaration in the text to the contrary ; and no such declaration is involved in the mere expression, *οἶκος*. We think it very probable that the particular scene of the Pentecostal miracle was the so-called “Porch of Solomon,” on the east side of the temple ; hence called also *στοὰ ἀνατολική*. For in this hall, which was not destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, but remained as a venerable relic in the temple of Zerubbabel, and, as it were, represented the unity of the two houses of God, the disciples were accustomed, after the example of Jesus (Jno. 10 : 23), to meet for preaching and mutual edification (Acts 3 : 11. 5 : 12).

Through these significant symbolical channels were the hundred and twenty disciples, and especially the apostles, "*filled with the Holy Ghost*," (Acts 2 : 4). This phrase, which must be understood in its full New Testament sense, describes the proper essence and the main feature of the Pentecostal miracle. The disciples were not merely enlightened in the ordinary sense, but transferred into a new, supernatural sphere of life, into the centre of Christian truth and holiness, and transformed into organs of the Holy Ghost, according to the Lord's prediction : "The Spirit of truth shall testify of me, and ye also shall bear witness," (Jno. 15 : 26, 27). "It is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father which speaketh in you," (Matt. 10 : 20). At this moment was performed the proper act of *inspiration*, which forms, in some degree, the continuation, in the apostles, of the incarnation of the Word. Inspiration is as much a practical as a theoretical process. It is a communication as well of life, as of the knowledge of Christ, and affects not only the subsequent *writings* of the apostles and evangelists, but also all their *oral* instructions. Henceforth they always spoke, wrote, and acted, out of the fulness of the Spirit. He was the pervading and controlling principle of their entire moral and religious being. This supernatural equipment was their solemn *ordination* and *inauguration* to the apostolic office.

The first effects of this miracle were in perfect keeping with such a creative beginning, and with its vast significance for the future. Among them we must distinguish (1) the *speaking with tongues*, or the utterance of the new life in a new form of prayer and praise ; (2) the *testimony* of the apostles concerning Christ, given in intelligible language to the assembled multitude, which, at this hour of service, was at any rate on its way to the temple, and which was the more attracted thither by the rushing sound and the speaking with tongues ;¹ (3) the *result of this preaching*, the conversion and baptism of the three thousand Israelites. The speaking with tongues here makes its first appearance, and the obscurity of the subject demands for it a more extended consideration.²

¹ The demonstrative in the phrase *φωνῆς ταύτης*, Acts 2 : 6, seems to refer it to the speaking with tongues immediately preceding, while the singular of the substantive points rather to the storm-like roaring, v. 2. It may be taken, however, as an indefinite collective referring to both ; for at some distance the single voices of those, who spoke with tongues, could not be distinguished, and all would sound like a confused noise.

² The different interpretations of *γλώσσαις λαλεῖν*, which we cannot here give in detail, are very conveniently and completely classified by *De Wette* in his *Commentar zur Apostelgeschichte*, p. 20-30.

§ 55. *The Speaking with Tongues.*

The *speaking with other* or *with new tongues*, or simply *speaking with tongues*, (*Glossolaly*),¹ which, along with miraculous powers, the Lord had expressly promised to his disciples before his ascension, (Mk. 16 : 17), marks, in its first appearance, that creative act of the Holy Ghost, in which he for the first time broke through the confines of nature, took forcible possession, so to speak, of the human mind, and solemnly consecrated human language to become the organ of the gospel. As in general the inward and the outward, soul and body, thought and form, are intimately connected; so here, the new spirit created for itself a new language. The speaking with tongues, however, was not confined to the day of Pentecost. Together with the other extraordinary spiritual gifts which distinguished this age above the succeeding periods of more quiet and natural development, this gift, also, though to be sure in a modified form, perpetuated itself in the apostolic church. We find traces of it still in the second and third centuries,² and, (if we credit the legends of

Luke, in his account of the Pentecost, uses the expression : "to speak with *other tongues*," (*ἐτέραις γλώσσαις λαλεῖν*). perhaps in antithesis with the vernacular, though possibly, also, in opposition to all natural language. Our Lord himself, in Mark 16 : 17, calls the gift : "speaking with *new* (*καιναῖς*) tongues." This expression seems rather to point to an entirely new language, never before spoken, and immediately prompted by the Holy Ghost. It is, no doubt, to be regarded as the original and most suitable expression; the emphasis lying on *new*. In all other cases the elliptical form is used, "to speak with tongues," (*γλώσσαις λαλεῖν*; also in the singular, *γλώσση λαλ.*, Acts 10 : 46. 19 : 6. 1 Cor. c. 12 and 14.) Grammatically, the simplest meaning of *γλώσση* is *language*. In the second chapter of Acts this rendering is demanded by the epithet, *ἐτέροις*, and by the word, *διαλέκτος*, used evidently in the same sense by the strangers present, v. 8; and this alone, too, suits the singular form, *γλώσση λαλ.*, as used by Paul, 1 Cor. 14 : 2, 4, 13, 14, 19, 26, 27. This latter form of expression itself is enough to disprove the ingenious interpretation of *Bleek*, who would understand by *γλώσσαι* the unusual, highly poetical, antique, provincial expressions—a meaning exceedingly rare in the profane writers, but never to be found in the Old or New Testament. Some would adhere to the meaning *tongue*, the *organ* of speech, (to which, also, our common translation : "tongues," may mislead). But this allows no explanation whatever of *καιναῖς* and *ἐτέροις*, which can certainly relate only to the language itself. For the instrument of speech, in the speaking with tongues, could have been no other than the ordinary tongue. When *Kahn* says, (*Lehre vom heil. Geist*, I. p. 64), that the tongue is here named, because "in this kind of speaking there is wanting that which does not ordinarily remind one of the tongue," and because it "appears to the hearers as a mere vibration of the tongue,"—I confess, I cannot attach any clear idea to his words. He seems not to consider, that the expressions : *γλώσσαις* and *γλώσση λαλεῖν*, are only abbreviated for *καιναῖς* or *ἐτέροις γλ. λαλ.*, and that the adjective, not the noun, is the emphatic word.

¹ Irenaeus, (†202), speaks of many brethren then living, who "possessed gifts of *prophecy*, and spoke in diverse languages, (*παντοδαπαῖς γλώσσαις*), by the Spirit, and

the Roman church), even later than this, though very seldom.¹ Analogies to this speaking with tongues may perhaps be found also in the ecstatic prayers and prophecies of the Montanists in the second century, and of the kindred Irvingites in the nineteenth; yet it is hard to tell, whether these are the work of the Holy Ghost, or Satanic imitations, or, what is most probable, the result of an unusual excitement of mere *nature*, under the influence of religion, a more or less morbid enthusiasm, and ecstasis of feeling.² They are, however, at all events, interesting

brought the hidden things of men to light, for edification, and expounded the mysteries of God," (Adv. haer. V. 6). Comp. the somewhat obscure passage of Tertullian, in his work against Marcion, V. 8, and *Neander's Gesch. der Pflanzung und Leitung*, etc. I. 26, 4th ed.

¹ Dr. Middleton, indeed, (*Inquiry into mirac. Powers*, p. 120), asserts: "After the apostolic times, there is not, in all history, one instance, either well attested, or *even so much as mentioned*, of any particular person who had ever exercised that gift (of tongues), or pretended to exercise it in any age or country whatsoever." But this opinion, adopted by many Protestants, is shown, even by the passage just quoted from Irenaeus, to be false. In later times, also, at least three examples of the kind are known, on the merits of which, however, we express no opinion. Judgments respecting the Romish miracles must be formed with the greatest caution. The Spanish saint, Vincennes Ferrer, is said to have preached to the Jews, Moors, and Christians, and to have converted vast multitudes of them, by the aid of his miraculous gift of tongues. The bull for the canonization of Louis Bertrand, 1671, ascribes to him the same gift, through which he is said to have converted, in three years, 10,000 Indians of different tribes and dialects in South America. The celebrated Jesuit missionary, St. Xavier, is reported to have been enabled, at least on special occasions, to speak languages, which he had not learned, while, in other cases, he studied the various dialects of East India; and the bull for his canonization by Urban VIII expressly ascribes to him the miraculous gift of tongues. Comp. Dr. John Milner: *The End of Religious Controversy*, Letter XXIV.

² The speaking with tongues in the Irvingite congregations, as it manifested itself in the earlier years of this sect in England, was at first a speaking in strange sounds resembling Hebrew, after which the speakers continued in their English vernacular. A Swiss, by the name of Michael Hohl, an eye and ear witness of this phenomenon, gives the following interesting description of it in his *Bruchstücken aus dem Leben und den Schriften Edward Irving's, gewesenen Predigers an der schottischen Nationalkirche in London*. St. Gallen. 1839. p. 149: "Before the outbreak of the discourse the person concerned appeared to be entirely sunk in reflection, his eyes closed and covered with the hand. Then suddenly, as if by an electric shock, he fell into a violent convulsion, which shook his whole frame. Upon this an impetuous gush of strange, energetic tones, which sounded to my ears most like those of the Hebrew language, poured from his quivering lips. This was commonly repeated three times, and, as already remarked, with incredible vehemence and shrillness. This first effusion of strange sounds, which were regarded chiefly as proof of the genuineness of the inspiration, was always followed, in the same vehement tone, by a longer or shorter address in English, which was likewise repeated, some of it word by word, and some sentence by sentence. It consisted now of very pressing and earnest exhortations, now of fearful warnings containing, also, truly valuable and moving words of consolation. The

psychological phenomena, which may serve to throw some light on supernatural states of mind.

We must here distinguish between the proper *essence* of this speaking with tongues, as a gift of the apostolic church in general, and the *particular form*, under which it made its first appearance on the day of Pentecost. In examining the first, we must call to our aid the extended and accurate description of it, by Paul in his first epistle to the Corinthians; though of this we shall speak hereafter by itself.

First, as to the general *nature* of this phenomenon. It is an involuntary, spiritual utterance in an ecstatic state of the most elevated devotion, in which the man is not, indeed, properly transported out of himself, but rather sinks into the inmost depths of his own soul, and thus, into direct contact with the divine essence within him; in which state, however, for this very reason, his ordinary consciousness of himself and of the world, and with it his common mode of speaking, is suspended, and he is controlled entirely by the consciousness of God, and becomes an involuntary organ of the objective Spirit of God, which filis him. Hence it is said, Acts 2 : 4 : "And they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues, *as the Spirit gave them utterance.*" This inspiration affects matter and form, thought and style. Paul terms speaking with tongues a praying and singing "in the Spirit," (πνεῦμα,) denoting the highest power of intuition, the immediate consciousness of God, in distinction from the "understanding," (νοῦς,) that is the intellectual consciousness, reflection, (1 Cor. 14 : 14, 15). The things thus uttered were praise for the mighty acts of God's redeeming love,¹ in the form of prayer, thanksgiving, and song.² This gift stands next to that of prophecy, which likewise rests upon a direct inward revelation of divine mysteries, and, in Acts 19 : 6, is immediately connected with the first. But these gifts differ in two respects. First; the one, who speaks with tongues, addresses God; the prophet addresses the assembly. The latter part was usually taken to be an expository paraphrase of the first, though it could not be decidedly explained as such by the speaker. After this utterance, the inspired person remained a long time sunk in deep silence, and only gradually recovered from the exhaustion of the effort.³ The inward state of such persons was thus described to the narrator by a young female: "The Spirit fell upon her unawares and with irresistible power. For the time she felt herself guided and borne entirely by a higher power, without which she would have been absolutely incapable of such exertions. Of what she felt compelled to utter, she had no clear consciousness; much less did she understand anything she spoke in a strange language, entirely unknown to her; so that she could not afterwards tell definitely anything she had said. The utterance was invariably followed by great weariness and exhaustion, from which she in a short time recovered."

¹ Acts 2 : 11. 10 : 46. 1 Cor. 14 : 14-16.

² Acts 10 : 46. 1 Cor. 14 : 14-18.

Secondly ; the latter speaks intelligibly, even for unbelievers ; while the former, at least in the Corinthian church, could not be understood without an interpreter, (1 Cor. 14 : 2 sqq.) Hence Paul gives the prophetic gift the preference, (1 Cor. 14 : 5), and compares speaking with tongues to the tinkling of a cymbal, (1 Cor. 13 : 1), to the uncertain sound of an instrument, (1 Cor. 14 : 7, 8), to the language of a barbarian, which no one understands, (1 Cor. 14 : 11), and which seems to the uninitiated like raving, (v. 23). Speaking with tongues was, therefore, a dialogue between the enraptured soul and God ; an act of *self*-edification ; and became edifying to others only through the gift of interpretation, by being translated into the language of common life. Yet in this latter respect the gift of tongues as it appeared on the day of Pentecost seems to differ from that described by the Apostle ; and this leads us to the second point.

As to the *peculiar form*, which this gift at first assumed. The language seems to have been at once, to a certain extent, intelligible to the hearers without interpretation. At least there is nothing said of interpretation in the narrative in Acts. Yet even in this case, an inward susceptibility was necessary to understand what was said. For some of the multitude mocked, and attributed what they witnessed to drunkenness, (Acts 2 : 13) ; and this agrees perfectly with what Paul says of the impression made on unbelievers by the speaking with tongues, (1 Cor. 14 : 23). Then again, we must consider,—what is commonly altogether overlooked,—that the speaking with tongues was, even in this case, primarily an address to God, and not to men. It was an act of divine worship on the part of the disciples, the ecstatic expression of their gratitude and praise, and belonged, therefore, to the inward life of the church itself. For it began even *before* the multitude had collected, (Acts 2 : 4, cf. v. 6) ; and it could produce in the hearers only a vague astonishment, an impression that God had wrought a miracle, and a desire to understand it more fully. It was then explained to them, not by a new act of glossolaly, but by the clear discourse of Peter, in the language of their every-day life, (v. 14 sqq.), the object of which was to spread outwardly the new life of faith, which had so powerfully broken forth within the apostles in the speaking with tongues. Thus the accounts of Luke and of Paul, as to the relation of the speaking with tongues to the speakers and hearers, do not differ so much as might at first sight appear.

But a second and more important difference is this. Paul gives no hint, that to speak with tongues was to use all sorts of *foreign* languages, in distinction from the vernacular. He himself did not understand the language of Lycaonia, (Acts 14 : 11, 14), though he had the

gift of tongues in a high degree, (1 Cor. 14 : 18 : "I thank my God, I speak with tongues more than ye all.") The tradition of the primitive church, also, speaks of interpreters of the apostles. Thus Mark is called by Papias, "the interpreter of Peter." Paul's description seems rather to require the conception of an altogether uncommon use either of the *vernacular* ; or of an entirely *new* spiritual language, a speaking with the tongues of angels, (1 Cor. 13 : 1), which differed from *all* common languages, in proportion as the soul of the speaker was raised above ordinary consciousness and intellectual reflection. The inward rapture, the extraordinary and involuntary elevation of the mind into the divine life, expressed itself also involuntarily in the kind and mode of communication ; though undoubtedly, so far as the essential elements of this gift are concerned, the speaker's native language might be employed. For this reason he could be understood by none, who were not themselves in the same state of lofty inspiration. The book of Acts, on the contrary, describes the speaking with tongues as the use of the various languages of the *foreigners*, who were present at the feast of Pentecost. For the very cause of their astonishment was, that the unlearned Galileans spoke in languages, which they could not be expected to know, and the command of which must have been suddenly and miraculously given them, (2 : 6-11). That this is the clear, indisputable, literal sense of the narrative, is admitted even by Rationalistic interpreters.

But if, now, we recognize no difference between the speaking with tongues on the day of Pentecost, and that in the Corinthian church, if we totally deny the use of foreign languages, not acquired in the usual way ; we are forced either to admit an unhistorical, mythical element in the story of Luke¹—which for us, however, is, on internal as well as external grounds, absolutely impossible—or to suppose self-deception on the part of the hearers, whose impressions the narrator simply relates without giving any opinion of his own respecting them. It might be thought, for instance, that the disciples spoke, indeed, in a language prompted by the Holy Ghost, and entirely new, though perhaps closely allied to the Aramaic ; but with such power of kindling inspiration, that the susceptible hearers involuntarily translated what they heard into their mother-tongue, as though it were spoken in this, and the barrier of different tongues was for a moment removed by fellowship in the Holy Ghost. Each susceptible hearer felt his own *inmost peculiar nature* appealed to, so that his soul was released from its natural disability by

¹ As is done even by Dr. Neander, *Ap. Gesch.* I. p. 28. This is one of the many cases where this venerable divine, whose supranaturalistic and truly evangelical views and deep experience of the living power of Christianity, otherwise fundamentally separate him from all Rationalism, has unfortunately yielded too much in his "*Apostel geschichte*," and still more in his "*Leben Jesu*," to modern criticism.

this ecstatic language, and operated in a miraculous manner.¹ Or, according to another modification of this theory, it may be supposed, with Billroth, that the disciples spoke in the *primitive tongue*, which the pride of Babel had caused to be split into a multitude of languages. The children of the new Zion, in their humility, were enabled to gather again its scattered fragments and relics into unity; and it sounded to the inmost recesses of souls seized by the same spirit, as a mysterious memento of Paradise, and a cheering prophecy of the future. In either case, therefore, the miracle would be transferred rather into the hearers.

Yet we must confess that these attempts at a psychological explanation are not altogether satisfactory to us, since they do not comport with a natural view of the text in the Acts. Besides, we see no reason, why the speaking with tongues on Pentecost, and that in the Corinthian church, should in every point exactly coincide. Here is the error both of the older orthodox view, which supposes in both cases the use of foreign languages, not naturally acquired, for the spread of the gospel; and of the view taken by several moderns, who make the description of Paul the rule for interpreting that of Luke. Rather does the apostle Paul himself seem to indicate a difference in the forms of this gift, by the expression: "*kinds*" or "*diversities* of tongues," (γένη γλωσσῶν, 1 Cor. 12 : 10, 28), as also by the distinction between tongues of men and of angels, (1 Cor. 13 : 1). We would, therefore, not confound, by exegetical and philosophical subtilties, things thus distinguished; and, relying on the simple literal sense of the narrative in Acts, we suppose, that, in the first appearance of this creative gift, and in presence of an assembly gathered from all quarters of the globe, there was an extraordinary elevation of soul, in which the Holy Spirit temporarily (not permanently) enabled the disciples, in this state of ecstatic inspiration, to grasp the different languages then and there represented, and thereby to make the deeper impression on the susceptible portion of the hearers.²

Nor is it difficult to discern the symbolical import of the phenomenon. It was, in the first place, for the apostles personally, a divine assurance and guarantee, that they were called to be witnesses of Christ in the whole world, and it inspired them with courage and joy to enter upon their work. At the same time it was, for all present, an ocular pro

¹ In a similar way Dr. Martensen explains the phenomenon: *Die Christliche Dogmatik*. Kiel. 1850. p. 381. Comp. Steffe's: *Religionsphilosophie*, II. 346.

² Could we appeal to the Irvingite glossolaly, as a reasonable analogy, we should here have a similar elevation, in which, according to Hohl's account above quoted, the ecstatic discourses were delivered first in *strange* sounds, like Hebrew, and afterwards, when the excitement had somewhat abated, in the *English* vernacular. Yet this analogy might be used more naturally to illustrate the relation between speaking with tongues and the interpretation of tongues.

phetic demonstration of the universality of Christianity as ordained for all nations and countries, and of the fact, that the preaching of the gospel and the praise of God should soon be heard in every language of the earth. It is probably with this view, that Luke, (Acts 2 : 9-11), specifies the names of the nations. Those foreigners "out of every nation under heaven," three thousand of whom on that day believed, were the representatives of all the nations in which the church was planted in the apostolic age. In this respect the speaking with tongues on the birth-day of the church, like the day itself, stands forth without parallel in history ; and, at the same time, as a significant prophecy, which is gradually being fulfilled in the history of missions, as the gospel advances in triumph from nation to nation, not to rest, till the whole world shall become obedient to the faith, and "every tongue confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father," (Phil. 2 : 11). As a personal gift to individual Christians, the power to speak with tongues is no longer needed. The church and the Holy Scriptures now proclaim the wonderful works of God in almost all the languages of the earth. Even in the time of the apostles this gift lost its original form, though in its essence, as an act of worship, as an ecstatic address of prayer and praise to God, it continued still longer. For we can see no reason for supposing, that, in the house of Cornelius, for instance, (Acts 10 : 46, comp. 19 : 6), or in the Corinthian church, (in other words, among those who were already believers), it manifested itself precisely in the use of foreign languages. In the Roman empire, the chief theatre of Christianity, the missionaries could make themselves understood almost anywhere by means of the Greek and Latin tongues ; and the way in which the apostles themselves handle the Greek, in their writings, shows that they had learned it in the usual way. And the history of primitive missions gives no intimation, that the rapid spread of the gospel was caused or even aided by a supernatural gift of tongues.

We have yet to observe, however, in fine, that the Holy Scriptures represent the origin of the different languages as a punishment of human pride, (Gen. 11) ; and that Christianity, as it can accommodate itself to all tongues and nations, has power, also, to break down gradually all the partition walls, which sin has set up, and to unite the scattered children of God, not only in one fold under one shepherd, but also in one language of the Spirit. Of this union of nations and tongues the miracle of speech on the day of Pentecost may be regarded as the divine guarantee ; so that the end of the development of the church was prophetically anticipated and typified in her very beginning.¹

¹ In this sense, we can adopt the profound language of the Anglo-Saxon presbyter the venerable Bede : "Unitatem linguarum, quam superbia Babylonis disperserat, hu

§ 56. *The Sermon of Peter and its Result.*

The astonishment of the well-disposed hearers at these wonderful proceedings, and the mockery of the unbelievers, who ascribed the speaking with tongues to intoxication, called for an explanation and apology ; and this first independent testimony of the apostles, poured forth from the fulness of the Spirit, was the effective signal for gathering in the first fruits of the new spiritual creation. Thus the work of preaching is immediately connected with the founding of the church ; and thenceforth it is the chief instrument of extending the kingdom of God. The testimony of the Holy Ghost perpetuates itself in the testimony of those in whom he dwells, (Jno. 15 : 26, 27). It is at once the fruit of faith and the means of propagating it. The speaking with tongues is followed by the *interpretation* of tongues, and intelligible, calm *prophecy*, and the religious faculties, which had been agitated to their inmost depths, are restored to their regular natural action.

True to his character as presented in the Gospels, the ardent, impetuous *Peter*, born to be a leader and spokesman, came forward in the name of his colleagues and of the whole church, and thus proved himself, with his fearless confession of faith, to be, in fact, the rock, upon which the Lord, as the architect, had promised to build his church. His discourse to the assembled multitude, delivered probably in the Hebrew language, is exceedingly simple and appropriate. It is neither a direct assault upon Judaism, nor an exposition of doctrine, but simply the annunciation of historical facts, especially the resurrection of Jesus ; an unpretending, but powerful testimony of the most assured experience, the immediate effusion of the divine life within ; an expansion of the fundamental confession before made by Peter, that Jesus was the Son of the living God and the Saviour of sinners ; in short, a genuine *missionary* sermon. The contrast here is remarkable between the exalted inspiration just exhibited in the speaking with tongues, and the calm self-possession and clearness of this sermon. But the harmonious union of these two gifts is a characteristic feature of the apostles, who were thus as far removed from cold intellectualism, as from extravagant enthusiasm.

Peter begins, with meek condescension and exemplary mildness, by refuting the rude charge of drunkenness with the very modest and apparently trivial, but popular and conclusive argument, that it is but the third hour of the day, (9 o'clock in the morning), before which time the Jews usually indulged in nothing, and even drunkards were sober.

mili as ecclesiae recolligit." In like manner says the celebrated Dutch expositor, Grotius : "*Pocna* linguarum dispersit homines, *donum* linguarum dispersos in unum populum recolligit."

This appearance, he goes on to say, is nothing else than the glorious fulfillment of the prophecy of Joel concerning the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, which was to be attended with unusual natural phenomena—the outpouring of the Spirit, too, not only upon single extraordinary ambassadors of God, as under the Old Dispensation, but upon all people, even the most insignificant and illiterate. This communication of the Spirit is brought about by Jesus of Nazareth, the promised Messiah, who was powerfully accredited to you as such by works and miracles. Ye did, indeed, deliver him up, according to the eternal counsel and foreknowledge of God,¹ and crucify him by the hands of heathen Romans. But God has raised him from the dead, according to the promise in the sixteenth Psalm;² and of this fact we all are living witnesses. This risen One, exalted at the right hand of God, hath sent us his Spirit, as ye here see. Know, therefore, that God himself has, by indisputable facts, shown this *Jesus*, crucified by you, to be the Messiah, from whom ye yourselves, as Israelites, look for all salvation.

The great point of the apostle evidently was, to show, in few, but im-

¹ The death of Jesus was, on the part of God, the fulfillment of the eternal decree of redemption; on the part of Jesus, a free act of love; on the part of the Jews, a crime for which they were accountable, the climax of their sin against Jehovah. Here only the first and last relations are brought to view. Peter charges *all* present with 'the murder of Jesus; first, because the act of the magistrate is the act of the people, whom he represents, and who, in this case, moreover, had directly coöperated, crying "Crucify him! Crucify him!"—secondly, because the death of the Lord is, by reason of the universal sinfulness, the common act and crime of the human race. When Meyer, on Acts 2 : 23, replies to this latter statement, that then Peter must have spoken in the *first* person, including himself, instead of the second,—he does not consider, that the apostle here speaks in the name of *God* and *Christ*, and that he, as a believer, was acquitted of his share in the crime.

² David composed this Psalm with his mind and heart upon the theocracy, which God had promised should stand forever, and he looked with the eye of prophecy to the Messiah, through whom death and the grave were to be abolished, and the theocracy was to be fully unfolded. Olshausen explains the matter thus: "The dread of dissolution and of the dark valley of death awoke in David a longing to have death completely conquered; and this desire the prophetic Spirit enabled him to see fulfilled in the person of the Messiah." Hengstenberg, in his *Commentar zu Psalmen*, I. p. 306 sqq., after the example of Calvin, views the pious Psalmist as the primary subject of the sixteenth Psalm: but since David, v. 10, triumphs over death and the grave in the consciousness of his union with God, he could do this, in truth, only as a member of the body of Christ; and so far the Psalm is Messianic. "Out of Christ," says Hengstenberg, (p. 337), "this hope must be regarded as a mere visionary expectation, which would in the end be disappointed. David served God in his generation, and then died, was buried, and returned to dust. But in Christ, who brought life and immortality to light, this hope has its full truth. David in Christ is perfectly justifiable in speaking as he does. Christ has vanquished death not only for himself, but also for his members. His resurrection is our resurrection."

pressive words, the official character of Jesus as Messiah, from a comparison of the present occurrences with the clear prophecies of the Old Testament, which the hearers themselves acknowledged ; and at the same time, by touching upon the crucifixion, of which the Jews were the authors, to lead these Jews to earnest repentance. The sermon had its designed effect. The convicted and alarmed hearers anxiously asked : "What shall we do ?" Peter required them to repent and be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins, and they should receive the same Holy Spirit whose wonderful workings they perceived in the apostles. For the promise was intended for them, and for their children, even for all the Gentiles,¹ whom the Lord should call. Thus repentance and faith, the turning of the heart away from the world and sin, and towards God through Christ, appear here, as in all the Scriptures, as the first condition of participation in the kingdom of God, and in the blessings of salvation, namely, the forgiveness of sins, imparted and sealed by Christian baptism, and the gift of the Holy Ghost as the new positive principle of life.

After several other exhortations to repentance, those who received the word gladly were baptized, and about three thousand souls were gathered, on this harvest festival of the new covenant, into the granaries of Christ's kingdom. Here for the first time was fulfilled the word of the Lord, that, in consequence, and by virtue of his ascension to the Father, his disciples should do greater works, than he himself wrought in the days of his humiliation, (Jno. 14 : 12). The awakening testimony of Peter, and the extraordinary operation of the Holy Spirit, supplied the want of longer preparation for the solemn act of baptism, which here coincided with true conversion. But the young plant needed strengthening and care. The believers were constant and united in attention to the four essential elements of all truly Christian associate life,—the instruction of the apostles ; brotherly fellowship in active, self-denying love ; breaking of bread, i. e. partaking of the Lord's Supper in connection with the daily love-feasts ; and prayer, (Acts 2 : 42). Jesus Christ, the Son of God and Son of Man, the fulfiller of the whole Old Testament, was the centre of their faith ; and Christianity proved itself not merely a theory, nor an emotion, nor a collection of moral precepts and actions ; but *life*, in the deepest and most comprehensive sense ; a power of God to make happy all, who believe in it. "And the Lord added to the church daily such as should be saved."

This was the pre-formative beginning of the church. It has never

¹ So we understand the phrase : τοῖς εἰς μακρόν, Acts 2 : 39, comp. Zech. 6 : 15. For Peter already knew, that the Gentiles also were called to salvation ; only he thought they must first become Jews. until the vision, (c. 10), taught him better.

yet had its like in history, but it will one day be repeated ; for the promise of Joel has not yet reached its absolute fulfillment. This young band of believers, with their successors, were to be the salt of the earth, to preserve the mass of humanity from spiritual putrefaction ; and the communion then founded was to be thenceforth the basis of every true advance in morality, science, art, social life, and outward civilization, as well as the spring of all great events in later history. The apostles, before shy and timid, we find, from this day forth, armed with undaunted courage in bearing witness of the truth. Before unknown, or little cared for, they become at once the heroes of the day, and soon attract the attention, not only of Palestine, but of the whole world. A few honest, plain fishermen of Galilee, raised to be the official witnesses of the Holy Ghost ; transformed from illiterate men into infallible organs of the Saviour of the world, teachers of all ages ;—truly, this is marvellous in our eyes !

CHAPTER II.

THE MISSION IN PALESTINE, AND PREPARATION FOR THE MISSION TO THE GENTILES.

§ 57. *Growth and Persecution of the Church in Jerusalem.*

THE mother church of Christendom, after so glorious a beginning, grew mightily, both inwardly and outwardly, and at first found great favor with the people, (Acts 2 : 47), for the purity of its walk, and the glow of its first love and benevolence, which reached even to a community of goods. But even the opposition, which soon arose against it in the unbelieving world, must according to a universal law of the kingdom of God, serve only to purify and extend it. As on the day of Pentecost, so also in the succeeding history down to the appearance of Paul, Peter is the great leader, promoter, and defender of the church, by word and deed. Behind him walks John, in mysterious silence, betokening a hidden depth of life and great promise for the future. The miraculous healing of one, who had been more than forty years a cripple, by the sublime word of Peter : "Silver and gold have I none ; but such as I have give I thee : In the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth rise up and walk," (Acts 3 : 6), made a great noise among the people, and increased the number of male members of the church to five thousand.¹ But at

¹ Acts 4 : 4. Dr. Baur regards this and other statements of the Acts of the Apostles respecting the rapid growth of the church, as intentional exaggerations, and rests this assertion upon the apparent contradiction between Acts 1 : 15, where the original number of the disciples is given as only a hundred and twenty, and the statement of Paul, 1 Cor. 15 : 6, that Christ, after his resurrection, was seen of above five hundred brethren at once, (*Paulus, der Ap. Jesu Christi.* etc. 1845, p. 37). But Luke. (l. c.), says, not that the church consisted of a hundred and twenty members, but that just then so many were assembled in one place, to choose a successor to Judas. Besides, it is even possible that the appearance, of which Paul speaks, took place *after* the day of Pentecost : for Paul, in fact, in the same place mentions the appearance of Christ to himself on his way to Damascus. The criticism of Baur, like that of Strauss, is amazingly ingenious in detecting and inventing differences and contradictions in the sacred history, but takes not the least pains to solve them.

the same time it roused the jealousy and hatred of the priests ; especially of the Sadducees, since the resurrection of the Lord, so offensive to them, was the central theme of the apostles' preaching and the main argument for the Messiahship of Jesus, (Acts 4 : 2). The two apostles were arrested and imprisoned by the temple guard, and on the next day brought with the healed cripple before the Sanhedrim, in which the Sadducean party just then had the upper hand. Then Peter, full of the Holy Ghost, boldly declared that the miracle was wrought in the name and by the power of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, whom they had crucified, but whom God had raised from the dead ; whom they, the builders, had rejected, according to the prophecy of the 118th Psalm ; but whom God had made the corner-stone of his whole kingdom. Then, passing from the bodily healing to the spiritual, he announced the fundamental article of Christianity, as the only saving religion : " Neither is there salvation in any other : for there is none other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved."

As the members of the council could not deny the fact of the miraculous healing, and at the same time feared the people, they discharged Peter and John for this time with simply a warning not to preach any more in the name of Jesus. The apostles returned to the brethren, who united in a fervent prayer ; when, in token of their being heard, as on the day of Pentecost, the place, where they were assembled, was shaken, and they were filled anew with the Holy Ghost.

In this first persecution we have a true type of all the subsequent hostilities against the church of Christ. " The moment the evangelical truth rises," says Calvin,¹ " Satan rises to meet it in all possible ways, and puts every thing in motion, to kill it in the bud. In the next place, we see how the Lord armed his people with invincible courage, that they might stand firm against all the machinations of the ungodly. Finally, we see how power seems, indeed, to lie in the hands of the adversaries, who spare no pains to blot out the name of Christ, and how the disciples of the Lord are among them, as sheep among wolves ; and yet how God extends the kingdom of his Son, replenishes the kindled flame of the gospel, and can preserve his people."

According to their principle, however, which they openly avowed before the high council, that they must obey God rather than man (4 : 19, comp. 5 : 29), the apostles could not keep silence. Their preaching and miracles (5 : 12-16), with the terrible judgment upon the hypocritical Ananias and his wife, more and more attracted the attention of the people, and awakened their admiration of the church. The Sadducean party, therefore, again had the apostles arrested and confined. But the

¹ *Commentar. ad Acta*, 4 : 1.

angel of the Lord opened the doors of the prison (5 : 19), and they taught all the more joyfully in the temple. Brought again before the council, they reiterated their protest against the prohibition to teach, as conflicting with their obedience to God ; and testified anew of the resurrection of Jesus, whom the counselors had slain, but whom God had exalted at his right hand, as a Saviour to give repentance and forgiveness of sins to the people of Israel. The enraged fanatics desired at once to pass sentence of death on the apostles, when the Pharisee, Gamaliel, grandson of the renowned Hillel, and one of the most distinguished Rabbins, brought them to moderation, and the apostles this time escaped with scourging, which was the customary punishment of disobedience, and with a repetition of the injunction to cease preaching. "If this counsel or this work," said Gamaliel, "be of men, it will come to nought : but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it," (5 : 38 sq.). In these famous words he betrays his undecided posture towards Christianity. He had not yet clearly made up his mind respecting the new religion, and he wished, from human prudence and caution, to wait the judgment of time ; convinced, that what was good and of God would ultimately prevail over all opposition, and that, on the other hand, fanaticism and wickedness would only gain from attempts to suppress them by force ; and hence it were better to leave them to condemn themselves, as, sooner or later, they surely would.¹ Gamaliel here shows himself an impartial, justice-loving man, thoroughly imbued with the Old Testament faith in a divine providence, which would not leave false prophets long unpunished. But this expression by no means warrants us to suppose, that he was a secret adherent of Christianity. We should rather infer the contrary from the fact, that, down to his death, he remained a Pharisee and in great esteem with the Jews. He probably passed from neutrality to hostility, as soon as Christianity came into open conflict with Pharisaism ; as we may conclude from the earlier spirit of the apostle Paul, who proceeded from his school.

This opposition of Christianity to Pharisaical Judaism soon showed itself in Stephen, who, though not an apostle, was certainly a man of apostolic spirit, and marks an epoch in the development of Christianity.

¹ In such a state of indecision, and in the case of a phenomenon as yet altogether experimental, Gamaliel's counsel must certainly be regarded as wise. But, absolutely considered, it is by no means safe. For, in the first place, the long continuance of a system is no criterion at all of its divinity. Look, for instance, at Heathenism and Mohammedanism. And then, his principle, consistently carried out in every case, would put an end to all punishment, and introduce perfect indifference in place of the earnestness of law. As soon as a man ascertains the nature of a cause, he must either decidedly approve and actively support it, or condemn it and seek to counteract its influence. We say this against a thoughtless over-valuation of Gamaliel's advice, which many treat as an oracle, and as a part of the word of God himself.

Thus far the division between the Pharisees and Sadducees had been favorable to the church. But after the appearance of Stephen, the Pharisees also became decidedly hostile, and Pilate and Herod leagued themselves anew for the suppression of the common foe.

§ 58. *Stephen, the first Martyr.*

If the preaching of the resurrection and the moral earnestness of the Christians had called forth at first the hatred of the worldly-minded Sadducees ; so also, in process of time, must Christianity show its opposition to the stiff and cold formality and the hypocritical self-righteousness of the Pharisees. This it did through Stephen, one of the seven deacons of the church in Jerusalem, distinguished for his wisdom and miraculous powers. He was probably a Hellenist, i. e. of *Graeco*-Jewish descent. This may be inferred partly from the occasion of appointing these deacons,—the complaint of the foreign Jewish Christians respecting the neglect of their widows,—partly from his Greek name, and partly from his liberal, evangelical views. As to his place in history, he was the man, who first clearly brought out the opposition of Christianity to hardened Judaism ; and he thus became a *forerunner of the apostle Paul*, who sprang from the blood of his martyrdom.¹ His views seem to have been especially influenced by the discourses of Jesus against the Pharisees (Matt. 23), and his threatenings respecting the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple.² Stephen had many disputations with foreign Jews of Grecian education (Acts 6 : 9), and probably even with Saul of Tarsus ;³ and no one was able to resist “ the wisdom and the spirit, by which he spake.” Without doubt his object was, to convince them from the Old Testament itself, that Jesus was the Messiah, and the founder of a new spiritual worship, and that the Jewish nation had sealed its doom by rejecting the Salvation, which had appeared. This drew upon him the charge of blaspheming Moses, which was the same as blaspheming God. False witnesses accused him before the high council of having said, that Jesus of Nazareth would destroy the temple and change the laws of Moses.⁴ The truth at the bottom of this charge was

¹ “ Had not Stephen prayed,” said Augustine, “ the church would have had no Paul.”

² Matt 24 : 1 sqq. 21 : 19 sq. Luke 17 : 22 sqq.

³ As may be inferred partly from the prominent part which Paul took in the persecution of Stephen (7 : 58 and 8 : 1), and partly from the fact, that among the synagogues of extra-Palestinian Jews, who disputed with Stephen, that of Cilicia, Paul’s native province, is expressly mentioned (6 : 9).

⁴ Acts 6 : 11–14. Precisely the same charge was brought against Christ, Matt. 26 : 61 : “ This fellow said, I am able to destroy the temple of God, and to build it in three days ”—a perversion of the true expression of Jesus (Jno. 2 : 19), which referred pri

probably Stephen's opposition to the Pharisees' over-valuation of the ceremonial law and the temple, and his reference to the overthrow of the old economy of salvation. His views on these points he might have derived from our Lord's prophecy respecting the destruction and rebuilding of the temple (Jno. 2 : 19), and the cessation of all national worship confined to a particular place, be it Gerizim or Jerusalem (Jno. 4 : 21-24). But it was a calumny, when his enemies accused him, on this account, of blaspheming Moses and God. For the whole Old Testament itself points beyond itself to Christianity, as the fulfilling of the law and the prophets.

The defense, which this bold witness delivered before the Sanhedrim, (7 : 2-53), on the inspiration of the moment,¹ and with a heavenly serenity, which reflected itself in his angelic countenance (Acts 6 : 15), was not a direct, but a remarkable indirect refutation of the charge brought against him. In the genuine spirit of the Christian, he regarded not his own person ; in holy zeal for the cause of God he forgot all effort to propitiate his judges. From his general vindication of the divine plan of salvation, every reflecting hearer involuntarily drew the application to this particular case. By far the greater part of his discourse, (v. 2-50), is a review of the history of Israel from the calling of Abraham to the giving of the Mosaic law, and thence to the building of Solomon's temple, closing with a quotation from Isaiah, (66 : 1), against the carnal, superstitious notion of the Jews, that the Most High was confined to a building made by human hands. By this reference to the sacred history Stephen wished, in the first place, to testify his own faith in the Old Testament revelation, and, by unfolding the true office and relations of Moses and the temple, to refute the charge of blaspheming them ; and secondly, to show, that the conduct of the Jews was always grossly unworthy of their relations to God ; that, the greater his favors to them, the greater was their ingratitude and contumacy towards him and his servants, and especially towards Moses. He held before his accusers the past, as a faithful mirror, in which they might see their own conduct towards the Messiah and his followers.² At the same time he presents

marily to the temple of his body, but also, indirectly, to the natural consequence of his death and resurrection, the destruction of the Old Testament sanctuary and the erection of the new Christian system of worship.

¹ This accounts for the unimportant historical mistakes in his discourse, which thus serve, in fact, only to confirm its credibility. Compare the expositors on Acts 7 : 6, 7, 16, 53.

² The venerable antistes of Zurich, Joh. Jac. Hess, has already strikingly called attention to the fact, that this parallel was floating before the mind of the speaker, especially in his description of Moses ; inasmuch that Stephen almost seems to be relating the history of Jesus under another name (*Gesch. und Schriften der Apostel Jesu*. 2nd ed. Zurich.

the dealings of God with his people as proceeding upon a fixed, theocratic plan ; continually pointing to something beyond, and reaching their end in the Messiah. Even Moses spoke of a prophet, who should come after him ; and accordingly the law itself looks away to something higher. The temple of Solomon was built merely with human hands—the type of another temple, of the worship of God in spirit and in truth. Probably he intended to enlarge more upon the third period, the Messianic predictions of the prophets, and their strivings against the carnal disposition, the scrupulous, but empty formality, the ingratitude and obstinacy of the Jews. But he was interrupted by the rage of the excited hearers, who keenly felt the polemical sting of this history of their conduct. Exchanging, therefore, the calm tone of the narrator for the pathos of the earnest preacher of repentance, he concluded with the fearful denunciation (v. 51–53), in which he represented his accusers and judges as the true sons of the murderers of the prophets ; held up their betrayal and murder of the Just One, as the climax of their ingratitude and iniquity ; and threw back upon themselves the charge of impiety.

But by this discourse he, at the same time, precluded all possibility of his own acquittal. Nor was it his object at all to save his life, but solely to vindicate the truth. The members of the council gnashed their teeth with rage ; but Stephen was transported in the Spirit to heaven, and saw Jesus standing at the right hand of the almighty God, ready to protect and receive him¹—the glorified Son of Man, who, from the throne of his majesty, puts to shame all the machinations of his enemies. The fanatics would hear nothing more. They thrust him out of the city and stoned him without a formal sentence, or a hearing before the governor, and therefore in riot ; for the Romans had deprived the San-
1778. I. p. 78 sqq.). “Here is a complete picture,” says he, p. 83, “of the conduct of the Jews towards Jesus ; their way of thinking, as it expressed itself in the case of Jesus, is clearly shown to them in their earlier history as in a mirror. The jealousy of the brethren of Joseph, the treatment of Moses before and after his flight into Midian, the conduct of the Israelites towards God in the wilderness—are intended to show the hearers their own disposition.”

¹ Christ is elsewhere uniformly represented as “sitting” at the right hand of God. The striking expression, “standing,” (ἑστῶτα, Acts 7 : 55, 56), is accounted for here by the simple fact, that the Lord appears to Stephen as a savior and protector against the rage of foes. Gregory the Great rightly discerned this, when he said : “*Sedere judicantis (et imperitantis) est, stare vero pugnantis vel adjuvantis. Stephanus stantem vidit, quem adiutorem habuit,*” (*Homil.* 19. in fest. Ascens.). This unusual expression, moreover, as also the designation of Jesus as the “Son of Man,” which never occurs in the apostolic epistles, is an argument for the genuineness of the narrative. Were the discourse composed, as Dr. Baur (l. c. p. 51), assumes, by the author of the book of Acts, and merely put into Stephen’s mouth, the apologetic references would undoubtedly have been more distinct and direct.

hedrim of the power of life and death.¹ The witnesses, who, according to the custom of the Jews, cast the first stones at the criminal, in testimony of their firm conviction of his guilt, laid their burdensome overgarments at the feet of the young man, Saul, who seems thus to have taken a particularly zealous part in this execution of a pretended blasphemer, and to have regarded it as an act well pleasing to God. Stephen committed his soul to the Lord Jesus, as the dying Lord had committed his to his Father (Luke 23 : 46). Then, kneeling down, he prayed, like his Master on the cross (Luke 23 : 34), now that the rage of his enemies was directed upon his *person*, that the Lord would not lay this sin to their charge. And when he had said this, he fell asleep.

Worthy was this man, whose last moments reflected the image of the dying Redeemer, to lead the glorious host of martyrs, whose blood was henceforth to fertilize the soil of the church. The idea, for which he died, the free, evangelical conception of Christianity as opposed to the stiffness of Judaism, died not with him, but was perpetuated in one of his most bitter persecutors, the Apostle of the Gentiles. But even his death contributed to the outward extension of the church. It was the signal for a general persecution, and for the dispersion of all the Christians, except the apostles, who felt it their duty to face the danger boldly, and stay in Jerusalem (Acts 8 : 1, 14). Thus were the sparks of the gospel blown by the stormy wind into various parts of Palestine, and even to Phenicia, Syria, and Cyprus (8 : 1, 4. 11 : 19, 20). The exemption of the apostles themselves from this persecution, must be attributed either to a special divine interposition, or to the fact, that the war was directed first and mainly against the Hellenistic portion of the church.

§ 59. *Christianity in Samaria. Philip.*

The gospel was first brought to Samaria by Philip ; not the apostle, but one of the seven deacons (6 : 5. 21 : 8), who, as colleagues of Stephen, and as Hellenists, were doubtless among the chief sufferers by the persecution. He was to reap what Christ had already sown in his conversation with the Samaritan woman and his two days' residence in Sychar (comp. Jno. 4 : 35 sqq.). The Samaritans, indeed, received no part of the Old Testament, but the Pentateuch ; yet they were more

¹ Hence many interpreters suppose, that the stoning of Stephen took place soon after the recall of Pilate, A. D. 36, and before the arrival of the new procurator, Marcellus, when such an act of lawlessness might have more easily gone unpunished. But this assumption is unnecessary. The Jews, in their fanaticism, cared but little for the laws of the hated Romans, and, in the heat of excitement, forgot the possible consequences, or thought to escape them by pleading that, as there was no formal sentence of death in the case, the execution partook of no official character.

susceptible, than the proper Jews, to superficial religious impressions and foreign influences, and, of course, also to all sorts of superstition and fanaticism ;¹ and they expected from the Messiah the general restoration and consummation of all things. They were thrown into great excitement by Simon, one of those wandering Goëtae, to whom the door was then opened by the general longing after something higher, and by the prevailing receptivity for the secret wisdom of the East ; and who, with their deceitful arts, presented the same contrast to the apostles and evangelists, as did the Egyptian sorcerers to Moses and his divinely wrought miracles. This Simon, who received from the church fathers the surname Magus, the Magician, and was regarded by them as the patriarch of all heretics, especially of the Gnostics,² gave himself out for a higher being, and on account of his sorceries, including perhaps astrology, necromancy, exorcism by formulas of the Graeco-Oriental theosophy, &c., was gazed upon by old and young as an emanation or incarnation of deity. But when Philip, by the unostentatious power of faith and the simple invocation of the name of Jesus, wrought miracles, especially of healing, which Simon, with all his jugglery, could not imitate, the people fell over to the evangelist and were baptized. The magician then thought it best to yield to the higher power and likewise to be baptized ; doubtless hoping thus himself to obtain the miraculous gifts of his rival. For the result forbids us to regard him as having been truly converted. He probably perceived in the gospel a superior divine power, and was for a moment subdued by it, but never truly and honestly embraced it. He wished to hold fast to his heathen views, as Ananias to his gold, and to make the Christian name a tool of his avarice and ambition.

This rapid success of the gospel among a mixed people, mortally hated by the Jews, and, though circumcised, not considered by them as belonging to the theocratic race, must make no little stir among the believers in Jerusalem. Many, perhaps, under the influence of old prejudices, might doubt the genuineness of the new conversions. At all events the work was imperfect. The faith of the Samaritan converts was based less on inward experience, than on the miracles of Philip, as formerly on the juggleries of Simon. The baptism with water needed to be confirmed and completed by the baptism with the Spirit (Acts 8 : 16). The apostles, therefore, sent two of their number, Peter and John, to Samaria, to examine the matter and supply what was wanting. These apostles, no doubt, first gave the Samaritans more accurate instruction concerning

¹ As appears from the acceptance, which three successive sect-founders in the first century met with among the Samaritans ;—Dositheus ; Simon Magus, who equally deserves mention ; and Menander, his disciple.

² Of his relation to Gnosticism we shall speak more particularly under the head of heresies in the apostolic church.

the history of Jesus, and concerning repentance and faith in him ; and then, by the symbol of the laying on of hands, imparted to them the Holy Ghost, who now revealed himself by tokens like those on Pente cost. Simon, still more astonished, sought to buy of the apostles the art of communicating the Holy Ghost by the laying on of hands,¹ that he might thus obtain the greater dominion over the minds of men. This, like the history of so many other fanatics, shows that there may be a sordid and arbitrary effort to obtain even the highest and holiest gifts—an effort, which, as it springs not from humility, but from ambition and selfishness, is an abomination to the Lord, and works destruction. Peter sharply rebuked the hypocrite for this profane degradation of the holy and the supernatural into the sphere of perishable matter ; yet he did not give him up, but exhorted him to repent.² Simon, trembling with fear of divine punishment, now besought the apostles, indeed, to intercede for him with the Lord, and avert the fulfillment of their threatening. But this impression was merely transient, and, so far as we have any traces of his subsequent history, he remained, as before, the old man, making out of religion a miserable trade.³ This remarkable interview of Simon Peter with Simon Magus was regarded and set forth in varied colors by ancient Christians, as typifying the posture of the orthodox church towards deceptive heresy.

Two nations, most obstinately at variance, being thus united by the spirit of Christianity into one fellowship of love, the two apostles returned to Jerusalem, which was then the centre of church operations ; preaching the gospel in many Samaritan villages on the way (8 : 25). But Philip, at the instance of the Spirit, went to the road which leads from Jerusalem to Gaza, an ancient city of the Philistines, destroyed by Alexander the Great, but rebuilt by Herod.⁴ Here he met an Ethiopian, court

¹ Hence, through the whole Middle Age, the traffic in church offices and dignities was termed *simony*.

² The mildness of the apostle here presents a striking contrast to his severity in the terrible punishment of Ananias (c. 5). But we may account for the difference of treatment by considering, that Simon, in whom we must suppose a mixture of deceit and superstition, had not yet experienced the Holy Ghost in his heart, and did not really know what he was doing ; whereas Ananias exhibited the height of conscious hypocrisy and selfishness, amidst the virgin purity and glowing love of the primitive church.

³ It cannot be made out with certainty, but it is not improbable, that this Simon, as Neander, for example, supposes (l. c. p. 108), is the same as the Simon, who, according to Josephus (*Archæol.* XX. 7. § 2), appears some ten years afterwards in confidential intercourse with the vile procurator, Felix, aiding him by his magical arts in gratifying his adulterous lust. It is certain, that the beginnings of the Gnostic sect of the *Simonians* are to be traced back to the magician Simon.

⁴ The question might here arise : Why did he not rather return to Jerusalem ? Hess thinks (l. c. p. 104), because the persecution was still raging there, and the deacons, or

officer and treasurer of queen Candace,¹ just returning from a visit to the temple at Jerusalem, and reading the fifty-third chapter of the prophet Isaiah.² Philip explained its meaning to him, preached to him Jesus, as the grand subject of the prophecy, and baptized him. We have no means of knowing, whether any further results followed this conversion. Church history tells us indeed, that Frumentius and Ædesius, in the fourth century were the first missionaries of Ethiopia. Yet the gospel might have been spread, before this, in another part of that country; and a tradition of the Abyssinian church derives the origin of this church from that chamberlain, whom it calls Indich; and many of its doctrines and usages seem to point to a Jewish Christian origin.

Philip next went to Azotus and preached in the cities southward and northward on the coast of the Mediterranean, till he settled for some time in Caesarea Stratonis, the capital of Palestine, where the governor resided, (8 : 40, comp. 21 : 8). Here he prepared the way for the visit of Peter, shortly after, and for the conversion of Cornelius; to which we now pass.

§ 60. *The Conversion of Cornelius. Beginning of the Mission to the Gentiles.*

Thus far none had been received into the Christian church but Jews, and such proselytes as had been circumcised.³ But the missionary work could not possibly stop here. The salvation of the gospel was for all

account of the dispersion of the church, had nothing more to do. But the church cannot have been entirely dissolved, and the "all," (Acts 8 : 1), must be taken as hyperbolic. Otherwise the apostles would hardly have remained there. Baur, in his work on Paul (p. 39), supposes, that, after the time of Stephen, there was a formal separation between the strictly Judaizing, Hebrew Christians, and the more liberal, Hellenistic portion of the church. Philip belonged to the last; and it was only the first, who remained in Jerusalem. But this is at once contradicted by c. 9 : 27, where it appears, that the Hellenist Barnabas was in Jerusalem, when Saul first came there after his conversion; not to mention, that Baur presupposes a degree of hostility and jealousy between the two parties altogether at variance with the spirit of Jesus, by which if any men were actuated, the apostles were. The simplest answer is, that Philip was called rather to be a missionary and evangelist, as in fact he is so styled (21 : 8, comp. 8 : 40).

According to Pliny this was the official title of all the princes of Meroë in upper Egypt. So the Egyptian kings were called Pharaoh.

² Whence it appears, that he was either a proper Jew or a proselyte. If we take the word "eunuch," (8 : 27), literally, the Ethiopian, according to the law (Deut. 23 : 1), could have been only a proselyte of the gate, and we should then have here the first example of the reception of such a person into the Christian fellowship, and a prelude to the conversion of Cornelius. But that expression frequently denotes a court officer in general, without respect to the bodily mutilation.

³ As the deacon, Nicolas of Antioch, mentioned in c. 6 : 5

people, Gentiles, as well as Jews. This was implied even in the promise to Abraham, that in his seed all families of the earth should be blessed. Isaiah had expressly predicted the conversion of the Gentiles.² And the Lord, at his departure, had charged his disciples to teach *all* nations and baptize them in the name of the holy Trinity, (Matt. 28 : 19, 20). But nothing particular had been revealed respecting the *way* of bringing the Gentiles into the church. The apostles and primitive Christians were at first of the opinion, that this could be only through the medium of Judaism, and that the Gentiles must, therefore, first be circumcised. They were still too much restricted to the letter in their views of the Old Testament, which, though it ordains circumcision for all time, and threatens the uncircumcised with being cut off from the people of God, (Gen. 17 : 10, 13, 14), yet intimates, on the other hand, the typical import of this rite, its reference to the circumcision of the heart, as the main thing,³ and contains occasional hints of the abolition of the ancient worship and the establishment of an entirely new covenant.⁴ Then again, the plain declaration of the Lord, that he came not to destroy the law, (Matt. 5 : 17), seemed to favor their scrupulous attachment to it. The idea of such an abstract separation of the moral and ceremonial laws, as is current with many modern theologians, was utterly foreign to them. Their doubts respecting the legality of admitting the uncircumcised into the Christian fellowship flowed, therefore, very naturally, from their religious training, and were essentially grounded in their conscientiousness and reverence for the Old Testament. God himself must break this prejudice, and give the apostles to understand, that the gospel, which they very properly preached first only to the chosen people, after the example of their Master, they should also carry to the Gentiles. Larger views of Christianity as related to Judaism were suggested, it is true, by the converted Hellenists, especially Stephen, and by the marked success of the gospel among the Samaritans. But the scruples of the stricter Palestinian Jewish Christians, the "Hebrews," could be overcome only by a special revelation, like that made, before the baptism of Cornelius, to Peter, then leader of the church, and of the Hebrew party in particular.

From this we see, that the knowledge even of the apostles was progressive. The communication of the Spirit on the day of Pentecost must not be regarded as a magical bestowment of all possible articles of knowledge and information, but as a *central* enlightenment, as the

² Gen. 12 : 3. 18 : 18. 22 : 18. Comp. Gal. 3 : 8, 16.

Is. 60 : 3 sqq. 66 : 19 sqq. Comp. Zech. 6 : 5.

³ Deut. 10 : 16 30 : 6 Jer. 4 : 4.

⁴ Jer. 3 : 16. 31 : 31-33, etc.

implanting of the living *principle* of all religious truth, the unfolding and particular application of which was left to the regenerate human mind in its organic coöperation with the divine Spirit. The gracious control of Providence appears much more adorable in this accommodation to the wants and laws of human nature, than if it had proceeded in an immediate, abrupt, magical way. The gradual providential preparation for the great work of converting the heathen must be obvious to every one, who attentively reads the artless narrative of the Acts of the Apostles, from the appearance of Stephen onward. All the events wonderfully and yet naturally conspire, each in its right time, until the foundation is inwardly and outwardly completed for the grand superstructure of the apostle Paul. None but a perverted sense can turn this objective pragmatism of the history itself into a purely subjective one, and everywhere see here not the operation of God, but merely the designed fictions of a later writer.¹

Premising these general remarks, we pass to the history of Cornelius itself. From this we shall see, first, how the Lord opens the way for his work independently of the wisdom and erroneous notions of men, and yet exactly at the right time; secondly, how the Holy Ghost gradually enlarged the knowledge of the apostles, and loosed the shackles of their Jewish prejudices, while they, on their part, readily submitted to the higher instruction; and finally, that Christianity is originally not doctrine nor a system of thoughts, but life and experience.

Cornelius, the first fruits of the faith from the heathen world, was captain of a cohort of Italians, stationed in the maritime city of Caesarea, (Acts 10 : 1), and was probably himself an Italian, perhaps a Roman. In religion he was Pagan; for Peter calls him "one of another nation," with whom the Jews dared not hold intercourse, (10 : 28); he was numbered among the uncircumcised and therefore unclean, (11 : 3); and it was as the conversion of a *Gentile*, that his conversion made so great a noise, (10 : 45. 11 : 1.). But, unsatisfied with polytheism, and honestly longing for the true religion, he with all his family, had embraced the monotheism of the Jews, and doubtless, also, their Messianic hopes. He was therefore one of the proselytes of the gate,² and stood in high esteem with the Jews for his fear of God and his benevolence, (10 : 2, 22, 35). The address of Peter, (10 : 37), implies that Cornelius was acquainted with the historical facts of Christianity; as he might very well have been, since the deacon Philip preached in Caesarea, (8 : 40), and Peter's miracles in the neighboring regions made

¹ As Dr. Baur does with a lamentable abuse of his acumen and power of combination in the works frequently cited above.

² Comp. respecting these § 50 *supra*.

no small stir, (9 : 32-43). This knowledge only increased his inward disquietude, and his desire to be clearly instructed respecting the weightiest concern of the heart. He might suspect, that this new religion, vehemently condemned by some, and by others zealously embraced, was perhaps the true one, and the only one, which could meet the deepest wants of his soul. He sought information respecting it in prayer, and, that he might devote himself with less disturbance to the contemplation of divine things, he adopted the Jewish custom of fasting. At the third hour of prayer, (three o'clock in the afternoon), he fell into an ecstasy, and an angel appeared to him, telling him that the Lord had graciously regarded his sincere and earnest prayers for salvation and his works of love, and directing him to send for Simon Peter from Joppa. In pursuance of the divine suggestion, the centurion immediately sent two slaves with a faithful, devout soldier to Joppa (now Jaffa), also on the coast of the Mediterranean, and a good day's journey (thirty Roman miles) from Caesarea.

By a miraculous coincidence, Peter also, on the next day, experienced an inward revelation, by which he was prepared to understand the unexpected invitation of a Gentile. When the persecution had ceased, this apostle, in virtue of his gift for leading the church, made a tour of visitation to the churches in Judea, Galilee, and Samaria, especially in the fertile plain of Saron on the Mediterranean. In this tour he preached and wrought miracles, among which the raising of the benevolent Tabitha from the dead is minutely related, (9 : 36-41). In Joppa he abode some days in the house of a tanner by the name of Simon, (9 : 43). This circumstance is particularly noted, perhaps, to show how, even then, the apostle had begun to lay aside his Jewish prejudices ; for the trade of a tanner was considered half unclean, and those who followed it had to live by themselves. At noon, when the messengers of Cornelius were approaching the city, Peter went up to the flat roof, to offer his prayer, which doubtless referred to the spread of the kingdom of God. While his spirit hungered for souls, to win them to Christ, his body, weakened perhaps by protracted fasting, craved earthly food.¹ Suddenly he fell into a trance, in which his ordinary consciousness was suspended, and God gave him new information respecting the way of spreading the gospel. The vision was clothed in a form exactly suited to the condition, the spiritual and bodily desires of the apostle. Food was set before him, which he, as a Jew, shrank from touching. Peter, in

¹ Perhaps his vehement hunger, (*πρόσπεινος*, 10 : 10), which is, at all events, related to the subsequent vision, forming, so to speak, its physical basis, was intended to present to him the law against eating unclean animals, (which are, nevertheless, designed for the nourishment of man), as an unnatural restriction, to be henceforth abolished.

the Spirit, saw a vessel, like a great sheet, fastened at the four corners (with cords from heaven?), filled with animals clean and unclean, and let down from the opened heavens to the earth. At the same time he received a command from the Lord: "Rise, Peter; kill and eat." When he refused, saying he had never yet eaten anything unclean, he heard the significant words: "What God hath cleansed, that call not thou common." When the voice had thrice repeated this command, the vessel was drawn up again to heaven, (10 : 11-16).

The symbolical import of this vision we can easily conjecture. The vessel denotes the creation, especially mankind; the letting down of it from heaven, the descent of all creatures from the same divine origin; the four corners are the four quarters of the globe; the clean and unclean beasts represent the Jews and Gentiles;¹ and the command to eat contains the divine declaration that the new creation in Christ has henceforth annulled the Mosaic laws respecting food, (Lev. 10 : 10), as well as the distinction between clean and unclean nations; and that even the heathen, therefore, were to be received into the Christian church without the intervention of Judaism; as the cloth, with all the animals, was taken up again to heaven.

Scarce had Peter awaked from his trance and begun to reflect on the meaning of this appearance, when the Gentile messengers presented themselves at the door of the house, and the Spirit at once showed him the object of the vision. He entertained the strangers, and on the next day went with them and six brethren, (comp. 11 : 12), to Caesarea. Cornelius, who in the mean time had called together his kinsmen and near friends, fell upon his knees before the desired divinely commissioned teacher, as before a superhuman being. The apostle refused this well-meant, but heathenish idolatry, saying: "Stand up; I myself also am a man." After hearing from the centurion the reason of his sending for him, perceiving the wonderful coincidence of the two visions, and being convinced, by his own eyes, of the Gentile's humble readiness to receive religious instruction, he broke forth in the remarkable words, which show that his new view of the relation of the Gentiles to the gospel had now ripened into a clear and firm assurance: "Of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of persons; but in every nation he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him,"² (10 : 34, 35).

¹ The Jewish distinction between animals was closely connected with the national segregation. The Levitical laws respecting food forbade the Jews eating unclean beasts, and with this all table intercourse with the Gentiles, who did not regard this distinction, and, on that account, were themselves considered unclean.

² This is, of course, to be understood, not of the righteousness of faith, but of the righteousness of the law, and of this, too, only in a relative sense; as Paul says of certain Gentiles, (Rom. 2 : 13, 14, 26, 27); that they do by nature the works of the law.

Here Peter brings out the principle of the universalism of Christianity in opposition to the Jewish particularism. National distinctions, he would say, have nothing to do with admission into the kingdom of God. The great requisite is, not descent from Abraham, not circumcision, but simply a sincere desire for salvation. God looks upon the heart ; and to every one who reveres him according to the measure of his knowledge and advantages, and lives accordingly, he will graciously show the way to the Saviour, who alone can satisfy the cravings of his soul. This is the sense of the words in their connection. It is, therefore, as *De Wette* says, (on Acts 10 : 35), "the height of exegetical frivolity," for Rationalistic interpreters to draw from these words of the apostle the equality of all religions, and an extenuation of indifferentism. Peter is plainly speaking, not of being absolutely well pleasing to God, but only of acceptance with him in reference to admission into the Messianic kingdom. "Accepted with him," denotes the capacity of becoming Christian, not the capability of being saved without Christ. Otherwise Cornelius might as well have remained a heathen, and need not have been baptized at all. On the contrary, Peter immediately after, (10 : 43), announces Jesus as the one, who alone imparts forgiveness of sins through faith, and in another place, (Acts 15 : 11), he expressly says, we all shall be saved only through the grace of the Lord Jesus. Wherever, therefore, in the natural man, there is an earnest longing for righteousness, a yearning of the soul after God, there preparing grace is already at work, continually urging the soul, consciously or unconsciously, towards Christ, who alone can satisfy its wants.

Peter then reminded Cornelius and his friends of the historical facts of the life of Jesus, which he took for granted were, in general, already known (10 : 37 sqq.) ; spoke of his death and resurrection ; and showed how, according to the testimony of all the prophets, men should obtain remission of sins and salvation by believing in him, as the Messiah and the judge of all. While he was yet speaking the Holy Ghost fell on the waiting hearers, and made it impossible and useless to continue the sermon. They spoke with tongues and magnified God (10 : 46). In short, the day of Pentecost here repeated itself for the Gentiles. The communication of the Spirit, and consequently regeneration, in this case, *before* baptism, is striking, and without parallel in the New Testament. In all other cases, as with the Samaritans, the gift of the Spirit accompanied or followed baptism and the laying on of hands. Man is bound by the ordinances of God, but not God himself ; He can anticipate them with his spiritual gifts. This exception to the general rule was undoubtedly ordered, though not for the benefit of Peter himself, as Olshausen supposes, yet for that of his Jewish Christian companions ; and was

intended to give them, and through them the whole Jewish Christian party in Jerusalem, who could conceive of no baptism with the Spirit without the baptism with water, incontestable proof of the participation of the Gentiles in the kingdom of Christ, and to free them from their narrow, legalistic views. The apostle, however, even in this case, bore the strongest testimony to the importance of baptism with water, by causing this sacrament still to be administered as an objective divine seal and pledge of the gifts of grace (10 : 48).

At the request of the Gentile converts, Peter remained some days in Caesarea, and then returned to Jerusalem. Here he set the rigid Jewish Christians at rest respecting his conduct, by giving them a full account of the whole wonderful transaction, so that they also praised God, that he had given repentance and the Holy Ghost to the Gentiles (11 : 18). And now that God himself had so plainly broken down the partition wall between Jews and Gentiles, and had glorified his grace in the latter, the narrow Judaism, which made circumcision the condition of salvation, became henceforth a formal heresy.

Yet we could not but expect, that the deeply rooted prejudices, especially of those churchmembers, who had formerly been Pharisees (comp. 15 : 5), would long continue to work and destroy the peace of the church. Of this testify the transactions of the apostolic council, (Acts 15), and almost all Paul's epistles. Even Peter himself, on a subsequent occasion, acted against his own better conviction, from fear of some narrow-minded Jewish Christians ; for which he had to be sharply rebuked by Paul (Gal. 2 : 11 sqq.).¹

§ 61. *The Church at Antioch. Origin of the Christian Name*

About the same time,² or at least soon after, a step preparatory to

¹ But when such critics as Gfrörer (*Die heil. Sage*, I part. p. 444 sq.), and Baur (l. c.), make this circumstance evidence against the credibility of the whole narrative respecting Cornelius, they run counter to the clear representation of Paul himself, who describes the conduct of Peter at Antioch as a fault, not of his views, but of his character, as a practical inconsistency, as hypocrisy (Gal. 2 : 12, 13, 14), and thus presupposes what is related in Acts. Baur acknowledges (p. 80), that the history of Cornelius cannot be a myth. But he makes it what is still worse, a fiction, purposely invented by the author of the Acts, to justify Paul's position towards the Gentiles, (p. 78 sqq.). The author of the book of Acts was, therefore, in plain terms, a pious (?) impostor, consciously palming his own fictions upon his readers as objective history!! This manifestly savors too much of the obsolete standpoint of Bahrdt, Venturini, and the Wolfenbüttel Fragmentists, and is too unworthy of a theologian, to merit a serious refutation.

² Perhaps about A. D. 40 ; at all events, two years before the famine, predicted by Agabus, which occurred in 44 or 45. For Luke mentions this afterwards (11 : 28) and in the portion, too, respecting the Antiochian church, where he evidently follows

the conversion of the Gentiles was taken in another quarter. Though most of the members of the church at Jerusalem, who fled after the martyrdom of Stephen, preached the gospel only to the *Jews* in Phenicia and Syria (11 : 19) ; yet there were some Hellenistic converts among them, from Cyprus and Cyrene, men of kindred spirit with Stephen, who addressed themselves also to the *Gentiles* at *Antioch* (v. 20),¹ and with great success. Antioch, the former residence of the Seleucidian kings, was then the seat of the Roman proconsul, the capital of Syria and of all the Roman provinces in the East, and at the same time a renowned centre of eloquence and general culture. The church at Jerusalem now sent Barnabas to Antioch, as formerly it had sent Peter and John to Samaria, to inspect and to water this new plantation. Joses, surnamed Barnabas, (son of exhortation, of consolation), the subsequent companion of the apostle Paul, had already distinguished himself, in the earliest days of the church, by his self-denying benevolence, and was also a Grecian Jew, a native of the island of Cyprus (Acts 4 : 36, 37). Thus, being a mean between Jewish-Christian and Gentile-Christian views, he was peculiarly fitted for this mission. By his preaching, and especially by bringing the converted Saul from Tarsus, he did much to strengthen and enlarge the infant church (11 : 23-26).

Thus this important city came to be a second centre of Christianity ; the church there holding the same relation to the Gentile mission, that the church at Jerusalem held to the Jewish. It was from Antioch, and with the coöperation of its church, that Paul undertook his great missionary tours into Asia Minor and Greece.

But Antioch was important also in another respect. It was there, and probably soon after the formation of the church there, that the name, *Christians*, originated (Acts 11 : 26). This appellation was not assumed by the Christians themselves. They rather called themselves "disciples," "believers," (in reference to their relation to the Lord), "saints," (with respect to their character and the great problem of their lives), "brethren," (referring to their mutual fellowship). Still less was it given them

the course of events ; as, in fact, he is generally very careful to preserve the chronological order. Wieseler (l. c. p. 152) admits this in reference to the first part of the Acts of the Apostles, c. 1-8 : 3, and the whole section about Paul, c. 13 : 1-28 : 31 ; but thinks that, from c. 8 : 4 to 12 : 25, the synchronistic method prevails. For this supposition, however, there seems to me no sufficient ground. I place the events from the martyrdom of Stephen to the bringing of Paul from Tarsus, (11 : 25), in the years 37-43, and essentially in the same order, in which Luke relates them.

¹ I here suppose, with most modern critics, that, according to cod. A. D., the Vulgate, and other authorities, *Ἑλλήνας* is the true reading in the passage in question. For the lect. rec., *Ἑλληνιστάς*, forms no antithesis whatever to *Ἰουδαίους*, v. 19., since the Hellenists were likewise Jews

by the Jews, who would have been far from applying to the hated heretics the hallowed name of Christ, Messiah, and who contemptuously called them rather "Galileans," "Nazarenes." The name came from the heathen, who applied it to the followers of Jesus Christ,¹ either in mockery, or from a mere misunderstanding, taking the term, Christ, for a proper name, instead of an official title. In the New Testament the name occurs in but two places besides the above, viz., Acts 26 : 28, in the mouth of Agrippa ; and 1 Pet. 4 : 16, as an honorable nickname. It was soon, however, universally adopted by the believers ; and we may hence suppose, that, notwithstanding its heathen origin, it arose not without a divine purpose, as a kind of unconscious prophecy, like the words of Caiaphas. The name, Christians, expresses most briefly and clearly the divine destiny of man, and always holds before the believer the high idea, after which he should strive ; that is, to have his own life a copy and a continuation of the life of Christ and of his threefold office.² Man, indeed, in virtue of his inherent likeness to God, is already by nature, in some sense, the prophet, priest, and king of the whole creation. Sin has obscured this original quality of his nature and checked its development. But regeneration and vital union with Christ deliver it from the power of sin and death, and gradually unfold it in all its glorious proportions.

¹ According to the analogy of the names of other parties, as Pompejani, Cæsariani, Herodiani, &c.

² So the Heidelberg Catechism explains the name in the 32nd question : "Why art thou called a Christian? Because I am a member of Christ by faith, and thus am partaker of his anointing, that so I may confess his name, and present myself a living sacrifice of thanksgiving to him ; and also that with a free and good conscience I may fight against sin and Satan in this life, and afterwards reign with him eternally over all creatures."

CHAPTER III.

THE APOSTLE PAUL AND THE MISSION TO THE GENTILES.

§ 62. *Paul before his Conversion.*

In the preceding chapter we have seen how the Christian community, after the death of the first martyr, extended itself in Palestine and the neighboring countries, and began to shake off its narrow Jewish prejudices respecting the admission of the Gentiles into the church. Soon after the death of Stephen, and before the conversion of Cornelius, God had prepared a powerful instrument, who was destined, though not exclusively, yet preeminently, to carry the word of the cross to the heathen, and at the same time, in his writings, to present Christianity free, and independent of Judaism, as a new creation, and as the absolute religion for the world. The missionary activity of this extraordinary apostle, who, in speaking, writing, and acting, labored more than all the others (1 Cor. 15 : 10), will be the subject of this third chapter.

SAUL (according to the Hebrew form), or PAUL (according to the Hellenistic),¹ was the son of Jewish parents, of the tribe of Benjamin,

¹ It was customary with the Jews to have two names, and in intercourse with foreigners to use the Greek or Latin one; as John, Mark, (Acts 12 : 12, 25); Simeon, Niger (13 : 1); Jesus, Justus (Col. 4 : 11). This best accounts for the appearance of the name, Paul, exactly from the time, when this apostle comes out as the independent apostle of the Gentiles (13 : 9); while previously, and during the first period after his conversion, where Luke followed Palestinian documents, he is called Saul. He had probably, however, already used the Graeco-Roman form during his former residence in Tarsus. According to the old view of Jerome (*De vir. illustr.* c. 5), which has been advocated of late by Olshausen and Meyer, Paul assumed this name in grateful remembrance of the first fruits of his apostolic labors, the conversion of the Roman proconsul, Sergius Paulus (Acts 13 : 7): "Apostolus ■ primo ecclesiae spolio, Proconsule Sergio Paulo, victoriae suae trophaea retulit erexitque vexilla, ut Paulus a Saulo vocaretur." But we must reject this explanation for the following reasons: (1.) The new name appears before the conversion of Sergius, in Acts 13 : 9, whereas one would not expect it to occur till c. 13 : 13. To this point Fritzsche has justly called attention (*Epist. P. ad Roman.* tom. I. p. XI. note 2). (2.) It was, indeed, customary in ancient

(Phi 3 : 5. 2 Cor. 11 : 22). He was born probably but few years after the birth of Christ,¹ at Tarsus, the capital of Cilicia in Asia Minor, and one of the most renowned seats of Grecian culture,² (Acts 9 : 11. 21 : 39. 22 : 3), and was by birth a Roman citizen, (22 : 28. 16 : 37). Though destined for a theologian, he nevertheless, according to the Jewish custom, learned a trade, viz., tent-making,³ (18 : 3), by which he mostly supported himself, with noble self-denial, even after he became an apostle, that he might be no burden to the churches, and might pre-
times to name pupils after their teachers, but not the reverse (vid. Neander, *Apostel-gesch.* I. p. 135. Note). (3.) Paul had undoubtedly before this converted many Gentiles, though the Acts take no special notice of it, (comp., however, 11 : 25, 26, as also they make no mention of Paul's three years' residence in Arabia, and only briefly touch upon his residence in Tarsus. At all events we can see no reason why this particular conversion, which seems to have been attended with no further results, should appear to the apostle so important, as to induce him to change his name.

In homilies and practical discourses it is still usual to refer the double name of the apostle to the great religious antithesis of his life, just as Simon's new name, dates from his confession of the Messiahship of Jesus, and denotes his peculiar position, as foundation, in the history of the church. Thus Augustine (*Serm.* 315) draws a parallel between Saul the persecutor of the Christians, and Saul the persecutor of David : "Saulus enim nomen est a Saule, Saulus persecutor erat regis David. Talis fuerat Saul in David, qualis Saulus in Stephanum." And the new name, which he derives from the Latin adjective *paulus*, he regards as involving the idea of humility : "Quia Paulus modicus est, Paulus parvus est. Nos solemus sic loqui : video te post paulum, i. e. post modicum Unde ergo Paulus : 'ego sum minimus Apostolorum,' 1 Cor. 15 : 9." Still more arbitrary and ungrammatical is the etymological trifling, noticed, but decidedly condemned by Chrysostom (*De nominum mutatione*), which derives Saul from σαλεύειν sc. τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, and Paul from παύσασθαι sc. τοῦ διώκειν, making the first name denote the persecution of the Christians, and the second, the cessation of the persecution ! Saul, it is well known, is a Hebrew word, meaning rather "the longed for," "the prayed for." All these and such like allegorical interpretations are forestalled by the fact, that Luke several times calls our apostle Saul, even after his conversion (Acts 9 : 8, 11, 17, 19, 22, 26. 11 : 25, 30. 12 : 25. 13 : 2, 9).

¹ For at the time of his imprisonment in Rome, when he wrote his epistle to Philemon (v. 9), about A. D. 63, he was an old man, *πρεσβύτης*, therefore doubtless upwards of sixty.

² Strabo, contemporary with Cæsar Augustus, in his *Geography*, XIV. 5, places Tarsus, in point of philosophical and literary culture, even above Athens and Alexandria.

³ Tents were then used for a great variety of purposes, in war, in navigation, by shepherds and travellers. They were made mostly of the hair of the Cilician goat, which was peculiarly coarse and well adapted to this purpose ; whence *κίλικιος τράγας* denoted a coarse man. Comp. *Hug : Einl. in's N. T.* II. p. 328 sq. 3rd ed. The Jewish custom of pursuing a trade along with the study of the law was not designed solely to secure the means of temporal subsistence, but also to counteract temptations to sensuality, and its destructive influence on the higher spiritual life. For the same twofold purpose the Christian monachism united manual labor with meditation.

serve his independence.¹ In his native place he had the best opportunity of obtaining an early acquaintance with the Greek language and nationality, which was of great advantage to him in his subsequent calling. On the question whether he received, properly speaking, a classical education, scholars are not agreed. Certain it is that the groundwork of his intellectual and moral training was Jewish. Yet he had at least some knowledge of Greek literature, whether he acquired it in Tarsus, or in Jerusalem under Gamaliel, who himself was not, like most of the Jewish Rabbis, altogether averse to the Hellenistic philosophy, or afterwards in his missionary journeyings and his continual intercourse with Hellenists. This is evinced not only by his quotations from heathen poets, and some of them, too, not much known, Aratus and Cleanthes (Acts 17 : 28), Menander (1 Cor. 15 : 32), and Epimenides (Titus 1 : 12) ; but still more by his command of the Greek language, his dialectic skill, and his profound insight into the nature and development of the heathen religion and philosophy.

While yet a youth, Saul was sent by his parents to Jerusalem, and there educated under the sage, Gamaliel, (Acts 22 : 3. 26 : 4, 5), who was at the head of the rigoristic school of Jewish scriptural learning, founded by his grandfather, Hillel ; who, moreover, showed a certain moderation towards Christianity, (5 : 38 sq.), was in high esteem with all the people, (5 : 34), and, according to the Talmud, was called "the glory of the law."

Supported by fine natural talents, gifted with a creative profundity and rare acuteness and energy of thought, he made himself master of the whole Rabbinical system, including jurisprudence as well as theology, and of the various modes of interpreting the Scriptures, allegory, typology, and tradition. This his epistles abundantly prove. It was by this course of theoretical training that he was qualified afterwards to oppose with such convincing power the errors of the Pharisees and Judaizers, and to develop the doctrinal contents of Christianity more extensively and profoundly than all the other apostles. Naturally fiery, resolute, bold and persevering, possessing that mixture of the choleric and melancholy temperament which is peculiar to most religious Reformers, he embraced with his whole soul whatever he thought to be right ; but for this very reason was inclined to be harsh, and run to extremes. Hence he was a Pharisee of the strictest sort, and a blind zealot for the law of his fathers, (Phil. 3 : 6. Gal. 1 : 13, 14). No doubt, however, he was among the most earnest and noble of this sect ; for that the Pharisees were by no means all hypocrites is proved by the examples of Nico-

¹ Only from the Christians of Philippi, towards whom he held a relation of peculiar friendship, he sometimes received presents (Phil. 4 : 15.)

demus, Joseph of Arimathea, and Gamaliel. He aspired most honestly after the ideal of Old Testament piety, as he then conceived it. Bitterly as he afterwards condemned his zeal in persecuting the Christians, and sorrowfully as he looked back upon his former fanaticism, he yet added that he acted "ignorantly," (1 Tim. 1 : 13) ; though he made not his ignorance a palliation of his guilt. Often, in his eagerness for the perfect righteousness of the law, might he have felt the disharmony in his soul, of which he afterwards drew so sad and life-like a picture in the seventh chapter of Romans. This course of practical training it was, which enabled him, after he had found the righteousness of faith, to give so masterly an exhibition of the relation of the gospel to the law, man's need of redemption, the worthlessness of all the righteousness of the natural man, and the power of faith in the only Redeemer.

Saul, at first, might have been indifferent towards Christianity, or might have proudly ignored it as a contemptible sect.¹ But the moment it came into open conflict with Pharisaism, as we have seen that it first did in Stephen, it must have appeared to him, in his fanaticism, as blasphemy against the law of his fathers, and rebellion against the authority of Jehovah. He, therefore, regarded the extermination of the new sect as a solemn duty and an act well pleasing to God. Hence the zealous part he took, while yet young, (about thirty years of age), in the execution of Stephen and the ensuing persecution. He entered houses to find Christians, and dragged off men and women to be tried and thrown into prison, (Acts 8 : 3. 22 : 4). Not satisfied with this, "yet breathing out threatenings and slaughter against the disciples of the Lord," he went to the high priest, the president of the Sanhedrim, which had the oversight of all the synagogues and the fixing of all disciplinary punishments for the despisers of the law, and procured from him full power to arrest all Christians. Thus provided, he set out for the Syrian city, Damascus, (9 : 1 sqq., comp. 22 : 5), whither many had fled, and where there were many synagogues of the Jews.² But here the gracious hand of Him, whom he persecuted, interfered to rescue him and change his whole course. The summit of apostasy was for him the turning-point towards salvation.

¹ It is possible, that he may have personally known Jesus, but not probable, as we have no distinct trace of it in his writings. For we can by no means, as Olshausen does, infer it with certainty from 2 Cor. 5 : 16 : "Wherefore henceforth know we no man after the flesh : yea, though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth know we him no more." Comp. Neander : *Apostelgesch.* I. p. 142, and De Wette *ad loc.*

² Josephus relates, (*De bello Jud.* II. 20, 2), that under Nero almost all the women in Damascus were attached to Judaism, and that at one time ten thousand Jews were executed.

§ 63. *Conversion of Paul.* A.D. 37.

On the way to Damascus occurred that miracle of grace, which transformed the persecuting Saul into the praying Paul, the self-righteous Pharisee into the humble Christian, the most dangerous enemy of the church into its most powerful apostle, the noble endowments of his nature into the gifts of the Holy Ghost. Paul himself mentions this crisis several times in his epistles, in controversy with his Judaistic opponents, as a credential of his apostolic call, but without going into the particulars, which in these cases were already sufficiently known ; since he was writing to believers and acquaintances. In the epistle to the Galatians he lays special emphasis on the fact, that he was called to be an apostle, not through human mediation, not even that of the elder apostles, but by the risen Saviour in person, (1 : 1) ; and that he received the gospel, which he was to preach to the Gentiles, not through human instruction, but directly through a revelation of Jesus Christ, (1 : 11-16). With this agrees 2 Cor. 4 : 6, where Paul ascribes his Christian knowledge to a creative act of God, which he compares to the calling forth of the natural light out of the darkness of chaos. If these passages leave it undecided, whether this enlightening of the apostle was simply an inward fact, or accompanied by an outward appearance ; he more distinctly testifies in 1 Cor. 9 : 1, that he had "seen Jesus Christ our Lord." That he here means a real, objective appearance of Christ, is proved by 1 Cor. 15 : 8, where he associates the manifestation of Christ to himself with the other manifestations of the risen Saviour to the disciples : "Last of all he was seen of me also, as of one born out of due time."

Of the manner of his conversion we have three detailed accounts in the book of Acts ; one from the pen of Luke, (9 : 1-19) ; and two from the mouth of Paul himself—the first in his discourse to the Jews in Jerusalem, (22 : 3-16),—the second in his defence before king Agrippa and the procurator Festus during his imprisonment in Caesarea, (26 : 9-20). They all agree in the main fact, that the conversion was wrought by a personal appearance of the glorified Redeemer. As Paul was approaching Damascus, he and his companions were suddenly surrounded at noon by an extraordinary radiance, more dazzling than the sun, (26 : 13). In this raiment of light he saw the glorified Saviour,¹ and heard his voice saying to him in the Hebrew tongue, (26 : 14) : "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me ? It is hard for thee to kick against the

¹ Acts 9 : 17, 27. Comp. 1 Cor. 9 : 1, and 17 : 8.

pricks." When Saul, smitten to the earth by the overwhelming power of this appearance, asked : "Who art thou, Lord?" the Redeemer regarding every persecution of his disciples, by reason of his vital union with them, as a persecution of himself, replied : "I am Jesus, whom thou persecutest. But arise, and go into the city, and it shall be told thee what thou must do." This phenomenon gave Paul a preliminary glimpse of the mystery of the divine nature, and the almighty dominion of Christ, of the union of the Lord with his body, the church, as also of the utter fruitlessness of any assaults upon that church. Thus all his previous doings were condemned, and, as a natural man, he lay powerless in the dust. When he arose, he saw no one. The supernatural splendor had blinded him. His former light, in which he fancied himself able to guide every body else, was extinguished. He had to be led like a child. He now staid in Damascus three days in blindness, fasting all the time, reflecting, and humbly imploring the higher light of grace and faith. In these birth-throes of a new life, well might he feel most intensely the wretchedness of the natural man, the insufferable bondage of the law, and exclaim from his inmost soul : "O wretched man that I am ! Who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" (Rom. 7 : 24). After this preparation by "godly sorrow," he was inwardly assured of the approaching deliverance, and directed in a vision to the man, who should be the instrument of his bodily and spiritual restoration, and introduce him into brotherly fellowship with the church. Ananias, an esteemed disciple of Damascus, whom the Lord had likewise prepared by a vision, as he did Peter for the conversion of Cornelius, restored to the praying Saul his bodily sight, according to the divine commission, by laying his hands upon him ; baptized him for the forgiveness of sins ; imparted to him the gift of the Holy Ghost ; and made known to him his divine calling, that, as a chosen vessel, he was to bear the name of Jesus Christ to Gentiles and Jews, and was to be honored by many sufferings for this name's sake.²

¹ This phrase, employed respecting horses and oxen : *πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζειν*, *adversus stimulum calcare*, to kick against the goads used for urging the animals, may denote either the subjective impossibility of resisting the power of divine grace ; in which case it would furnish an argument for Augustine's doctrine of "gratia irresistibilis;" or, as seems to us more probable, it may express the objective fruitlessness of opposition to the church of Christ, which is founded on an immovable rock. This interpretation is supported by the parallel passage in Gamaliel's address, 5 : 39 : "But if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it ; lest haply ye be found even to fight against God."

² The acknowledged discrepancies among these three accounts, to which, of late Baur, (l. c. p. 60 sqq.), has attached extravagant importance, in the interest of his mythological theory, relate merely to immaterial circumstances, and, with every unbiased mind, serve only to enhance the credibility of the narratives, and to refute Schneckenburger's and Baur's hypothesis of constant design and calculating reflection on the par-

Leaving out of view those theories respecting this momentous conversion, which own no sympathy with Biblical Christianity,¹ we still meet the inquiry, whether, while we fully acknowledge the historical fact and the agency of God, we may not suppose a previous psychological preparation in the mind of Paul; for God never works magically on men. With this view some have referred to the lingering influence of the wise counsel of his teacher, Gamaliel, (Acts 5 : 38, 39), and especially to the impression, which he must have received from the discourse and glorious aspect of the dying Stephen and of other Christians,—an impression, which perhaps he thought to get rid of by persecuting the Christians the more

of the author of the Acts. (1) According to c. 9 : 7, the companions of Paul heard the voice which spoke with him; but in 22 : 9, they did not. These statements may be reconciled by simply supposing that the attendants heard the sound of the voice, but did not understand the words, which, besides, were intended only for Saul. (2) In Acts 22 : 9. (comp. 26 : 13), the attendants saw the light, which shone around Paul; in Acts 9 : 7. they saw no one (*μηδένα*) i. e. no definite form in the splendor;—which by no means contradicts the first assertion. (3) In 26 : 16–18, Jesus himself reveals to Paul his call to be an apostle, whereas in both the other accounts this is done through Ananias. This is explained by considering that Paul before Agrippa condenses his story for the sake of brevity. And, in fact, the first representation is by no means untrue; since Ananias acted under commission from the Lord, and Paul, while yet on his way, was referred to this transaction, (9 : 6).

¹ The *rationalistic* explanation, for instance, of Ammon and others, long ago refuted, which, in entire opposition to the plain sense of the text, converts the unearthly effulgence of the glorified Godman into lightning, and his voice, which spoke Hebrew, into thunder, and regards all the rest as additions of a heated oriental fancy. No better, however, is the *mythical* theory lately advanced by Dr. Baur, according to which we would here have no objective appearance at all, natural or supernatural, but simply a subjective process, which took place in Paul's own mind. "The light," says Baur, "is nothing else than the symbolical, mythical expression of the certainty of the real and immediate presence of the exalted Jesus," (*Paulus*, p. 68), in whom Paul himself does not believe, except in a pantheistic sense. This view rests on no exegetical and historical grounds whatever, but upon unproved philosophical assumptions, such as the impossibility of a miracle, and especially upon the denial of the resurrection of Christ. It moreover makes Paul, that clear, logical and searching spirit, a blind and stubborn enthusiast. For, after all, even Baur cannot deny, that according to the passages, 1 Cor. 9 : 1 and 15 : 8, aside from the narratives in Acts, the apostle *believed* he had actually seen the Lord; that he regarded the resurrection of Christ as the best accredited and most important of all facts; nay, that, *without* this, he declared his preaching and all faith empty and groundless, and Christians of all men most miserable, (1 Cor. 15 : 14–19). But which, now, is the more rational: to give implicit credit to the plain statements of *such* a man, authenticated by the most brilliant results, and to correct our own philosophy by history, where the two conflict; or to deny the history, and, for the sake of some preconceived opinions, to attribute a life, next to that of the Saviour, the most laborious and beneficent, which history can show, a life, which yet serves for the daily instruction, edification, and consolation of millions, to an empty conceit, a radical self-deception? But a small portion of sound common sense (which is sometimes much better than uncommon sense) is amply sufficient to decide.

violently But the account in Acts, and the epistles of Paul give us no more hints of such preparations, than of thunder and lightning. They expressly tell us, rather, that he took pleasure in the death of Stephen, (*ἡν συνευδοκῶν*, 8 : 1. 22 : 20). This hypothesis, moreover, does not suit well the energetic, resolute character of the apostle, who, in his zeal for the law, was firmly convinced, that by persecuting the Christians he was doing God service and working out his own soul's salvation, and who must be converted suddenly, or never. Upon such proud, heroic natures the Spirit of God comes, not in the still, gentle breeze, but in the earthquake, the fire, and the storm. The suddenness of his transition from fanatical Judaism to enthusiastic faith in the Messiah is characteristic for his position as the apostle of the Gentiles, and the representative of the most liberal and evangelical conception of Christianity. On the other hand, however, it is easy to see that his faith in the Old Testament revelation, his earnestness and energy of will, and his honest, though mistaken efforts after righteousness and the glory of God, furnished a foothold for the operations of grace. For, had he persecuted the Christians not in ignorance, but from wanton malice, like a Nero and Domitian, had he been a frivolous worldling, like Caiaphas or Herod, or a hypocrite, like Judas ; no appearance from the spiritual world could have produced such a moral revolution in him, (comp. Luke 16 : 31). Then again, after he had once been miraculously enlightened by Christ himself, the very discourse of Stephen, with its profound conception of the Old Testament, and of the prophetic, prospective character of the Mosaic law and worship, must have risen before him in a most significant light, and formed a starting-point for the unfolding of his own system of Christian doctrine. We do not mean then to deny at all the powerful influence of the first martyr upon his persecutor ; but we suppose that it took effect much more after than before his conversion.

But in what relation did Paul stand to the original *college of apostles* ? He was called by Christ in person, without human intervention, and could testify of the resurrection from what he himself had seen, as well as from the glorious success of his labors ; and this fact places his apostolic dignity beyond doubt, as it was also fully acknowledged by the elder apostles, (Acts 15. Gal. 2 : 9). But this seems to compel us either to regard the choice of Matthias in place of the traitor, (Acts 1 : 15 sqq.), as null and void, or to give up the necessity and symbolical import of the number twelve. The last we cannot well do ; for the number twelve is made particularly prominent by Christ himself, (Matt. 19 : 28. Luke 22 : 30), and even in the Apocalypse, (21 : 14), only twelve "apostles of the Lamb" are mentioned. But if it be said that the number twelve includes only the apostles of the Jews, and that Paul

being the thirteenth, stood alone, as the apostle to the Gentile world ;¹ we see at once that this is not entirely satisfactory. For Paul was commissioned to bear the name of Christ also to the Jews, (comp. Acts 9 · 15) ; and in his missionary journeys he went always first to the synagogues, whilst Peter and John, in their later ministry labored, at least partly, among the Gentiles. At all events this hypothesis would leave the passages which speak of *twelve* apostles, strangely silent respecting Paul. In general, the twelve tribes of Israel typify not a part, but the whole of the Christian church. Others, therefore, have decided for the somewhat hazardous assumption, that the choice of Matthias, though well-meant, was premature. In favor of this it may be adduced, (1) that the choice took place *before* the outpouring of the Spirit, and therefore before the formal inspiration of the apostles ; (2) that it was made without any express command of Christ, simply upon the proposition of Peter and by human means ; (3) that Matthias is never afterwards even mentioned, and seems to have disappeared even before his defeated rival candidate Barnabas : while Paul, called immediately by the Lord himself without the foreknowledge or privity of the disciples, labored more than all the other apostles, (1 Cor. 15 : 10. 2 Cor. 11 : 23).² But, however this may be, the whole mode of his call, his position, and his efficiency, have, at all events, something extraordinary about them, which does not fit into the mechanism of fixed order.³ He himself never grounds his apostolic office on the occurrence of a vacancy in the original apostolate, either through the treachery of Judas or the martyrdom of the elder James. He derives it directly from Christ, and, particularly

¹ As is assumed especially by Olshausen, in the third volume of his Commentary, p. 5 sqq. A peculiar modification of this view Dr. Heinr. Thiersch takes occasion to propound in favor of Irvingism, which is well known to teach a restoration of the apostolic office for the last age of the church. "Paul is not the thirteenth of the *first* apostolate, but the first of a *second*, which, being designed for the Gentile world and the church arising in it, was in those times *not yet filled*," (*Vorlesungen über Katholicismus und Protestantismus*, Part I. p. 309. Note. 2nd ed. Comp. also Thiersch's *Geschichte der apost. Kirche*, p. 121 sq.

² If Judas, the traitor, had not the powers of a Paul, he was still designed for great things ; otherwise Jesus would not have taken him into the number of his disciples. From his tragical end we may infer the greatness of his original destiny, as we may judge of a demolished building by its ruins. On this point comp. my work : *Ueber die Sünde wider den heiligen Geist*. Halle, 1841, p. 41 sqq.

³ The strict hierarchical view, be it Roman or Puseyite, which always looks for an outward, palpable succession, admits no satisfactory explanation of the fact, that the *apostles* had no share whatever in the ordination of Paul after his conversion (Acts 9 : 17), and in his being sent to the Gentiles by the church of Antioch, (13 : 3). The divine irregularity of his call and the subsequent independence of his labors make Paul, so to speak, a prototype of evangelical Protestantism, which has always looked to him as its main authority, as Romanism to Peter.

in the epistle to the Galatians, places it over against the authority of the elder apostles, as altogether independent and equal. Hence, too, he has always been the main support and representative of liberal movements in the church.

Finally, as to the *chronology* of the conversion of Paul; among the various dates proposed, ranging through ten years, (from A.D. 31, adopted by Bengel, to A.D. 41, by Wurm), that seems to have most in its favor, which places this event in the year 37, seven years after the resurrection of Christ.¹

¹ Our arguments for this date are the following: (1) The statement of Paul, that, three years after his conversion, he fled from Damascus before the ethnarch of king Aretas, (2 Cor. 11 : 32, 33), furnishes no certain datum, owing to our imperfect knowledge of the time of this Aretas and of the history of Damascus. It only determines that the conversion of Paul cannot be put earlier than the year 34, since Aretas cannot have come into possession of Damascus before the death of Tiberius, A.D. 37. (Comp. Wieseler, l. c. p. 167-175.) (2) The conversion cannot have been long after the death of Stephen; which, on account of the mob-like nature of the proceeding, may best be referred to the time immediately succeeding the deposition of Pilate, A.D. 36, or to the beginning of the reign of Caligula, (after 37), who, in the first year of his reign, showed himself mild towards his subjects, as Josephus expressly observes, *Antiqu.* XVIII. 8, 2. (3) A sure datum is furnished by Paul's *second* journey to Jerusalem, (Acts 11 : 29, 30), which cannot have taken place before the year 44 or 45; since in this year the famine appeared in Palestine, which occasioned the sending of Paul and Barnabas with supplies. Between this journey of Paul to Jerusalem and the *first*, (Acts 9 : 26), some four or five years must have intervened; for the apostle in the meantime had spent a whole year in Antioch, (11 : 26), probably from two to three years in Syria and Tarsus, (9 : 30. Gal. 1 : 21), and some time in travelling. If, according to this, the first journey fell in the year 40, then the year of the conversion is also settled; since, according to the statement in Gal. 1 : 18, it happened three years before, therefore in the year 37. This calculation is, indeed, at once made uncertain by our not knowing the *length* of Paul's residence in Tarsus either from himself or from Luke; and conjectures respecting it vary. Anger, for example, makes it two years, Schrader and Wieseler, only half a year. (4) The surest guide to the date is afforded by Gal. 2 : 1, according to which the apostle, "fourteen years after, went up again to Jerusalem." Reckoning this, with most interpreters, from Paul's *conversion*, as the great era of his life; and understanding the journey here mentioned to be the one to the apostolic convention, Acts 15, which, according to a tolerably certain calculation, was held in the year 50 or 51; we again have the year 37 for the latest date of his conversion. It is true that this calculation also can be easily disputed, as chronologists and interpreters differ on the question, whether the fourteen years should begin at the conversion, or at the first journey to Jerusalem. (Gal. 1 : 18), as well as on the question, whether Gal. 2 : 1 refers to the second journey, (Acts 11 : 30. 12 : 25), or the third, (15), or the fourth, (18 : 21, 22) Wieseler, for instance, l. c. p. 179-208, endeavors at some length to prove, that Paul, in Gal. 2, had in view his *fourth* journey to Jerusalem, (Acts 18 : 22); and putting this in the year 54, and deducting fourteen years, he obtains, in harmony with his other combinations, A.D. 40 for the year of the apostle's conversion. But the reasons for identifying the journey, Gal. 2 : 1 with that mentioned Acts 15, are very

§ 64. *Paul's Preparation for his Apostolic Labors.*

Paul had now reached the point, where, without "conferring with flesh and blood," he bound himself unconditionally, joyfully, and forever, to the service of the Redeemer; where he counted every thing, which had formerly been his pride and boast, worthless compared with the "excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus his Lord," (Phil. 3 : 4-9). Already in the scene on the road to Damascus had he heard his call : "I send thee to the Gentiles," (Acts 26 : 17 sq. comp. 9 : 15). But not till seven years afterwards, A. D. 44, in pursuance of a still plainer revelation in the temple (22 : 17-21), did he make his formal appearance, with independent authority, as the Apostle of the Gentiles. Meanwhile he served the Lord, partly in quiet preparation, partly in the subordinate place of a simple "prophet and teacher," (13 : 1).

After so violent a convulsion of his inmost being, he must have felt the need, first of all, of silent meditation on the impressions he had received. Having strengthened himself, therefore, by a few days' intercourse with the Christians in Damascus (9 : 19), he went into the neighboring part of the desert of Arabia (probably the region now called the Syrian desert), and remained there a considerable time. Paul's object in this residence in Arabia, which he himself mentions, Gal. 1 : 17, was not to preach the gospel among the Jews or Gentiles there—at least no information of his having done so has come down to us,—but to enjoy a season of undisturbed preparation for his high and holy calling. This period, therefore, belongs more properly to the history of the apostle's inward life; and this affords the simplest explanation of the silence of the book of Acts respecting it. It was for him a sort of substitute for the three years' personal intercourse with the Lord, enjoyed by the other apostles. Without doubt he devoted himself mainly to prayer and meditation, to the study of the Christian tradition, and of the Old Testament, on which he now looked with new eyes, as a continuous and clear prophetic testimony concerning Jesus Christ, the crucified and risen Saviour; and by inward revelation he obtained a deeper insight into the nature and connection of the gospel doctrines of salvation.

From Arabia he returned to Damascus, (Gal. 1 : 17), to testify of the Messiahship of Jesus of Nazareth first of all in the place where the new light arose within him; to build up the church, where he had formerly sought to raze it to the ground. His preaching enraged the Jews, who had lost in him their most gifted and zealous champion. They strong, and we think it impossible, that Paul, in his epistle to the Galatians, would have passed over in perfect silence his attendance at the apostolic council, where yet the point in controversy was the very one spoken of in Gal. 2. For a more full refutation of Wieseler's view, see below, § 67.

stirred up against him the deputy of king Aretas of Arabia, who set a watch over the gates of the city to take Paul. But the believers saved the life of² the apostle, who was destined yet to the most important service, and was as far removed from fanatical contempt of death, as from cowardly fear of it. They let him down by night in a basket through some opening in the wall, probably the window of a house built upon it.'

Paul now went, for the first time as a Christian, to Jerusalem, to the mother-church of Christendom, three years, as he himself says,² after his conversion, and therefore, according to our chronology, in the year 40. His main object was to become personally acquainted with Peter, the great leader of the Jewish mission and of the whole church. He endeavored to approach the brethren with freedom and confidence; but they were at first shy of him, and doubted the genuineness of his conversion (Acts 9 : 26). Nor can we wonder. His persecution of the saints was still fresh in their memory, and what had since befallen him was probably little known as yet in Jerusalem; he having spent most of the time in retirement in Arabia. Peculiar doubts must have arisen in regard to his apostolic calling. The apostles themselves had filled up the number of the twelve by the election of Matthias; and nothing short of a special revelation (of which, however, we have no account), or intimate personal acquaintance, and particularly the extraordinary results of his subsequent labors, could convince them, that this former enemy of the Christians was called to so distinguished a post.³ This suspicion of the brethren must have been a severe trial for Paul; but his patience

¹ Acts 9 : 23-25; with which agrees Paul's own statement (2 Cor. 11 : 32, 33), with the easily adjusted difference, that, according to Luke, the Jews, according to Paul, the ethnarch (i. e. both in concert) set watch over the city. This and other cases of an undesigned coincidence between Luke's narrative and Paul's epistles in such intrinsically unimportant historical notices, as well as the frequent indications of Luke's accurate knowledge of contemporary circumstances, make it absolutely impossible aside from higher considerations, to suppose, with Baur, that the book of Acts was written so late as the second century.

² Gal. 1 : 18. Luke has for this (Acts 9 : 23) the less definite, indeed, but by no means contradictory expression: *ἡμέραι ἱκαναί*, "many days," for which Dr. Baur in Tübingen (p. 106) reads him a sharp lecture! From our heart we wish the historical and critical sins of this scholar a more merciful judge. Were the Acts, as Baur supposes, not composed till the beginning of the second century, how easily might the author, for his own sake, have secured himself against such reproaches, with the more minute statement of the epistle to the Galatians before his eyes. For intentional distortion (as such the above named critic would brand this and other insignificant differences), no reasonable ground whatever can here be imagined.

³ At first, where Paul and Barnabas are named together in Acts, the latter is named before the former (11 : 30. 13 : 2), and even in the apostolic council (15 : 12). The reverse order appears, however, in the same chapter, vs. 2 and 22, and, in fact, as early as 13 : 43, 46-50.

under it proved the sincerity of his profession. Barnabas, the liberal-minded Hellenist, perhaps also a former acquaintance of Paul's, acted as mediator; introduced him to Peter, and to James, the brother of the Lord; and told them of the appearance of Christ to him, and of his fearless confession of Jesus in Damascus. Besides these, Paul, at that time, saw no other apostle.¹ Perhaps the others were absent on missions in the country. He abode fifteen days with Peter (Gal. 1 : 18), until the murderous machinations of the Hellenists, with whom he disputed (Acts 9 : 29), as Stephen had formerly done, made it advisable for him to leave the city.

He no doubt conversed with Peter on the life and teaching of Jesus, on the relation of the gospel to the law, and on the spread of the church. But we know not to what extent they at that time came to an understanding respecting their principles. Perhaps this interview served to prepare Peter, in some degree, for larger views respecting the calling of the Gentiles; for the conversion of Cornelius did not take place till some time after. Peter, on his part, might have been of service to Paul in what pertained to the historical tradition of Christianity. Yet the substance of this was, of course, already known to him, partly through his intercourse with Ananias and other Christians, partly through revelation from above.² But his peculiar conception of the gospel, as expressed in his epistles, and his conviction of his vocation to be the Apostle of the Gentiles, we must regard as altogether independent of human instruction. In fact, he explicitly assures us, in his epistle to the Galatians (1 : 11, 12, 16), that he received his doctrine not from men, but by direct revelation of Jesus Christ, for the Gentiles.³ This inward enlightenment by the Holy Ghost we must regard, like that of the other apostles on Pentecost, as referring to the *inmost life*, the *central principle* of his being; giving him for the first time the general experimental understanding of Christian truth, especially of the Messiahship of Jesus, as the living fountain of all salvation; and awakening him to a new view of the world and man's relation to God. This, of course, does not preclude subsequent special disclosures of the Spirit respecting single points of Christian doctrine and practice; for we are to conceive the inspiration of the apostles in general as not merely an act, done once for all, but a

¹ As he expressly remarks, Gal. 1 : 19; by which the more indefinite statement in Acts 9 : 27 must be limited.

² Thus, for example, he refers his knowledge of the institution of the Holy Eucharist (1 Cor. 11 : 23) to the Lord; where, however, the *ἀπό* does not necessarily like *παρά*, denote the immediate source, but may also possibly mean a communication through tradition.

³ On the sources of Paul's Christian knowledge, comp. the instructive remarks of Dr Neander in his *Geschichte der Pflanzung* etc. I. p. 166-176.

permanent influence and state, varying in strength as occasion required. Paul speaks expressly of several revelations, with which he was favored (2 Cor. 12 : 1, 7), and carefully distinguishes from them his own opinion, formed in the way of reflection and deduction (1 Cor. 7 : 6, 25). It was during this first residence in Jerusalem after his conversion, that, while praying in the temple, he was entranced, and directed by the Lord to leave Jerusalem quickly, and preach the gospel to the distant Gentile nations (Acts 22 : 17-21).¹

After this two weeks' visit, Paul went, accompanied by the brethren, to Caesarea, and thence to Syria and his native city, Tarsus (Acts 9 : 30. Gal. 1 : 21). No doubt he preached the gospel in Cilicia. For, according to Acts 15 : 23, 41, Christian churches already existed there, when he came thither on his second missionary tour, though he had not visited this region on his first. Having labored a few (perhaps two or three) years² in his native place, he was brought by Barnabas to *Antioch* (Acts 11 : 26), where, meanwhile, the first mixed congregation of Gentile and Jewish converts had arisen, and where a new and glorious prospect had opened for the extension of the kingdom of God.³ In this, the mother church of the Gentile mission, Paul found a centre for his activity, which, in its public character and on its grand scale, dates from this point its proper beginning.

§ 65. *Second Journey to Jerusalem. Persecution of the Church there.*

After Paul had successfully labored a whole year in Antioch as "prophet and teacher" (11 : 26. 13 : 1), in the reign of the emperor Claudius, in the year 44 or 45, a great famine spread over Palestine.⁴

¹ Wieseler, l. c. p. 165 sqq., endeavors to show, in behalf of his system of chronology, that this trance was the same as the one related in 2 Cor. 12 : 2-4, which befell the apostle fourteen years before the writing of the epistle (A. D. 57); so that we should have the year 43 for the date of Paul's first journey to Jerusalem, and the year 40 for the time of his conversion. But a simple comparison of the two passages will certainly not lead to this. In the Corinthians nothing is said of a command to leave Jerusalem and go to the Gentiles, as in Acts 22 : but, on the contrary, Paul then heard "unspeakable words, which it is not lawful (possible) for a man to utter." We can, therefore, attach no weight whatever to Wieseler's inference from this supposed identity respecting the date of the first journey to Jerusalem.

² As Anger (*De temp. in Act. rat.* p. 171), and Neander (l. c. l. p. 177), suppose. Schrader, on the contrary, and Wieseler, (l. c. p. 147 sq.), allow only half a year, or at most one year, for the residence in Tarsus. Luke confessedly gives no hint respecting this interval, thus leaving a chasm in the chronology.

³ Comp. *supra*, § 61.

⁴ Acts 11 : 28, compared with the more minute statement of Josephus in his *Archæology*, B. xx. c. 2, § 5, and xx. 5, 2; which thus furnishes a fixed chronological datum: only Josephus points to the year 45, and the account of Luke rather to 44. Luke inserts

This caused the church at Antioch, which had been forewarned of the impending calamity by the prophet Agabus of Jerusalem (19 : 28), to send Barnabas and Paul with aid to the suffering brethren in Judea, and thus in some measure to discharge their debt of gratitude for the spiritual blessings they had received (11 : 29, 30).¹ This was the second journey of our apostle to Jerusalem after his conversion. The church there had enjoyed some seven years of repose (comp. 9 : 31), when king Herod Agrippa, a heathen at heart, and a minion of the Romans, to ingratiate himself with the people, beheaded the elder James (the brother of John), who, being one of the two "sons of thunder," had probably enraged the Jews by his bold confession ; and thus became the first martyr in the apostolic college (12 : 2).² He intended to treat Peter in the same way at the approaching festival of Easter, to make mirth for the multitude. But Peter was released from prison by a miraculous interposition of Providence ; and thenceforth he left Jerusalem, the seat of his labors thus far, and entrusted the church there to the other James, who presided over it till his death (12 : 3-19). Instead of the apostle, Agrippa himself soon after died. Like his grandfather, Herod the Great, he met a terrible end (12 : 20-23) at Caesarea, during a festival in honor of the emperor, after having allowed himself to be called God by the people in the theatre. This occurred late in the summer of the year 44.³ It is very possible, that the after-storm of this persecution continued during the time of Paul's second visit to Jerusalem, and made a longer stay there at that time unadvisable. Luke also intimates, that the delegates returned immediately after executing their commission, bringing with them John Mark, the kinsman

the death of king Agrippa between the departure of Paul in consequence of the famine and his return from Jerusalem ; and this death, it is certain, took place in the year 44. He also expressly remarks, that those two events happened about the same time, comp. 11 : 30, 12 : 1. and 12 : 25. This difference Wieseler seems to have overlooked.

¹ The Jewish historian relates, l. c., that at that time many starved, and that Helena, queen of Adiabene, a proselyte, and her son, king Izates, sent grain, figs, and money to Jerusalem to relieve the wants of the poor.

² Unfortunately we have no certain knowledge respecting the labors of this apostle, who was one of the three favorite disciples of the Lord. Clement of Alex. (in Eusebius : Hist. Eccl. II, 9) relates, that the accuser of James, on the way to the place of execution, stung by remorse, himself confessed faith, and begged his forgiveness ; whereupon James said to him : "Peace be with thee," gave him the brotherly kiss, and had him for a companion in martyrdom.

³ This second certain date in the life of Paul is furnished by the passage quoted from Acts in connection with Josephus, *Antiqu.* xix. 8, 2. Comp. on this Wieseler, p. 129 sq., who thinks he can determine even the *day* of Agrippa's death (the 6th of August).

of Barnabas (12 : 25).¹ This makes it the easier to explain Paul's silence respecting this journey in the epistle to the Galatians.²

§ 66. ²*First Missionary Tour of Paul and Barnabas.* A.D. 45.

Soon after the return of the delegates, the prophets and teachers of the church at Antioch,—among whom, besides Simeon Niger, Lucius, and Manaen, are named also Barnabas and Saul themselves,—while fasting, and praying to be enlightened respecting the spread of the kingdom of God, were inwardly prompted to set apart these two men by the laying on of hands, and to send them out on a mission (13 : 1-3). Accordingly Paul and Barnabas, accompanied by Mark, under the authority of this church, and with the higher commission of the Holy Ghost, repaired first to the island of Cyprus, the birth-place of Barnabas, whose previous connections there seemed to present a favorable opening for the missionary work.

This is the *first* of Paul's three great preaching tours, described in the Acts of the Apostles. The missionaries traversed the island from East to West, from Salamis to Paphos. Taking the course which history itself had marked out for them, they addressed themselves first to the Jews (13 : 5. 14 : 1). For the synagogues, and the freedom of speech which prevailed in them, afforded at once the most suitable places, and the best opportunities, for preaching the gospel. Then again, these oases of the true religion in the desert of heathen idolatry were also the places of assembly for those pious proselytes of the gate, who formed a natural bridge between Jews and Gentiles, and thus might vastly facilitate the transmission of the gospel to the latter. But finally and chiefly : the Jews, by virtue of their peculiar position in the history of religion and the express promises of a faithful God, had, so to speak, the first claim on the gospel.³ In spite of all the persecution he suffered, Paul therefore continually yearned over his "kinsmen according to the flesh," and cherished the hope of their future conversion (Rom. 11 : 26). Nay, like Moses (Ex. 32 : 32), he could even wish to be banished from

¹ The well known evangelist. His original Hebrew name, John (Acts 12 : 12, 25. 15 : 37. 13 : 5, 13), afterwards, when he entered on his missionary work in foreign lands, gave place entirely to the Roman name, Mark (15 : 39. Col. 4 : 10. Philem. 24. 2 Tim. 4 : 11. 1 Pet. 5 : 13); precisely as the name, Saul, was changed into Paul :—a proof of the correctness of our explanation. § 62, first Note.

² Many interpreters and chronologists (the *Chronicon pasch.*, Calvin, Kühnöl, Paulus, Flatt, Fritzsche, and others) have supposed, indeed, that Paul, Gal. 2 : 1, means *this* second journey to Jerusalem, and that, therefore, this was the time of the important transactions between him and the Jewish apostles. But, not to mention other difficulties, this hypothesis is, even chronologically, absolutely untenable; for there is not a single critical authority for reading τεσσάρων instead of δεκατεσσάρων.

Acts 13 : 46. 18 : 6. Rom. 1 : 16. Comp. Jno. 4 : 22.

Christ (not, indeed, from the holy service,—then were the wis in pious,—but from the blissful enjoyment of Christ), if by this heaviest sacrifice he might procure the faith and salvation of his unbelieving brethren, —which, however, was of course impossible (Rom. 9 : 1–3). Such a love reminds us of the actual self-sacrifice of the Saviour, who willingly left the throne of his heavenly Father, was made a curse for us (Gal. 3 : 13), and suffered the ignominious death of the cross, to give life and happiness to the lost world ! In consequence of this conduct of Paul, almost all his churches were composed of converted Jews and Gentiles. Yet even in this first journey the greater susceptibility appeared on the part of the Gentiles. Where there were no Jews, or at least no synagogues, as in Lystra, the apostolic missionaries entered into conversation with individuals in the public places and walks, till a crowd collected from curiosity, and the dialogue could be turned into a sermon.

As to the most important events and results of this tour ;—Luke mentions first the conversion of the Roman proconsul, Sergius Paulus, who resided at Paphos.¹ At that time, when infidelity and superstition bordered so closely on one another, this man had yielded himself to the sorceries of a Jewish false prophet by the name of Bar-Jesus.² But, unsatisfied with these, he desired to hear the Christian missionaries. As the kindred spirit, Simon Magus, was rebuked by Peter, so this deceiver, attempting to withstand the preaching of Paul, because it threatened ruin to his craft, was met by the apostle, as by an indignant judge, and smitten with blindness. This miraculous punishment decided the conversion of the proconsul to Christianity.

From Cyprus the company sailed northward to Perga in Pamphylia. Here Mark left them and returned to Jerusalem (13 : 13); probably

¹ The island of Cyprus was at that time a senatorial province, and therefore governed by a “proconsul” (ἀνθύπατος) ; while the governor of an imperial province was termed “propraetor,” or “legatus Cæsaris” (ἀντιστράτηγος). The careful observance of this distinction in the terminology of the Acts (19 : 38. 18 : 12. Comp. Luke 2 : 2), is one of the many proofs of the reliable historical character and early composition of that book. Comp. Wieseler, p. 224 sq and especially Tholuck : *Glaubwürdigkeit d. evang. Gesch.* p. 171 sqq.

² So, under Marcus Aurelius, the juggler, Alexander of Abonoteichos (a small town of Paphlagonia), found favor even with the most respectable Romans, particularly with the statesman, Rutilianus. So says Lucian, in c. 30 of his biography of this man, dedicated to the philosopher, Celsus. He calls Alexander as great an impostor, as the Macedonian Alexander was a hero (c. 1). Making all due allowance for the poetical coloring of the work, we may take it, on the whole, as a life-like, moral picture of the times ; and Neander, therefore, notwithstanding the arbitrary protest of Baur (p. 94), is perfectly right in appealing to this parallel. Also what Josephus relates of the influence of the magician, Simon of Cyprus, on the Roman procurator Felix (*Antiqu.* XX 7 2), goes to confirm the statements of the Acts

discouraged by the hardships, and becoming homesick ; but perhaps also as he was a disciple of Peter and a member of the strictly Jewish Christian church of Jerusalem, unable rightly to sympathize with the Apostle of the Gentiles in his liberal views and practice (comp. 15 : 37, 38. Gal. 2 : 11 sq.). From Perga they went to Antioch in Pisidia. Here, on the Sabbath, in the synagogue, at the invitation of its rulers, Paul delivered a discourse of eminent wisdom, mildness, and earnestness (13 : 16-41) ; reviewing the gracious dealings of God with Israel ; announcing the appearance of the Messiah in the family of David, his death, and his resurrection ; pointing the people to faith in him as the condition of pardon and justification ; and concluding with an awful warning against unbelief. The discourse made an impression, and the apostle was urged to present his doctrine more fully on the ensuing Sabbath.¹ In the mean time, the more teachable among the Jews and proselytes received more minute instruction ; the news of the gospel spread to every house ; and on the next Sabbath the whole city, Gentiles and all, flocked to the synagogue. This roused the envy of the Jews, who made great account of their lineage and privileges ; and they interrupted Paul's discourse with violent contradiction and blasphemy. He then declared to them : " We were bound by the divine counsel, and by our duty as apostles, to preach the word of God to you first. But since ye thrust it from you, and judge yourselves unworthy of everlasting life, lo, we turn to the Gentiles ; according to the promise of the prophet (Is. 49 : 6), that the Messiah should be a light and the fountain of salvation for the nations to the ends of the earth." Then were the Gentiles glad ; " as many as were ordained to eternal life," believed ; and the word of God spread throughout the province of Pisidia. But the fanatical Jews succeeded in stirring up the honorable women, who leaned towards Judaism, and, through them, their husbands also ; and they drove Paul and Barnabas away.

The missionaries then went eastward to Iconium,² a city at the foot of Mt. Taurus, and at that time the capital of Lycaonia. After laboring there a long time with great success, they were compelled to flee from the persecution of the unbelieving Jews, who sought their lives. They next came to Lystra and Derbe, cities of Lycaonia. In Lystra the miraculous healing of a cripple by Paul made a great stir among the heathen inhabitants, who, on account of their obscurity, were still firm believers in the old popular mythology. They thought that the gods,

¹ The *μεταξὺ*, v. 42, must evidently mean the same as *ἐξῆς* (from *ἔχω*), or *μετέπειτα*, "in succession," "afterwards," as sometimes in the later Greek ; e. g. very certainly in Josephus : *De bello Jud.* V. 4. 2. The interpretation : "In the intervening week," is inconsistent with v. 44.

Now Conien, the residence of a Turkish Pasha.

who were said to have once been hospitably entertained in that very region by the pious couple, Philemon and Baucis,¹ had come down in human form to dispense their favors. Barnabas, the elder of the two, and probably also the more commanding in personal appearance, they took for Jupiter, their tutelary deity, to whom they had dedicated a temple in front of the city. Paul, who was always the speaker, and possessed the gift of persuasive eloquence,—not, indeed, an eloquence of display and transient effect, but that “of the Spirit and of power” (1 Cor. 2 : 4),²—they supposed to be Mercury, the messenger of the gods.³ The priest even went so far, as to provide oxen as a sacrifice to the supposed gods, when Paul and Barnabas, indignant at this idolatrous demonstration, rending their clothes, rushed in among the multitude, and pointed them from vain idols to the living God, the Creator of all things and Giver of all good, (14 : 8–18).

The crude, sensuous superstition of these heathens readily accounts for their sudden change from idolatrous veneration to the opposite extreme of fanatical hatred towards the enemies of their gods. At the instigation of Jews, who had come from Antioch in Pisidia and from Iconium, the people rose against Paul in a mob, stoned him, and dragged him out of the city for dead. But he revived, and, spending the rest of the day with the believers in Lystra, he and Barnabas went the next day to Derbe. Having here won many to the gospel, the missionaries revisited the cities, where they had already preached ; exhorted the new converts to be steadfast ; and, having given them, by the election of elders, a fixed church organization, sailed from Attalia back to their starting-point, the Syrian capital, and reported to the Antiochian church the result of this mission (14 : 19–27).

¹ Ovid : *Metamorph.* VIII. 611 sqq. From the same region sprang the famous goët, Apollonius of Tyana, who, according to Philostratus, was held by his countrymen to be a son of Zeus.

² As is abundantly evident from his discourses in Acts, such as the one at Athens, and from his epistles, e. g. Rom. 8 : 31–39, and 1 Cor. 13, which are among the most sublime passages in the whole history of eloquence and poetry. Paul tells us, indeed (2 Cor. 10 : 10), that it might be said of him : “ His letters are weighty and powerful ; but his bodily presence is weak (*ἀσθενής*), and his speech contemptible (*ἐξουθενούμενος*).” But this last is no doubt a superficial judgment, which, according to the degenerate taste of the times, looked to the outward pomp and ornament of the later heathen rhetoricians, as the principal criterion of eloquence. That he had some bodily infirmity, however, might be gathered also from such passages as 1 Cor. 2 : 3. Gal. 4 : 13 sq., and 2 Cor. 12 : 7. A tradition (*Acta Pauli et Theclae*, and Nicephorus *Call.* II, 37), which, however, certainly cannot be relied on, represents him as small and uncomely in stature.

³ In Jamblichus, *De Myst. Aeg.* I, this god is called : θεὸς ὁ τῶν λόγων ἡγεμῶν. Macrobius describes Mercury as “ vocis et sermonis potens ” (*Sat.* I, 8).

§ 67. *Journey to the Apostolic Council in Jerusalem. Settlement of the Dispute between the Jewish and Gentile Christians.* A.D. 50.

After again spending some time in Antioch (14 : 28), Paul about the year 50,¹ made a third journey to Jerusalem, and that on business of the utmost importance, which required first to be clearly settled, before he could freely prosecute his great work of converting the Gentiles.

Paul's successful propagation of the gospel among the Gentiles, which was the main seal of his apostleship, threatened to produce a schism in the church itself, between the two leading communities of Jerusalem and Antioch, and, in general, between the believers of the circumcision and those of the uncircumcision. Many of the Jewish Christians, especially those, who had formerly belonged to the narrow-minded sect of the Pharisees (Acts 15 : 5), could not yet divest themselves of their old national prejudices and their exclusive spirit. They regarded the observance of the whole Mosaic law, especially circumcision, as the necessary condition of salvation ; erroneously resting in the authority of the Jewish apostles, particularly of the strictly legal James. Hence when Paul made salvation depend solely on faith in Christ, they looked with decided displeasure on his free proceedings ; doubted his divine commission and apostolic dignity (as we see especially from the epistles to the Galatians and Corinthians), and caused disturbance in the Antiochian church, which contained so many uncircumcised Gentile Christians. This led that church to send Paul and Barnabas, with some others, to the apostles and elders in Jerusalem, to settle the dispute (15 : 2).

Before proceeding to consider the transactions of this first synod of the Christian church—the apostolic council, as it is called—we have the difficult question to decide, whether the important visit to Jerusalem, which Paul mentions in the second chapter of Galatians, and places fourteen years after his conversion, is identical with the journey to this apostolic convention (Acts 15), or with the fourth journey to Jerusalem (Acts 18 : 21, 22) four years after, A. D. 54.

Prof. Wieseler, in support of his learned and in other respects very satisfactory system of chronology, has decided for the latter hypothesis.² His chronological arguments, on which he seems mainly to rest, are with-

¹ This date is obtained by adding to the time of Paul's conversion (A.D. 37) the fourteen years of Gal. 2 : 1,—assuming, that the journey there mentioned is identical with this to the apostolic convention ;—and also by subtracting ■ year and a half or two years from the time of his arrival in Corinth (Acts 18 : 1). For this arrival was in the autumn of the year 52 (vid. Wieseler, p. 118 and 128) ; he was one year, or at most two years, on the way ; and he began this second missionary tour soon after his return from the apostolic council (15 : 33, 36). This council, accordingly, must be placed, at the latest, in the beginning of 51 ; more probably in 50.

² I. c. p. 180-208.

out weight for us ; since we place the conversion of Paul, not in the year 40, as he does, but in 37. And his other reasons are by no means satisfactory. (1) According to Gal. 2 : 2, Paul went to Jerusalem in pursuance of a revelation ; according to Acts 15 : 2, he went under commission from the church of Antioch. But there is no contradiction here. The former was the inward, personal reason, which, with Paul was the most important ; the latter, the outward, public occasion, with which Luke was chiefly concerned. And besides, there is no mention of a revelation even in respect to his fourth journey (Acts 18 : 21, 22). (2) According to Gal. 2 : 1, the apostle took Titus with him ; while of this nothing is said in Acts 15. But neither is Titus mentioned in Acts 18, nor anywhere else in this book (his name only occurs in the epistles of Paul) ; whereas, in Acts 15 : 2, it is expressly stated, that, besides Paul and Barnabas, "certain others" went to the apostolic council, and these might surely have included Titus, who, being an undoubtedly faithful and zealous, though uncircumcised, Gentile Christian, was eminently fitted for such a mission. (3) While Paul, Gal. 2 : 3, firmly opposes the circumcision of Titus, which was demanded by the Judaizers in Jerusalem ; he yet, according to Acts 16 : 3, therefore *after* the apostolic council, himself circumcised Timothy. This apparent inconsistency,¹ Wieseler thinks, can be explained only by supposing, that the circumcision of Timothy took place *before* the journey mentioned in Gal. 2 : 1. But this is not the case ; for Paul certainly had at all events adopted his free principles before the time of the apostolic council, and might far sooner allow an exception, from prudential considerations, when once his *principle* had been secured by the endorsement of the Jewish apostles. This procedure must, therefore, be explained otherwise. In the case of Titus, who had no connection whatever with the Jewish Christians, circumcision was positively demanded by others, and that, as a demonstration in favor of Judaistic error. But in the case of Timothy, who was, on his mother's side, a Jew by birth, and might thus be claimed by the Jewish Christians as in some sense theirs,² the circumcision was optional with Paul and Timothy, and was performed, not on dogmatical grounds, as a sacrament necessary to salvation, but as an indifferent ceremony observed in the way of self-denying concession to the weak consciences of the Jews, and for the sake of the greater influence of Timothy among

¹ Of which Baur, l. c. p. 129, makes great account, as impairing the credibility of the book of Acts.

² According to the principles of the Talmud, the son of a mixed marriage must be circumcised : and only on this condition would such a marriage be considered allowable. The Roman Catholic church is well known to maintain the same principle, sanctioning mixed marriages only on condition, that the children receive Catholic baptism.

them. There was no sacrifice of principle in this case at all.¹ (4) The strongest argument against the identity of the journey in Gal. 2 with the journey to the apostolic convention, is, that Paul, in the passage referred to, says nothing of any *synodical* transaction; whereas Luke, on the contrary, makes no record of any *private* conference among the apostles. Dr. Baur, who supposes the journeys in question identical, attempts even to prove, that between the representation of Paul, Gal. 2, and that of Luke, Acts 15, there is an irreconcilable contradiction; and this he then employs against the credibility of the book of Acts.² Wieseler, on the contrary, rightly maintains, that there is no such contradiction. His chronological work is a thorough, and, indeed, triumphant vindication of the historical truth of the Acts of the Apostles. Yet he thinks he can fully escape the force of Baur's argument only by assigning the transactions in Gal. 2 to a later date. But closer inspection will show, that this gains him nothing for his own view, and that the above mentioned difference, as will hereafter still further appear, is not at all against, but in favor of, the identity of the two journeys. For by ἀνεθέμην αὐτοῖς, in distinction from κατ' ἰδίαν δὲ τοῖς δοκοῦσι (Gal. 2 : 2), Paul evidently intimates that, besides his private conference with Peter, James, and John, there was also a public deliberation with the brethren of Jerusalem in general. He says nothing further about it, because he might presume, that the Galatians already understood it; as he himself had previously communicated the decree of the apostolic council to his churches in Asia Minor, and exhorted them to obey it (Acts 16 : 4). He was opposing the Galatian false teachers, who unwarrantably appealed to Peter and James, and refused to acknowledge him as a legitimate apostle. And here the great thing with him was, the result of his private transactions with the Jewish apostles themselves, and the vindication of his independent apostolical dignity, as acknowledged by them. Luke, on his part, has to do, not with the personal relation of the apostle to his colleagues, and the Judaizing teachers of Galatia, but with the rights of the Gentile Christians in general. His narrative, however, by

¹ Instead of a "flat inconsistency," as Dr. Baur expresses it, p. 130, being charged by the author of the Acts upon the free-minded Apostle of the Gentiles, we rather have, in this conduct, only a practical application of Paul's principle, to become, from love, all things to all men, that he might gain all (1 Cor. 9 : 19, 20), and a proof of the apostle's freedom from arbitrary dogmatism, and of his readiness to accommodate himself to others in self-denying charity, for the good of the kingdom of God, whenever he could do so without being untrue to his principles.

² P. 111 sqq. 'This is one of the most plausible parts of Baur's work on Paul, which deserves to be placed by the side of Strauss' "Leben Jesu." What is said on the same point by Baur's disciple, Schweigler, in his radically unsound and fictitious book : *Das nachapostolische Zeitalter*, Tübingen. 1846. Part I. p. 116 sqq., makes, after the representation of his master, only the impression of an indifferent copy.

no means precludes the supposition of a previous private interview, which, in the nature of the case is extremely probable ; and his relating merely the public transactions is readily explained by the documentary character and object of his whole work. He, in fact, omits also many other things, pertaining chiefly to the private life of Paul ; his residence in Arabia, for instance, his inward conflicts, visions, &c.

As there is, accordingly, no tenable ground in favor of Wieseler's hypothesis ; so, on the other hand, there are decisive arguments against it. The fourth journey to Jerusalem, Acts, 18 : 22, cannot be intended in Gal. 2 : 1 ; in the first place, because, according to Luke's account, Paul, on this journey, merely "saluted" the church there. This implies a visit altogether too short for so important transactions as are mentioned in Gal. 2. Secondly ; nothing is said in Acts 18 of Barnabas, though in Gal. 2 he plays, along with Paul, an important part (comp. Acts 15). Nay, it cannot be shown, and it is certainly not presumable, that Barnabas, who had separated from Paul shortly after the apostolic council, and undertaken with Mark an independent mission (c. 15 : 39), rejoined him so soon as the year 54.

But, in fine, our chief ground for believing the visit to Jerusalem, Gal. 2 : 1, to be the same with that described in Acts 15, is, that Paul, in his letter to the Galatians, could not possibly have passed over in utter silence his attendance at the apostolic convention. Grant, that he did not care to notice all his journeys to Jerusalem—as, for example, he omits the second, mentioned in Acts 11 : 30. 12 : 35, since he went then merely to carry a collection, and in all probability made a very short stay ;¹—the third journey would be the very last to be omitted. For Paul's object was to prove to the Galatians, that his apostolic call was not of human authority ; and also, that his peculiar views were acknowledged by the Jewish apostles themselves. And for this purpose the third journey was the most important of all. Nay, a formal silence respecting it would even excite suspicion of some want of honesty in Paul.

We are therefore compelled, on both negative and positive grounds, to adopt the view proposed already by Irenaeus,² and advocated by the most eminent chronologists and interpreters.³ We must accordingly

¹ That this second journey of Paul cannot be intended in Gal. 2 : 1, we have already observed above, § 65, last note. Comp. also De Wette's *Comment. zum. Galaterbrief*, 2nd ed. p. 24 ; Meyer, ad loc. : and Wieseler, l. c. p. 180 sqq.

² *Adv. haer.* III. 13.

³ By Theodoret, Baronius, Pearson, Hess, Hug, Winer, Eichhorn, Usteri, Olshausen, De Wette, Meyer, Schneckenburger, Neander, and others. Since the appearance of the German edition of this work (1851), Ebrard, Thiersch, and Baumgarten, independently of us, have also concurred in opposing Wieseler, and in identifying the journey

take the account of Paul in Gal. 2, as a valuable complement of the narrative in Acts 15. And as the private transactions with the apostles themselves, which alone it was to Paul's purpose to detail, would naturally precede the public deliberation and decree, we must first notice the statement of Paul.

§ 68. *The Private Transactions at Jerusalem.* (Gal. 2 : 1 sqq.).

Paul, therefore, appeared in Jerusalem accompanied by Barnabas and the Gentile convert, Titus, whom he had taken with him as a living example of the success of his missionary labor and a seal of his apostolic calling. His first care, of course, must be to settle matters privately and personally¹ with the prominent leaders of the church and of the whole Jewish-Christian party—the apostles James, Peter, and John, “who seemed to be pillars,”²—and to bring them to a formal recognition of his apostolic rank, his principles, and his successful labor among the Gentiles. He sought reconciliation especially with James, who, on account of his strictly legal views, and his limitation of his official labors to Jerusalem, had the greatest influence with the Judaizers; Peter having been regarded by them with suspicion ever since his interview with Cornelius. These leading Jewish apostles once gained, the main support of the secretly intruding “false brethren” (as Paul terms the Pharisaical errorists)³ was gone, and the fraternal union of Paul's Gentile-Christian communities with the Jewish-Christian, and thus the unity of the church, for which he was so much concerned,⁴ was restored and confirmed. According to the maxim : “By their fruits ye shall know them,” his description of the great success of his preaching among the Gentiles necessarily made a deep impression on the Apostles of the Jews; though, by the conversion of Cornelius, who, even without circumcision, had received the Holy Ghost, they had already been led to more liberal views,⁵ and were prepared to fall in with Paul's doctrine. As he, on his part, was far from denying, that God had endowed Peter for the work of convert-mentioned in Acts 15 with that of Gal. 2 : so that the above extended argument seems now almost superfluous.

¹ As expressed by κατ' ιδίαν, “seorsim,” “privatim,” v. 2.

² οἱ δοκοῦντες στῦλοι εἶναι, Gal. 2 : 9. This language is founded on the conception of the church as a temple. The true reading places James first, and the naming of Peter first is an alteration by later transcribers to furnish exegetical support for the primacy of Peter.

³ παρείσακτοι ψευδόδελφοι v. 4, amounts to : “false Christians (as the Christians called themselves ‘brethren’), who had secretly, unlawfully crept in, or been smuggled in,” and had changed only their name, not their views : being still in fact Jews, Pharisaical slaves to the law, and having no idea of evangelical freedom. Comp. Gal. 5 : 23. 6 : 12–14, and Acts 15 : 5.

⁴ Comp. Eph. 4, and 1 Cor. 12–14.

⁵ Comp. sup a, § 60.

ing the Jews, and had blessed his labors among them ; so the three other apostles were, on their part, equally ready to acknowledge, that Paul was divinely entrusted with a like commission to the Gentile world (vs. 7, 8). They recognized the grace bestowed upon Paul and Barnabas ; gave them the right hand of fellowship, and agreed with them, that all should work peaceably together, each party in the field assigned it by the Lord, the former among the Jews, the latter among the Gentiles ; adding only the condition, that Paul and Barnabas should charitably remember the many poor Christians in Jerusalem by a collection of alms among the Gentile Christians, and thus testify their fellowship of spirit with the mother church and their gratitude to her (9, 10) ; and this Paul carefully attended to.¹

In this compromise, therefore, the rights of both parties were preserved. Paul did not require the Jewish Christians to break away abruptly from their historical position ; but, in genuine liberality, acknowledged the authority of their peculiar calling. The Apostles of the Jews, on their part, conceded to Paul the important principle, that faith in Jesus Christ is the only indispensable condition of salvation. They laid no Jewish yoke upon the Gentiles. They did not even require of Paul the circumcision of his companion, Titus (Gal. 2 : 3) ; though the false brethren, indeed, as we must conclude from the verses immediately following, in connection with Acts 15 : 5, insisted on it from principle.² Nay, they said not a word, which is recorded, respecting even

¹ Comp. Acts 24 : 17. 1 Cor. 16 : 1 sqq. 2 Cor. 8 : 1 sqq. Rom. 15 : 15 sqq.

² The passage, Gal. 2 : 3-5, certainly very difficult, and variously interpreted,—I explain thus : “ But not even was my companion, Titus, though an (uncircumcised) Greek, compelled (by the Jewish apostles) to be circumcised, and that (i. e. he was not compelled), on account of intruding false brethren (who peremptorily and from principle demanded his circumcision), who had crept in invidiously to spy out our liberty in Christ Jesus, that they might bring us under the bondage (of the law),—to which (false brethren) we yielded not an hour by (the) subjection (they demanded—Dative of manner : ‘in the way of obedience to them’), that the truth of the gospel (the doctrine of evangelical freedom, and justification by faith without works of the law) might continue with you.” By emphasizing the *ἡναγκάσθη*, and the *δέ*, which immediately follows it (which with Beza, Bengel, Fritzsche, De Wette, and others, we take as *confirmatory*, as in Phil 2 : 8. Rom. 3 : 22), we might find the intimation implied, that the Jewish apostles *advised* circumcision, but merely from prudential considerations, and in this particular case, *πρὸς ὥραν*. James afterwards, we know, gave Paul similar advice in regard to the Nazarite vow (Acts 21 : 24). Under other circumstances, where only charity to a weak conscience, and not the sanction, by practice, of a heretical principle, was concerned, Paul, according to his maxim, 1 Cor. 9 : 20-23. Rom. 14 : 1 sqq., would undoubtedly have yielded, as is shown by his voluntary circumcision of Timothy (Acts 16 : 3). But here, where the false Christians were disposed to make this thing a matter of conscience, and where the point in question was not yet settled, the least sign of concession to the false teachers had to be avoided.

the minor conditions, the observance of the Noachic precepts, which the council immediately after enjoined on the Gentile Christians in general. The Palestinian apostles, in truth, could go no further. They conceded all, that was allowable in justice to their own position, which was as fully authorized, and as necessary for existing circumstances and the universal spread of the kingdom of God, as that of Paul and Barnabas. In short, notwithstanding any alienation of feeling, which may have at first existed, these private transactions are marked by the spirit of true Christian wisdom, self-denial, and brotherly love. The unprejudiced reader of the narrative in Galatians must admit, that it furnishes not the least support for the hypothesis, lately propounded with so much plausibility, of an irreconcilable opposition between Paul and Peter : but that, on the contrary, the Jewish apostles, in this private interview, conceded to Paul even more, than in the council described in Acts 15, where a prevailing regard for the whole church required them to take a middle course. This very fact is one reason, as already intimated, why Paul, in opposing the Galatian errorists, appeals to the private transactions in Jerusalem, as more to his purpose, than the decree of the council. For these Judaizers denied his apostolic rank (Gal. 1 : 1, 15 sqq.), which was fully acknowledged in the private conference ; and they probably made no reference at all to the public decree, which they could not set aside, but appealed to the practice of the Jewish apostles ; drawing from their observance of the Mosaic law (which was kept up at least by James) an unwarrantable doctrinal inference, as is generally done, in fact, among contending parties. And now when once Paul had demonstrated, from what the Jewish apostles themselves had done, his perfectly independent apostolical dignity, his own word was enough ; and an appeal to the decree of others was the less necessary, since that decree had been already communicated to the churches, and was known to them.

NOTE.—As the Tübingen school bases its hypothesis, of an irreconcilable contradiction between the Christianity of Paul and that of Peter, mainly upon the second chapter of the epistle to the Galatians, some remarks against the wild extravagances and profane hyper-criticism of this latest fashion of infidelity will be here in place, though we have already above positively refuted them. Dr. Baur in his work on Paul, to which we have so often referred, supposes, by the aid of a truly monstrous exegesis, that the Apostles of the Jews coincided in principle with the “ false brethren unawares brought in,” Gal. 2 : 4 (though Paul so clearly distinguishes the latter from the *δοκούντες*, v. 2, 6, 9) ; that they continued, all their lives, to hold circumcision and the observance of the whole Mosaic law as necessary to salvation ; in a word, that they were, and continued to be, Ebionites, and were first stamped as orthodox Christians by writers of the second century, as, for instance, the author of the book of Acts. He thus revives the old original hypothesis of his two favorite authors, the Gnostic, *Marcion*, and the unknown composer of the Pseudo-Clementine Homilies ; degrading the

wise and moderate Apostle of the Gentiles to an anti-Jewish fanatic and a Gnostic heretic. Nay, he even outdoes his worthy forerunner, the pseudo-Pauline Marcion of the second century, in reducing the number of Paul's epistles. He pronounces all, which do not square with his system, spurious, except the four to the Galatians, Corinthians, and Romans; and even from the latter he cuts off the last two chapters!! But since he cannot, in the face of the plain meaning of Gal. 2 : 9, deny, that the Jewish apostles gave Paul and Barnabas *the right hand of fellowship*, and acknowledged them as work-fellows in the gospel, of equal authority with themselves (p. 125), he must, to make good his position, venture on the violent, desperate measure of explaining this procedure as inconsistent and weak. They (who, nevertheless, were in the majority, and had the whole church of Jerusalem on their side!) could not withstand, says he, the force of circumstances and the personal sway of Paul, though, in justice to their convictions they should have contested his views of Christianity (p. 126). The only thing, which seems to favor this assertion, is the weak conduct of Peter, as related in Gal. 2 : 11-14. But this, more narrowly examined, goes decidedly against Baur and his sympathizers. Paul expressly says of Peter, that, before the arrival of the Judaizers from Jerusalem, he *held intercourse with the uncircumcised*, and merely from fear of men *dissembled*, i. e. belied by his conduct his better, anti-Judaistic conviction. Add to this, that Barnabas also, whose genuine Pauline views Baur himself cannot question, acted just as Peter did. Furthermore, Paul, in describing the Judaizers as "false brethren unawares brought in," intimates, that they were in the minority, and even opposed to the reigning sentiment of the church at Jerusalem (which perfectly accords with Acts 15 : 1 and 5); for, in Gal. 2 : 1-10, Paul plainly refers to *this* church, and not, as Baur falsely assumes, to that of Antioch. Had the Jewish apostles, after God had condemned their old prejudices by what had already taken place in the Gentile world, still held circumcision necessary to salvation, they would have fallen under the curse, which Paul denounces against all, who preach any other gospel than his own (Gal. 1 : 8, 9. Comp. 5 : 1 sqq.). Paul would have regarded and treated them as false teachers, and not by any means as apostles—for these two ideas are in absolute contradiction. But who can for a moment bear the thought? It is glaringly inconsistent with the epistle to the Galatians, and with such passages as Eph 3 : 5 sqq. 2 : 10 sqq. 1 Cor. 15 : 1-11, where Paul acknowledges the divine calling and authority of the elder apostles; asserts their agreement with him on the very point in dispute—the relation of the heathen to the gospel; and calls himself the least among the apostles. It is inconsistent, moreover, with Paul's continual care for the poor Jewish Christians in Jerusalem (these supposed heretics and unyielding antagonists!), which was directed not merely to the supply of their temporal wants, but, as he explicitly says (2 Cor. 9 : 12-14), to the establishment and confirmation of fraternal communion with them. The facts, that the Acts represent Peter as the first to receive Gentiles into the church without circumcision, and as declaring Pauline sentiments in the apostolic council; that Peter himself unequivocally sets forth in his epistles the community of faith between himself and Paul (1 Pet. 5 : 12. 2 Pet. 3 : 15); that the writings of John are far above all narrow Judaistic views; that even James calls Christianity a *perfect law of liberty*, in tacit antithesis with the Mosaic system as an imperfect law of bondage;—all these, indeed, go for nothing with Baur, Zeller and Schweigler; for, in spite of the strongest testimony of tradition, they assign all those documents (except the Revelation of St. John) to the second century, and declare them to have been forged for purposes of conciliation. But must not such extravagances of fiction lose all credit, when the assumptions, on which they wholly rest, and which surely do not commend them, are contradicted even by the few passages of Paul's epis-

cles, which are supposed to serve as their main supports? That the Tübingen critics for special reasons still retain four of Paul's epistles, in order, like their predecessors in the time of Peter (2 Pet. 3 : 16), to use them by arbitrary perversion in the service of their Gnostic infidelity, is, on their ground, a sheer inconsistency, for which they merit no thanks : since half the ingenuity, with which they imagine that they overthrow the genuineness of the gospel of John and the other books of the New Testament would prove also the epistles to the Romans, Corinthians, and Galatians to be Gnostic forgeries of the second century. In general, this mode of proceeding puts an end to all sound criticism, nay, ultimately to all history : and in this Tübingen school, if anywhere, are verified the words of Paul, Rom 1 : 22 : *Φάσκοντες εἶναι σοφοὶ ἐμωράνθησαν*.

§ 69. *Public Transactions. Decree of the Council. (Acts 15).*

As the dispute respecting the relation of the Gentiles to the gospel was disturbing the peace of the whole church, it was natural that it should be publicly settled.¹ The apostles, therefore, and elders, and as many private Christians as were interested and could find room (Acts 15 : 1, 12, 22), came together for a general consultation. Here the point was, not so much the personal relation of the apostles to one another and the apostolic rank of Paul, as the *rights and duties of the Gentile Christians*. After much discussion on both sides, Peter, probably the president of the council, who, in doctrine as in practice, held middle ground between James and Paul, arose and testified, from his own experience in the case of Cornelius, of the acceptance which the gospel met among the heathen, and of the spiritual gifts which God imparted to them without the intervention of Judaism ; uttering the purely Pauline maxim, that even they, the Jewish Christians themselves, as well as their uncircumcised brethren, were saved, not by the intolerable burden of the law, but only by the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and by a living faith in him. He thus appealed to a notorious, undeniable fact, the conversion and regeneration of Cornelius and his household, the first fruits of the Gentiles ; and on this he based his doctrine respecting the claims of the heathen to the free grace of the gospel. These words from the mouth of the most esteemed apostle could not fail of their impression. A solemn silence prevailed in the assembly. Then Barnabas, who had long been in high repute in Jerusalem, and Paul, presented themselves, and related the signs and wonders, with which God had accompanied and sealed their labors among the Gentiles.

Thus far the transactions seemed likely to end in Paul's complete victory and the confirmation of the private agreement of the apostles. But for this the mass of the Jewish Christians were not yet prepared. To their more timid scruples, to their weak consciences, some temporary

¹ Hess (*Apost. Gesch.* I. p. 208) makes the council, on the contrary, precede the private interview. But this is certainly far less probable than the reverse.

concession must be made, before perfect peace could be restored. That concession was proposed by James, who in sentiment and spirit was most akin to the Jewish Christians of the stricter class, and therefore most influential with them. With great practical wisdom and moderation, he took a position of compromise between the conflicting interests. He first announced his perfect agreement, in principle, with Peter ; that God had from among the Gentiles also prepared a people for himself. In this he saw only the fulfillment of the prophecy (Amos 9 : 11 sq.) respecting the glorious restoration and enlargement of the theocracy among the heathen, the execution of an eternal decree. This appeal to the Old Testament gave the matter such an aspect, as must commend it to the Jewish Christians. But for their perfect satisfaction, he proposed, not, indeed, that the converted Gentiles should submit to circumcision,—for this would have been, in fact, to countenance the heretical principle of the “false brethren,”—but that they should abstain from those practices, which were particularly offensive to a scrupulous Jew, and which he could not think consistent with genuine piety ; viz., from eating *meat offered to idols*,¹ *blood*,² and, what is connected with this, *strangled animals*,³ and finally from *fornication* (15 : 20). These restrictions are among the seven precepts, which, according to tradition, were given to Noah, and which were enjoined upon the proselytes of the gate. It might seem strange, that, in these prohibitions, an act absolutely immoral should be classed with things in themselves indifferent and only relatively wrong. But it must be remembered, that licentiousness was very frequently united with the idolatrous sacrifices, and was an “adiaphoron” to the pagans, who were wholly destitute of the deeper conception of chastity in general. Idolatry, which is so frequently termed in the Old Testament a spiritual whoredom, is necessarily followed by bodily pollution. Hence it is, that Paul so often warns Gentile believers against this

¹ The remains of the heathen sacrifices, which the Jews were strictly forbidden to eat (Ex. 34 : 15), were either consumed at the sacrificial feasts, or sold in the market. The partaking of this flesh offered to false gods was as much a pollution with idolatry, as the participation in the sacrificial feasts of the Israelites was a token of communion with Jehovah (comp. Ex. 29 : 28, 33).

² According to Gen. 9 : 4. Lev. 17 : 10 sqq. Deuter. 12 : 23 sqq. : “Only be sure, that thou eat not the blood : for the blood is the life ; and thou mayest not eat the life with the flesh. Thou shalt not eat it : thou shalt pour it upon the earth as water,” &c. The blood is intended to atone upon the altar for the soul of man (Lev. 17 : 11), and the prohibition to eat it rests accordingly upon regard for the sacrifice, the centre of the Old Testament religion. With the heathen also, indeed, the blood was counted the proper means of atonement : but the eating of it was not forbidden, because with them the line was not so sharply drawn between the holy and the unholy.

³ i. e. those animals, which, like fowls, were caught in snares, and whose blood was not let. Comp. Lev. 17 : 13 19 : 26.

sin.¹ Besides, the expression here is probably to be taken in the wider sense, as including marriage with unconverted heathen (Ex. 34 : 16), and marriage within those degrees of affinity, which were forbidden not only to the Jews in the Pentateuch, but also to the proselytes of the gate in the Noachic precepts, as partaking of the character of incest;² whereas the heathen made no conscience of it.³

This proposition of James met with general acceptance, and was adopted by the council as its decree. The only dissentients were the false teachers themselves, who certainly, as their subsequent intrigues show, could not have been satisfied with it, or for the time understood it in their own sense. This decree, too, was most easily carried into execution, as things then stood, and best fitted to restore peace between the contending parties, and gradually to effect a perfect reconciliation. For, on the one hand, it drew the Jews nearer to the Gentiles; on the other, it secured the Gentiles against the after-workings of their former habits, as well as against contamination from the surrounding idolatry. Hess justly remarks, that in this thing the apostles became all things to all men; Jews, to Jews; Gentiles, to Gentiles; since, while they secured to the Gentile Christians their freedom, they also enabled the Jews with good conscience to associate with them.⁴ James and Paul here manifested, in different positions, the same practical wisdom and moderation; the former in making his attachment to Judaism subordinate to the general interests of Christianity; the latter, in readily submitting, from regard for weak consciences, and for the sake of fraternal harmony, to a restriction on the Gentile Christians, demanded indeed by the circumstances, and highly salutary, but, so far as the eating of blood and things

¹ 1 Cor. 5 : 9. Eph. 5 : 3, 5. 1 Thess. 4 : 3. Col. 3 : 5.

² Comp. 1 Cor. 5 : 1, where also *πορνεία* is put for incest.

³ Gieseler (*Staudlin and Tschirner's "Archiv für K. G."* IV. p. 312) explains the *πορνεία* as incest. He is followed by Baur (l. c. p. 142 sqq.), and Schwegler (l. c. p. 125 sq.); but these at the same time, altogether gratuitously, make the passage include the prohibition of a *second marriage*, appealing to the Montanists, and to Athenagoras, who describes the second marriage as *ἐνπρεπὴς μοιχεία*. But this latter *usus loquendi*, and the view which lies at the bottom of it, are totally foreign to the New Testament (Rom. 7 : 3), and can be charged upon the author of the book of Acts only in zeal for a false assumption.

⁴ l. c. p. 211. Luther, on the contrary (*Werke*, ed. Walch, VIII. p. 1033, 1042), who is well known to have had little favor for James in other respects, unjustly reproaches him here with "having faltered a little." From this, as well as from Luther's hostility to the doctrine of justification set forth in the epistle of James, which he irreverently called an "epistle of straw," we see that the great reformer carried the opposition to Judaism to excess, and was far from possessing, in this respect, the wise moderation of his favorite apostle, Paul, as it meets us in this council and elsewhere, and for this very reason also was not at all qualified for the work of peace and union. An interesting proof of the great distance between an ever so distinguished church-teacher and an apostle!

strangled was concerned, destined to lose its force, as the national opposition disappeared.¹ Moreover, circumstances may yet arise, where abstinence from these and similar things, which are not in themselves immoral, and are commonly reckoned among the "adiaphora," becomes a duty of Christian love. The apostle Paul here suggests to us the golden rule: "All things are lawful for me, but all things are not expedient: all things are lawful for me, but all things edify not. Let no man seek his own, but every man another's wealth" (1 Cor. 10 : 23, 24). True Christian freedom shows itself in self-restraint and tender forbearance towards the weak. So Paul, in full agreement with the spirit of the synod at Jerusalem, earnestly dissuaded the Corinthian Gentile Christians from eating meat offered to idols, lest they should offend the conscience of a weak brother, for whom likewise Christ died;² while yet he at the same time asserts, on the other hand, that "the earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof," and that every kind of food is, in itself, good, if it be eaten with thanksgiving.³ The same wise and truly free position he steadfastly maintains in the controversy among the Roman Christians about eating certain kinds of food and observing the Jewish feasts (Rom. 14 and 15).

This compromise act, as we may call it, having been reduced, probably by James,⁴ to the form of a short letter, was communicated in the name of the council to the Gentile-Christian congregations in Syria and Cilicia, by two distinguished men of the church (perhaps presbyters of Jerusalem), Judas Barsabas and Silas. The official document was to serve them as the warrant and basis of more extended oral instruction. These delegates, in the fulfillment of their commission, accompanied Paul and Barnabas to Antioch; Barnabas again taking with him his nephew, Mark.

Thus was brought out the first great antagonism in the Christian church; but with the public acknowledgment, that the difference between the Jewish-Christian and Gentile-Christian views, held with due moderation, did not touch the essence of Christian piety, and need not disturb

¹ The Greek church, indeed, in the second Trullan council, A.D. 692, re-enacted the law against eating blood and things strangled, and still retain it. But the Latin church here more properly considered the change of time and circumstances, and gradually let this prohibition drop. Comp. Augustine: *Contra Faustum*, 32 : 13, and other passages. Also Neander, I. 219; and the remarks of Baumgarten in his instructive work on Acts (1852), Part II. Sec. 1, p. 153 sqq.

² 1 Cor. 8 : 7-13. 10 : 14, 24-29.

³ 1 Cor. 10 : 25, 26. 8 : 4, 8. 1 Tim. 4 : 4.

⁴ As we may infer, partly from the share he had in the proposition itself; partly from the similarity of the style to that of the epistle of James: especially from the form of salutation, *χαίρετε* (15 : 23), which occurs nowhere else in the New Testament but in James 1 : 1.

the unity of the church. Reactions were certainly to be expected. It was long before the old "leaven of the Pharisees" was thoroughly purged out. In fact, the whole Roman Catholic church may be said still to bear a Judaizing, legal character; and the principle of evangelical freedom, which Paul so strenuously advocated, to have gained its due ascendancy only with the Reformation; undoubtedly bringing with it, however, also the danger of running to the opposite extreme of antinomianism and licentiousness. For church history vibrates between the two extremes of authority and freedom (Catholicism and Protestantism), which have never yet been satisfactorily reconciled. The type and guarantee of a final reconciliation we have, however, in the harmony of the Jewish and Gentile apostles, as it came to view in so lovely a manner and with such happy results, in this first synod of Christendom.

§ 70. *Collision of Paul with Peter and Barnabas.*

Not long after this fraternal compromise in Jerusalem, while the Gentile missionaries were again spending some time in Antioch (15 : 33, 35, 36), Peter and Barnabas there fell into that memorable inconsistency, which caused an altercation, though only transient as the subsequent history shows, between them and Paul (Gal. 2 : 11 sqq).¹ The same Peter, who was the first to admit Gentiles into the church without circumcision, who in the council so warmly advocated their rights, and in his practice in Antioch had disregarded the distinction of clean and unclean meats, could now be induced by fear of some scrupulous Jewish

¹ The chronology here is, indeed, disputed, and cannot be determined with absolute certainty. Augustine, Grotius, Hug, and Schneckenburger (*Ueber den Zweck der Apostelgeschichte*, p. 109), place this occurrence before the apostolical convention; but this does not agree at all with the order of events as described in the epistle to the Galatians. Neander, on the contrary (I. p. 354), and Wieseler (p. 199), put it after the fourth journey of Paul to Jerusalem, Acts 18 : 22. But Gal. 2 : 11, by placing this event in immediate connection with the conference of the apostles, indicates that it occurred not long after; which Wieseler himself admits (p. 184, note), only he wrongly refers the whole narrative in Gal. 2 : 1-11, as already observed, to the fourth journey to Jerusalem, A. D. 54. It is also, in itself, not at all improbable, that many persons went from Jerusalem to Antioch just in consequence of the apostolic council; some from a lively interest in the Gentile converts there; but the Judaizers from jealousy, intending to get up a reaction against what they thought a most dangerous innovation of Paul;—the same, that they afterwards attempted in Galatia and elsewhere. For, as to these pharisaically minded persons, we must suppose, either that they dissented from the decree of the council from the first; or that they repented of having submitted to it, when they became aware of its real, though perhaps unintended, consequences to the Jewish Christians; or that they misunderstood it. Neander's chronological hypothesis would make Paul to have fallen out with Barnabas twice; for their dissension before the second missionary tour is made certain by Acts 15 : 39; and it is easier explained, too, when to the personal reason there given is added the cause mentioned in Galatians.

Christians from Jerusalem, who unwarrantably pleaded the authority of James, to withdraw gradually from intercourse with the Gentile converts. He did not, indeed, as Baur and Schwegler erroneously assume, require them to be circumcised; Gal. 2 : 11–14 contains no hint of this, but speaks only of eating with the Gentiles. In refusing to eat with the Gentiles, however, Peter of course virtually refused to recognize them as brethren; confirmed the prejudice against them as still unclean; and thus, at least indirectly, violated the compromise agreed upon at Jerusalem.¹ His influential example had its effect upon the other Jewish Christians, and enticed even Barnabas, the intimate companion of Paul, to the same inconsistency. Paul, an enemy to all temporizing, seeing the consciences of the Gentile Christians in his most important congregation disturbed, and his evangelical principles and the peace of the church again put in jeopardy by the high authority of an apostle, called this obsequiousness a “dissimulation,” and before the whole company, without respect of persons, showed Peter his inconsistency, and the dangerous consequences of such conduct, if meant in earnest.² That Peter, however, suffered himself to be thus corrected by the Apostle of the Gentiles, his junior in office, without conceiving any ill feeling towards him, evinces a rare humility, which commands as high admiration as the intrepid zeal of Paul for evangelical freedom.

This event is full of instruction. We cannot, indeed, justly infer from it anything unfavorable to the inspiration and doctrine of Peter; for his fault was rather a practical denial of his real and true conviction, as in his former and still deeper fall, when he denied Him, whom he yet

¹ We must, indeed, agree with Dr. Wieseler (p. 197 sq.) in maintaining against Baur, that the conduct of Peter did not violate the letter of the decree. Yet we think, that the case involved, unconsciously perhaps to Peter himself, a violation of its *spirit*. For though that document settled nothing definitely respecting the relation of converted Jews to the Mosaic law; yet, by not imposing circumcision on the Gentile Christians, it virtually recognized them as brethren, and thus indirectly abrogated the Jewish statute against eating with them. But if we suppose, with Wieseler, that this refusal of Peter and Barnabas had reference only to the articles forbidden in Acts 15 : 20, and was therefore but a strict observance of the apostolic decree, on which the followers of James insisted; we make the apostle Paul's severe rebuke unjust, even though we fix the occurrence, as Wieseler does, at a later date. For it can hardly be supposed, that that decree fell so soon into disuse.

² We have already shown (p. 409, Note, and p. 461), that this rebuke of Paul's contradicts Baur's hypothesis of Ebionism in Peter (of which, in this case, Barnabas also must be guilty), and confirms the account in Acts. Schwegler, sensible, no doubt, of this difficulty, endeavors (l. c. I, p. 129) to weaken and distort the *συννπεκρίθησαν αὐτῷ* (sc. Πέτρῳ), Gal. 2 : 13. But this violates not only the grammar, but also the connection. For the whole passage, especially v. 12 and 14 sqq., implies the charge of hypocrisy against Peter, and the *αὐτῷ*, v. 14, evidently refers, according to the context, as much to the *leading person*, Peter, as to the Jewish Christians of Antioch.

knew to be ~~the~~ Lord and Master. But it shows, that the apostles, even after the outpouring of the Holy Ghost, are not to be looked upon as perfect saints in such sense as to be liable to no sinful weakness whatever. We here discern still the workings of the old sanguine, impulsive nature of Peter, who could, one hour, with enthusiastic devotion, swear fidelity to his Master; and the next, deny him thrice. Paul, too, on his part, may have been too excited and sharp against the senior apostle, without making due allowance for the delicacy of his position and his regard for the scrupulosity of the Jewish converts; which certainly go far to excuse, though not to justify Peter. The Word of God, at once to humble and to encourage, records the failings of the pious as faithfully as their virtues. Then again, from the conduct of Paul we learn not only the right and duty of combatting the errors even of the most distinguished servants of Christ, but also the equality of the apostles, in opposition to an undue exaltation of Peter above his colleagues.

The Acts of the Apostles, though they pass over in silence the inconsistency of Peter,¹ yet record, with the same candor, a temporary rupture between Paul and Barnabas, which occurred most probably in close connection with the scene just described. When Paul, some time after his return from the apostolic council, proposed to Barnabas a new missionary tour, the latter wished to take along his kinsman, Mark. But Paul objected, because this Mark, in the previous journey, had not proved steadfast.² This led to an irritation of feeling, "a sharp contention" (15 : 36-39). Each insisted, and doubtless not without human weakness, on his own view as having all the right. Paul, with his stern regard for duty, excluded all personal considerations, and felt compelled to censure severely any want of self-denial for the sake of the Lord. Barnabas, who seems to have been naturally of a milder turn, was disposed to be lenient towards his kinsman, hoping that this would be the best way to restore the backslider. The earnestness of Paul and the mildness of Barnabas united, brought forth their fruits; for we afterwards find Mark faithful and persevering in his calling, even under suf-

¹ In this Dr. Baur (p. 129 sq.) sees intentional dishonesty, required by the conciliatory object of the Acts of the Apostles. But why then does not this book leave to oblivion the *παροξυσμός* between Paul and Barnabas on account of Mark, who was so intimate a friend of Peter? Or could the author of the Acts imagine, that by such an omission he could lessen the force of Paul's own unequivocal statement? The omission must therefore be either accidental, or explained from the fact, that the collision of Paul with Peter had no bearing upon the direct object of Luke, which was to describe not the internal affairs of the congregation at Antioch but the missionary labors of Paul.

² By reason of his near relation to Peter and Barnabas, he had doubtless been enticed by their example to separate himself also at that time from the Gentile Christians.

ferings, and reconciled with Paul, as the latter himself testifies.¹ Equally transient, of course, was Paul's dispute also with Barnabas.²

For the missionary work itself this altercation, in the hands of the Lord, who can turn even the weaknesses of his children to the praise of his name, resulted in good. The missionary force was doubled, and the water of life flowed in double channel to a greater number of lands. Barnabas, with Mark, sailed to his native island, Cyprus. Paul, accompanied by Silas (Silvanus) and the blessing of the church of Antioch, which probably sided with him in this controversy, chose according to his rule, Rom. 15 : 20. 2 Cor. 10 : 16, a field of independent labor (Acts 15 : 39-41).

§ 71. *Paul's Second Missionary Tour. Galatia. The Macedonian Vision. A. D. 51.*

Some time after the apostolic council, in the year 51, or at the latest 52, Paul set out on his second great missionary tour, in which he brought the gospel to Europe, and thus determined the Christianization of this quarter of the globe. He first visited the churches he had founded in Syria and Cilicia before his second journey to Jerusalem;³ then the churches he and Barnabas had afterwards established in Lycaonia; to strengthen them, and recommend the apostolical concordat to their observance. In Lystra⁴ he met the young man, Timothy, whom he had probably already converted during his first visit there.⁵ Being the son of a heathen father and a pious Jewess, Eunice, who, with his grandmother, Lois, had instructed him from childhood in the Old Testament Scriptures (2 Tim. 1 : 5. 3 : 14, 15), this youth was peculiarly qualified for an assistant in the missionary work among the Gentiles and Jews, and he had been designated by prophetic voices in the congregation as a suitable instrument for extending the kingdom of God.⁶ To make him the more acceptable to the numerous Jews of that region, who had some claim upon him through his mother, Paul, of his own choice and from Christian prudence, had him circumcised.⁷ Henceforth Timo-

¹ Philem. v. 24. Col. 4 : 10. 2 Tim. 4 : 11.

² Comp. 1 Cor. 9 : 6. Col. 4 : 10, where he makes respectful mention of him.

³ Comp. Gal 1 : 21. Acts 9 : 30. 11 : 25.

⁴ This place, and not Derbe, is evidently intended by the ἐκεῖ, Acts 16 : 1, comp. v. 2. This is by no means incompatible with 20 : 4; for there Timothy's home is not mentioned at all, but presumed to be known. Comp. von Hengel: *Comment. in Ep. P. ad Philipp.* 1838. p. 30.

⁵ Comp. 1 Cor. 4 : 17, and 1 Tim. 1 : 2.

⁶ Acts 16 : 2. Comp. 1 Tim. 4 : 14. 1 : 18.

⁷ That this act was nowise inconsistent with Paul's principles, or with his refusal to circumcise the Gentile, Titus we have already remarked, § 67. We will add here, that there are two kinds of formalism, a negative, and a positive. A man may either

thy appears to have been a faithful companion and fellow-laborer of the apostle,¹ and particularly valued and beloved by him.²

From Lycaonia Paul went to Phrygia, a province abounding in cities, where we afterwards find flourishing churches in *Colosse*, *Hierapolis*, and *Laodicea*, though these are commonly supposed to have been founded not by Paul himself, but by his disciple, Epaphras (comp. Col. 2 : 1 sq. 1 : 7). For at that time at least he seems not to have visited the southern part of the province, but to have turned northward into *Galatia*, also called Gallograecia, a province inhabited by Celts (*Galatae*) and Germans, who migrated thither in the third century before Christ, and were conquered by the Romans 189 B. C. In his labors here he suffered much from the weakness of his body, which with difficulty sustained itself under his many hardships and persecutions, and the toil necessary to earn a livelihood, besides that peculiar trial, no more definitely described than as a "thorn in the flesh" (2 Cor. 12 : 7). All these sufferings and conflicts, however, gave exercise to his humility and patience, and made him cleave more firmly to all-sufficient grace. Accordingly the divine power of the gospel made its way only with the greater force and purity through this weak organ (the ἀσθένεια τῆς σαρκός, Gal. 4 : 13), and irresistibly attracted the minds of the heathen and proselytes. His self-denying love amidst the heaviest afflictions gained him the confidence and affection of all. The Galatians received him as an angel of God, nay, as Jesus Christ himself, and felt so happy, that, for the heavenly gift bestowed upon them, they were ready to deprive themselves of their dearest possession, their eyes, and give it to him (Gal. 4 : 14, 15). Hence also the deep grief of the apostle, when these flourishing churches afterwards suffered themselves to be led astray by Jewish errorists, and brought under the yoke of the law.

From Galatia Paul intended to travel southwest to Proconsular Asia,³ and thence northward to Bithynia, to prosecute his work. But the Holy fanatically oppose or slavishly advocate certain ceremonies in themselves indifferent, as though the salvation of the soul depended on either rejecting or observing them. So, on the other hand, true spiritual freedom, which we see in the apostle Paul, shows itself as much in accommodation to indifferent usages, where Christian charity and regard for the kingdom of God demand it, as in opposition to them, where a value is ascribed to them, which makes them indispensable, and tends to depreciate faith and a change of heart. Comp. 1 Cor. 9 : 20. Phil. 4 : 12, 13. Also Neander's remarks against Baur, l. p. 290 sq.

¹ Acts 17 : 14 sq. 18 : 5. Rom. 16 : 21. 2 Cor. 1 : 19. So also the superscriptions of several of Paul's epistles, 1 Thess., 2 Thess., 2 Cor., Col., Phil., and Philemon.

² 1 Tim. 1 : 2. 2 Tim. 1 : 2. 1 Thess. 3 : 2. Phil. 2 : 19-23.

³ Ἀσία, Acts 16 : 6, must be understood, as in 2 : 9, in the narrower sense, meaning the provinces of Mysia, Lydia, and Caria. Comp. the expositors in loc.; Winer's *Real vör-erbuch*, article *Asien*; and Wieseler, l. c. p. 31 sq.

Ghost, who controlled the volitions of the missionaries, and had this time another field of labor in view for them, forbade them to preach, and by a vision gradually raised to an inward assurance the indistinct impulse, which they perhaps already felt, to go to Europe. When, thus uncertain which way to turn, they came to the maritime city, Troas, on the Hellespont (now Eski Stambul), there appeared to Paul by night, either in a dream, or more probably while he was praying (comp. 16 : 25), a Macedonian, who, in the name of Greece, and in fact of all Europe, which longed for salvation and promised a rich harvest, besought him : "Come over into Macedonia, and help us" (16 : 9),—a cry for help, which no Christian should hear without the deepest emotion. On this momentous event hung the Christianization of Europe and all the blessings of modern civilization.

Thus went the gospel westward, like the sun, in its triumphant course ; and thus did it visit, first of all, the classic soil of Greece, which was prepared by high natural culture to produce abundant fruit under its genial rays.

§ 72. *Christianity in Philippi and Thessalonica.* A.D. 51.

The missionaries were now joined by the physician, Luke,¹ the author of the book of Acts. The first city of Macedonia,² to which they came, was *Philippi*, then a Roman colony, which they reached in two days' sail from Troas. This ancient city (originally Craenides), enlarged and fortified by Philip of Macedon 358 B. C., stood on a hill abounding in springs, in those consecrated regions of Thrace, which lie upon the Strymonian gulf. Its site was that of the present hamlet of Filibe, inhabited by poor Greeks. It was noted, not particularly for its size, but for

¹ Comp. Col. 4 : 14. Philem. 24. 2 Tim. 4 : 11. That Luke here joined the party appears from the fact, that from c. 16 : 10 onward (comp. 20 : 5 sq., 13 sqq. 21 : 1 sqq. 17. c. 27 and 28) he speaks in the first person plural, thus including himself ; while previously he had always used the third person. The absence of his name is doubtless owing to the same modesty, which the evangelists show in keeping their own persons quite out of sight. The recent hypothesis of Schleiermacher, Bleek, and others, that Timothy rather is the narrator, seems to me to be sufficiently refuted in favor of the older view by the discriminating remarks of Schneckenburger in his work on Acts. p. 26 sqq.

² I take the *πρώτη*, 16 : 12, as referring not to rank, but to geographical position, as if the writer had said, the easternmost city. For Neapolis was merely the port of Philippi, and seems, besides, to have belonged at that time to Thrace as Rettig (*Quaestiones Philipp.* Gissae, 1838, p. 3 sqq.) endeavored to prove from Skylax and Strabo. If we refer *πρώτη* to rank, we must understand it as a mere title of honor, such as was borne by the neighboring cities of Asia Minor, especially Nicomedia, Nicaea, Ephesus, Smyrna, and Pergamus. Perhaps at this time Philippi strove with Amphipolis for this rank, without possessing it, as did Nicaea with Nicomedia (comp. Credner : *Einleitung in's N. T.* Pt. I. Sec. 1. p. 418 sq.).

its commerce, for the neighboring gold mines, and for the coins there struck (philippici) ; and it became renowned in the history of the world by the decisive battle, in which Brutus and Cassius, the murderers of Cæsar, and with them the Roman republic, came to their tragical end (42 B. C).¹ In this city was to spring forth the first, or—if, as is at least very probable, the precedence in time must be conceded to Rome—the second Christian community of Europe, and with it true spiritual freedom.

On the Sabbath Paul went with his companions to the place of prayer² outside the city on the banks of the Strymon, where the Jews and proselytes, who were not numerous enough there to build a synagogue, were accustomed to assemble for devotional exercises. They engaged in conversation on religious subjects with the pious, Jewishly inclined females. One of these, Lydia, a purple-seller of Thyatira,³ in whom the Lord had awakened a susceptibility (for even the disposition to attend to the word of God is the effect of grace), was baptized with all her family,⁴ and in her grateful love constrained the missionaries to lodge with her. No doubt her house served at the same time as the first place of assembly for the church there forming. And now occurred another instance, in which an apparent hindrance was made to promote the growth of the church. A female slave, who passed for an organ of the Pythian Apollo, the oracular god, and by her arts of divination brought her masters much gain, followed the missionaries, and, with that deeper discernment which makes devils tremble (Jas. 2 : 19), declared them to be the servants of the most high God, which made known the way of salvation (16 : 17). This conduct is hardly to be regarded as a trick to draw money from them, or otherwise ensnare them. It was the same involuntary expression of reverence, which Jesus more than once received from demoniacs.⁵ But Paul, as little disposed as Christ to take advantage of such attestations of his work, cast out the unclean spirit of divination in the name of Him, who came to destroy all the

¹ The most minute description of the city we have in Appian: *De bellis civilibus*, l. IV. c. 105 sq. (p. 499 of the Paris edition).

² Α προσευχή, as it was called, Acts 16 : 13, or προσευκτήριον, a substitute for a synagogue. These oratories were either simple edifices, or merely enclosed spaces in the open air, and, for convenience in the customary ablutions before prayer, were commonly near streams or pools.

³ Purple-dyeing was extensively carried on especially in the province of Lydia, to which Thyatira belonged, and an inscription found in this city mentions the guild of dyers there. See the proofs in H. A. B. Meyer's Commentary on Acts 16 : 14.

⁴ How far the baptism of an entire household, which occurs again immediately after in the case of the jailer, 16 : 33, goes towards demonstrating the existence of infant baptism in the time of the apostles, will be shown afterwards under the head of infant baptism, in the history of worship (§ 143).

⁵ Comp. Matt. 8 : 29. Mk. 1 : 34. 3 : 11. Luke 4 : 41.

powers of evil. By this act he deprived the woman's owners of a lucrative traffic. The latter, enraged, seized Paul and Silas ; dragged them, as Jewish disturbers of the peace, before the *duumviri* (so the two associate supreme magistrates of the Roman colonial cities were called), and accused them of introducing, against the strict prohibitions of government, a foreign religion and foreign customs opposed to the existing order of things. This caused general uproar. The servants of Christ were scourged without further examination (comp. 1 Thess. 2 : 2), and thrown into the inner part of the prison. But, in the solemn stillness of midnight, rejoicing in the consciousness of suffering for the Lord, notwithstanding the smarting of their wounds, the pain of the stocks (a wooden block for the feet, used as an instrument of torture), and the pangs of hunger, they raised their voices in united prayer and praise ; turning the dark abode of crime into a temple of grace.¹ In answer to their prayer an earthquake suddenly shook the prison to its foundations, opened the doors, and loosed the chains of all the prisoners.² The jailer, a conscientious and impulsive man, was on the point of committing suicide in his fright, thinking that the prisoners had all escaped, when Paul checked him, and told him they were all there. He then fell down at his feet, and, passing from despair to hope (a change altogether psychological in such moments of excitement), he asked : "What must I do to be saved ?"—a question which implies some previous acquaintance with the preaching of the apostle, and has since been for thousands the bridge from death to life. The messengers of peace gave him the comforting answer : "Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved, and thy house ;" instructed him and his household more fully ; and, as they gladly received the gospel accompanied by the Spirit of God, bap-

¹ Neander here aptly quotes Tertullian, who writes to the martyrs, c. 2 : "Nihil crur sentit in nervo, quum animus in coelo est."

² We grant Dr. Baur (p. 151), that Luke means to represent the earthquake and its consequences, not as accidental, nor as the occasion of the prayer, but as the effect of it ; though he does not explicitly say so. Nor can we wonder that Baur looks on this circumstance as against the credibility of the narrative ; since, on his pantheistic principles, there can be no such thing as prayer to a personal, prayer-hearing, wonder-working God, but at best a self-adoration of the creature, which certainly would not produce an earthquake. Baur, moreover, in his anatomical dissection of these events in Philippi, which he regards as a forged glorification of Paul, an offset to the miraculous deliverance of Peter (Acts 12), falls, as in many other instances, into a strange self-contradiction. He attributes to the author of this romance, called the Acts of the Apostles, on the one hand, a nicely-calculating literary wisdom and design, but on the other, an incredible thoughtlessness and careless self-exposure. This, of itself, justifies the supposition, that the fiction is rather in these two assumptions of the modern critic ; with this difference, that Baur's undeniable poetical and combining talent takes its own fancies for perfect truth, and thus proceeds quite honestly in a sort of unconscious fabrication of mythological dreams, such as the notorious Strauss attributes to the early Christian congregation in inventing the gospel history.

tized them. A joyful love-feast, prepared by the new converts in their gratitude, closed the scenes of this memorable night.

The next day the duumviri, whether intimidated by the earthquake, or moved by the representation of the jailor, sent their lictors to him with an order to let the imprisoned missionaries go. But Paul, who with genuine humility before God united a noble self-respect in his relations to men, was not disposed to be thus dismissed without any apology; and he now appealed, as he could not have done for the tumult the day before, to his Roman citizenship, which, according to the old laws, secured him against the disgraceful punishment of scourging. For injury to the person of a Roman citizen passed for high treason against the majesty of the Roman people, and, as such, was punished with confiscation of goods and death. This appeal, which, according to the well-known expression of Cicero, procured aid for many a one in the ends of the earth and even among the barbarians,¹ failed not of its effect. The magistrates came in person, and honorably dismissed the prisoners as innocent. The missionaries then took leave of the brethren in the house of Lydia, and pursued their journey.

In Philippi Paul left behind him one of his most flourishing churches, almost entirely composed of Gentile Christians, and closely bound to him in grateful love. It is true, this church also was afterwards invaded by Jewish errorists, spiritual pride, and schism. Yet, on the whole, it gave him more satisfaction than any other. He calls it his joy and his crown, and assures it of his ardent love (Phil. 1 : 3-8. 4 : 1). He also, contrary to his custom, accepted from it occasional presents (4 : 10-18. Comp. 2 Cor. 11 : 9); thus evincing a peculiarly strong confidence in it.

The first missionary operations in Europe were, therefore, exceedingly encouraging; and the persecution itself, which now proceeded from the heathen, turned out to the honor of Paul and the strengthening of the faith of the Christians. Paul next travelled, with Silas,² by Amphipolis and Apollonia to the thriving commercial city of *Thessalonica*, the capital of the second district of Macedonia, and the residence of the Roman governor. It lay on the bay of Therma, about a hundred Roman miles from Philippi.³

Here the apostle staid at least three weeks (17 : 2). On the Sabbath days he expounded the Scriptures in the synagogues, and demon-

¹ *In Verrem*, V. c. 57 : "Jam illa vox et imploratio : 'Civis Romanus sum,' quæ sæpe multis in ultimis terris opem inter barbaros et salutem attulit."

² That he left Luke behind in charge of the church at Philippi, we infer from the fact, that Luke himself at c. 17 : 1, begins to speak again in the third person. Timothy, too, seems to have remained there, but soon rejoined Paul in Berea (17 : 14, 15).

³ It is still, under the name of Saloniki, an important commercial city of some seventy thousand inhabitants : nearly half of them are Jews.

strated, that the Messiah, whose sufferings and resurrection were there predicted, had actually appeared in Jesus of Nazareth. Some Jews, a considerable number of proselytes, and not a few of the most distinguished women sided with him (17 : 4). At the same time he labored also among the proper Gentiles with great success (1 Thess. 1 : 9, 10. 2 : 10, 11), so that, through the extensive commercial connections of the city, the new community soon became widely known (1 Thess. 1 : 8). Although, according to our Lord's maxim (Matt. 10 : 10), and in his own view (1 Cor. 9 : 14), the apostle might justly have claimed the supply of his temporal wants from those to whom he offered the far more precious gift of the gospel, yet he earned his livelihood himself by working at his trade, sometimes even at night (1 Thess. 2 : 9, comp. Acts 20 : 34) ; partly, to show his gratitude for the unmerited grace bestowed upon him ; partly that he might not be burdensome to the infant congregation ; partly, to deprive his Judaistic adversaries of all ground for accusing him of self-interest. Under this self-denial he richly experienced the truth of the Saviour's words : "It is more blessed to give, than to receive" (Acts 20 : 35). Yet while here he twice received presents from the church at Philippi (Phil. 4 : 16). The unbelieving Jews, exasperated by this success, stirred up the populace against the missionaries, maliciously perverting their teachings respecting the kingly office and the second coming of Christ, and exciting political suspicion against them, as rebels against the imperial authority. But the magistrates were satisfied with taking security of one Jason, with whom Paul and Silas lodged, and the missionaries journeyed the next night to *Berea*, some sixty Roman miles south-east from Thessalonica, in the third district of Macedonia.

Here they preached some time with much acceptance, not only among the Greeks, but also among the Jews, who were more noble-minded and susceptible in this city than in Thessalonica. It is said to the credit of the new converts, that they searched the Scriptures daily, to see whether the Christian doctrine agreed with them (Acts 17 : 11)—a statement frequently and justly adduced in proof of the right and duty of the laity to search the Scriptures for themselves. From this place, too, the apostle was driven by the machinations of the fanatical Jews of Thessalonica, who had heard of his favorable reception here. Leaving Silas and Timothy in Berea, with directions to follow him soon, he travelled, accompanied by other brethren, probably by sea,¹ to Hellas proper, and to the metropolis of heathen science and art.

¹ The *ὁς*, Acts 17 : 14, denotes not the mere apparent, but the *real* intention as to the direction of the journey. Comp. the commentators, and Winer's *Gramm* p. 702 (5th ed). The distance by land from Berea to Athens was, according to the *Itinerarionini*, 251 Roman, or 50 geographical miles.

§ 73. *Paul in Athens.*

The renowned capital of Attica, though politically depressed, and long degenerate also in morals, still, by her culture, held sway over the whole intellectual world, not excepting even haughty Rome; and to this day she exerts, by her literature, an incalculable influence. The first appearance of the apostle of Jesus Christ in that city awakens, therefore, an unusual interest, and produces an impression of peculiar sublimity. This is owing, not to any immediate effects of his short and, in this respect, comparatively unimportant visit there; nor to any subsequent prominence of Athens in the history of the church. It arises rather from the imposing contrast between two wholly different kingdoms and spheres of thought here thrown together. The highest, but already decaying civilization of Heathendom here receives the breath of life from the new creation in Christ, for which it had been involuntarily preparing the way, therein at once to find its grave, and to celebrate its resurrection as a means to a higher and nobler end, the development of Christian civilization. On the consecrated ground of classic antiquity and of the religion of the Beautiful, in the birth-place of the most splendid forms, which reason and imagination, in the dim twilight of the Logos, could of themselves produce, appears a man of feeble, uncomely person, but of the noblest mind and heart and the most disinterested zeal, nay, filled with the Spirit of God himself, proclaiming the religion of the True, and of eternal life,—the religion, which has subjected the old world, with all its power and glory, to her own service, and reared upon its ruins a universal kingdom of heaven. Before the philosophers of Greece, and amidst the renowned temples and statues of all conceivable idols, a despised Jew preaches that foolishness of God, which confounds the wisdom of the Grecian schools, and appeals more eloquently to the guilt-stricken heart, than even Demosthenes or Æschines to the sovereign people;—the doctrine of the crucified Nazarene, who revealed the only true God; whose beauty, veiled in the form of a servant, far outshines that of the statues of Phidias and the temple of Minerva on the Acropolis; takes its bold flight beyond the ideals of Plato; no longer, like the myths of Prometheus and Hercules and the tragedies of Æschylus and Sophocles, leaving men to grope wishfully after the blissful harmony of existence, the reconciliation of God and man; but actually giving it, and giving beyond all that the most earnest and profound heathens could ask or think.

Paul, even as a mere monotheist, could, of course, look with no complacency on the idolatry, which here surrounded him, nor be beguiled by the splendor, with which art had invested it. Nevertheless, he did not begin with overthrowing the altars and the images. He was touched,

rather, with deep grief for these aberrations of the sense of religious need,—with that compassionate love, which seeks the lost. While waiting the arrival of Silas and Timothy, he improved the time, therefore, not only by preaching to the Jews and proselytes in the synagogue, but also by joining, like a Christian Socrates, in daily conversations with the heathens in the market. The curious and inquisitive Athenians used then, as in the days of Demosthenes, to collect in the public places and under the shady colonnades, to hear the city gossip and the political and literary news of the day. In one of these places, probably the market Eretria, which was most frequented, and close by the *στοὰ ποικίλη*, a resort of the philosophers, the apostle encountered some of the Epicureans and Stoics, who afterwards showed themselves the most bitter enemies of Christianity. The Epicureans, like the Sadducees among the Jews, were pleasure-loving men of the world. If they acknowledged the gods at all, they made them idle, unconcerned spectators of the world; derived everything from chance and the free will of man; and set up pleasure as the chief good. They thus severed the world from the eternal source of its life; denied man's likeness to God and his higher destiny; and could, therefore, see nothing in Christianity, but fanaticism and superstition. The Stoics, who may be called the Grecian Pharisees,¹ held the opposite extreme. They were pantheists and fatalists; made the dominion of reason the highest good; and placed virtue in complete self-control and apathy. They mistook the moral corruption of man, and deified the natural power of will. In them also, accordingly, the doctrine of the cross, making humility the fundamental virtue, requiring an entire renewal of the mind, and held forth, moreover, in artless elocution by a barbarian Jew, could not possibly allay, but must rather inflame that moral pride, which arrogated equality with the gods. The Epicureans called the apostle a babbler (*σπερμολόγος*,)² betraying their foppish disgust for him, and their utter insensibility to every thing that concerns the higher destiny of man. The Stoics thought, he wished to introduce strange gods; namely, Jesus, and the Resurrection.³ This sounded more threateningly; for on a like charge Socrates had once been condemned to death by the Areopagus.⁴ It was not, however, this time

¹ They are so compared also by Josephus: *De bello Jud.* II, 12.

² In the same place Demosthenes had once honored his antagonist, Æschines, with his epithet, *Pro corona*, p. 269, ed Reiske.

³ That they took Jesus and the Resurrection, according to their polytheistic notions, for a pair of gods, is evident from the repetition of the article, Acts 17: 18. Dr. Baur (p. 168) is no doubt right in taking this, not as in earnest, but as an expression of the ironical wit which distinguished the Athenians. Besides, they had, in fact, built altars not only to their many female deities, but also to abstract conceptions, such as *Pity*. *Ἔλεος*.

⁴ According to Xenophon (*Memorab.* I, 1), Socrates was likewise accused of intro-

taken so earnestly. Nor does the sequel show any spirit of fanatical persecution. On the contrary, partly from courtesy and partly from curiosity, they gladly listened to the interesting enthusiast; and the more to gratify their curiosity, and give others the same opportunity, they brought him to the Areopagus, or hill of Mars, west of the Acropolis, where the supreme court of the same name held its sessions, and presided over the observance of the laws, customs, and religious ceremonies. Here the apostle could be heard by a greater multitude. On this venerable eminence, with the city spread out at his feet, in sight of the Theseion and the Acropolis, the magnificent Parthenon, and those Propylaea, whose ruins are even yet a wonder, he delivered a discourse marked by great wisdom and skill, exquisitely adapted to the occasion, and furnishing a profitable lesson for all rash zealots and intolerant fanatics.

Though deeply grieved at the abounding idolatry, he did not begin by denouncing it as purely the work of the devil, and thus at the outset bar the hearts of the people against his address. He perceived beneath the ashes of superstition the glimmering spark of a longing after that God, who, though unseen, is yet so near. On this relic of the divine image in man, this feeling of religious want, and on the inextinguishable consciousness of God, which underlies even all the vagaries of polytheism (comp. Rom. 1 : 19. 2 : 14, 15), he based his discourse, acknowledging in the Athenians a peculiar zeal for religion,¹ and very appositely appealing, in proof of it, to the altar, he had noticed, dedicated to "an unknown God" (ἀγνώστῳ θεῷ 17 : 23).² By this the Athenians did not

ducing strange gods: οὓς μὲν ἡ πόλις νομίζει θεοὺς, οὐ νομίζων, ἕτερα δὲ καινὰ δαιμόνια (in the good sense, as frequently in the classics) εἰσφέρων.

¹ The δεισιδαιμονεστέρους, 17 : 22, is to be taken (as also in 25 : 19) in its primary good sense of "reverential," "religious," as for example in Xenophon and Aristotle; and the comparative denotes preeminence above other Greeks. Pausanias says (*Attic.* 24) the Athenians excelled others in zeal for divine worship (περισσότερον εἰς τὰ θεῖα σπουδῆς); and this is evident in fact from the multitude of their temples and altars. Josephus, also (*c. Ap.* I, 12), calls them εὐσεβεστάτους τῶν Ἑλλήνων. The word δεισιδαίμων is, indeed, ambiguous, and signifies also, particularly in the later Greek, morbid religious feeling, slavish fear of God, superstition. Perhaps Paul used it intentionally here, to give the Athenians at least a gentle hint of their religious error; while he immediately after employs the more definite term, εὐσεβεῖτε, but with reference to the true God. It is certainly improper, however, and inconsistent with the next verse, as well as with the extremely indulgent tone of the whole discourse, to insist on the unfavorable meaning of that word, and make the apostle begin with a denunciation; as is done by Luther's translation, "allzu abergläubisch," and the English, "too superstitious."

² We know from heathen writers, that there were at Athens several altars with this or a like inscription. Thus Pausanias says (*Attic.* I, 4): Ἐν ταῦθα καὶ βωμοὶ θεῶν τε ὀνομαζομένων ἀγνώστων καὶ ἠρώων; and Philostratus in his *Vita Apollon.* VI, 3; οἱ (at Athens) καὶ ἀγνώστων δαιμόνων βωμοὶ ἱδρύνται. The erection of such altars was

mean, indeed, the only true God of the Bible. They had in view, according to their polytheistic conceptions, one of the many gods, whom, on their principles, they could multiply indefinitely. But at the same time this reverence for the Unknown and Nameless was the expression of the unsatisfied groping of Polytheism after the truth; its consciousness of its own insufficiency; its presentiment both of a higher power beyond the sphere of its gods, and of the necessity of having that power propitiated. Thus polytheism itself left room for a new religion, for the knowledge and worship of *the* unknown God, who is also the only true God. On this longing after truth Paul lays hold; and, referring that remarkable phenomenon to its ultimate principle; interpreting the religious want, which revealed itself therein; and, in the worship of *an* unknown God, recognizing with perfect propriety the faint notion of *the* unknown God; he proceeds: "Whom therefore ye ignorantly worship, him declare I unto you." And now he goes on to unfold the truth, which forms at the same time a positive refutation of the polytheistic error. He discourses of God as the Creator and Upholder of the universe,—in tacit opposition to the entirely false cosmogony of Heathenism, which, on the one hand, deified the forces of nature, and, on the other, reduced deity itself to a creature;—of the original unity of the human family, and the appointment by providence of its habitation and the term of its existence,—in opposition to the denial of this unity inseparable from idolatry, and to the atomic notions and proud particularism of the Athenians, who considered themselves autochthons, aborigines of their country, and looked upon Jews and barbarians with contempt;—and of the higher moral destiny of man,—a subject, to which he was led by his doctrine of providence and of the government of the world,—that men should seek God (whom they have lost by sin), and return to fellowship with him. This the heathen had not at all, or at best very imperfectly attained.¹ But their failure was their own fault; for God is not far from any one of us. He is the foundation of life on which we all rest. On him we absolutely

occasioned by public calamities, which could not be attributed to any particular god, but which men yet wished to avert by sacrifice. Thus Diogenes Laertius, in his *Life of Epimenides* (3), relates that in a time of pestilence the Athenians were informed by the oracle that expiation must be made for the city. They therefore sent to Crete for Epimenides, a celebrated poet and prophet, who made the atonement thus: "He brought black and white sheep to the Areopagus and let them run from there, whithersoever they would; directing those who followed them, to offer sacrifice wherever each lay down, to the appropriate god (τῷ προσήκοντι θεῷ, the supposed author of the plague). And thus the evil was removed. Hence in some districts of the Athenians we find altars to this day without any (particular) name (βωμοὺς ἀνωνύμων)." ¹

¹ Paul does not, indeed, distinctly express this, but hints at it with Attic delicacy in the *εἰ ἄραγε*, v. 27. The *ψηλαφᾶω* also (to feel around, to grope, like a blind man) involves an antithesis to the clear light and sure knowledge of revelation.

depend every moment for our spiritual life, our physical motion, nay, even our very existence ;¹ as, in fact, some of your own poets have said : "For we are his offspring." This higher dignity of man itself upbraids idolatry, which degrades the eternal Creator into the sphere of the creature, and images him in lifeless matter. In this way the apostle at once awakens the sense of guilt and proves heathenism irrational. But he does not even now launch out into a tirade against idolatry. Like the long-suffering God himself, he passes by these times of ignorance,² and preaches repentance, the resurrection of Christ, and the judgment, which awaits unbelievers. But of this second part Luke gives us only a brief abstract.

¹ This expression : Ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ ζῶμεν καὶ κινούμεθα καὶ ἐσμεν, v. 28, contains the great, deep, and comforting truth which underlies the error of Pantheism, viz. the doctrine of the continual indwelling of God in the world, and particularly in humanity ; but without excluding, of course, the grand doctrine of Theism, the personality of God, and his absolute independence of the world, as just before asserted by Paul himself. Besides, the explanation contained in the text above shows, that we must take the passage as an anticlimax, and not as a climax, with Olshausen, who, entirely without reason, and without analogy in Biblical phraseology, refers ζῆν, to the *physical* life, κινεῖσθαι to the free motion of the *soul*, and εἶναι to the true life of the *spirit* ; in which latter sense, in fact, the very word ζωή occurs times without number.

² Paul here refers to his countryman, Aratus, a Cilician poet of the third century before Christ, in whose astronomical poem, *Phænomena*, v. 5, the passage above quoted is found word for word, as the first part of a hexameter ; and in the following connection :

". . . . We all greatly need Zeus,
For we are his offspring ; full of grace, he grants men
Tokens of favor."

The τοῦ (poetic for τούτου) refers therefore, in the original, to Jupiter ; but Paul, with his eye on the secret yearning of the heart, the longing of erratic religious feeling after the unknown God, feels himself justified in finding here, as before in the ἀγνωστω θεῷ, an indirect, an unconscious reference to the true God. An expression precisely similar, only in the form of an address to Zeus, occurs in the Stoic. Cleanthes : *Hymn in Jov.*, 5 : Ἐκ σοῦ γὰρ γένος ἐσμεν ; and in the "Golden Poem" : θεῶν γὰρ γένος ἐστὶ βροτοῖσιν.

³ By thus passing over heathenism as a time of ignorance, χρόνοι τῆς ἀγνοίας, v. 30, — a judgment exceedingly mild, and yet at the same time deeply humiliating to the Athenian pride of knowledge, the apostle, however, of course intended only *partially* to excuse it, as is plain from the preceding verse ; comp. Rom. 1 : 20.

⁴ This is also Schleiermacher's view : *Einleitung in's N. T.* (Sämmtl. Werke, Part I Vol. 8, p. 374) : "Of Paul's discourse at Athens, c. 17 : 22-31, it is evident, that only the beginning is given in full, the rest in an abridged form. For the appearance of Christ is only hinted at, and then his resurrection immediately mentioned ; and this cannot be taken for a full report of the discourse, but only as an abstract. No interpolator would have constructed this so : the main matter would have been made more prominent." This view relieves us, too, of the difficulties invented by Baur (*Paulus*, p. 173), who considers the mention of the resurrection—a topic so offensive to the heathen—as a proof of the spuriousness of this discourse. But could we expect Paul to be utterly silent concerning the great point, Christianity ? And when once he had

The announcement of the resurrection of the dead was to the natural understanding of the Greek philosophers particularly offensive. Such a thing seemed to them impossible, and to no purpose. Some, perhaps especially Epicureans, mocked; while others said to the apostle: "We will hear thee again of this matter." This may possibly have been meant in earnest, but far more probably as a polite hint to be silent respecting a doctrine in their view so absurd. And here is a striking proof, that God has hid the gospel from the wise and prudent and revealed it unto babes (Matt. 11 : 25); or, according to the kindred sentiment of the poet: "What the understanding of the wise sees not, the childlike spirit, in its simplicity, practices."

But this wise, apposite, and finished discourse of the apostle was after all not in vain. Several men and women, and some, it appears, of culture and rank, embraced his doctrine; among whom one Dionysius, a member of the supreme court, is particularly mentioned by name (Acts 17 : 34). According to the church tradition, this Areopagite was the first bishop of the church of Athens;² and in later times there was ascribed to him a mass of mystic writings,³ which exerted an important influence in the Middle Ages. He was made the representative of the mystic philosophy of Plato (that last effort of earnest-minded heathenism), in its combination with Christian truth. This city of the Grecian muse, however, which had, indeed, reached the summit of natural culture, but, on the other hand (according to the *Clouds* of Aristophanes), had regarded the greatest and noblest of her own sages as an idle,

touched upon this, could he help presenting the divine seal of its truth, the Resurrection? And,—on the principles of this criticism we must ask,—would not an ingenious and calculating writer, who, according to Baur's own concession, displays in this chapter so great familiarity with the manners and customs of the Athenians, have been able to avoid also this supposed offense, and secure himself against modern critics and fault-finders?

¹ Hess, l. c. I, p. 241, starts the question: What would Socrates probably have said to this discourse of the apostle?—and answers it thus: "He would in all probability have discerned in it the true kingdom of God, from which he was not far, and would have been among those who wished to hear more of that divinely appointed Judge of the human race, and more of the resurrection. In the person of the Redeemer of the world he would have found more than that just man, whom Plato depicts. He would rather have had such an address respecting the unknown God, than the most eloquent dissertations of sophists on the gods, which are the offspring of imagination."

² On the testimony of Dionysius of Corinth, who lived in the middle of the second century, and is quoted in Eusebius, *H. E.* IV, 23.

³ Works on the Heavenly Hierarchy, on the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, on the Divine Names, on the Mystic Theology; and eleven Epistles. These writings, the spuriousness of which has been incontrovertibly proved, particularly by the Reformed theologian Dallaeus (1666), are probably the work of a Christian Neo-Platonist of the sixth, or, at the earliest, of the fifth century. The first undoubted trace of them appears at Constantinople, A.D. 533.

inflated enthusiast, and condemned him to death, never rose to great prominence in the history of the church.

§ 74. *Paul in Corinth.* A.D. 53.

From Athens Paul journeyed alone to Corinth, where Silas and Timothy again joined him (18 : 5). This rich and flourishing city, the capital of the province of Achaia, and the residence of the Roman proconsul, stood upon the peninsula of Peloponnesus, between the Ægean and Ionian seas. Its position, with its two ports, Lechaëum on the west and Cenchreae on the east, made it the centre of commerce and intercourse between the eastern and western portions of the Roman empire ; the bridge, so to speak, between Asia and Europe ; and at the same time, after it was rebuilt by Cæsar (B. C. 46), a prominent seat of philosophy, art, and general culture. It was given, however, to excessive luxury, and to a licentiousness even sanctioned by the worship of Venus.¹ Its civilization had merely substituted the vices of refinement for the vices of barbarism. Here the apostle had the best opportunity to learn from his own observation that horrible corruption of the heathen, the picture of which he drew a few years afterwards on the same spot, in the first chapter of Romans.

The establishment of a Christian church at so important a point, thus in communication with the whole world, was of course, a work of transcendent moment, but also of uncommon difficulty. Paul accordingly staid here a year and a half. He soon found lodging and employment at his trade with Aquila, a Jewish Christian.² This man followed the same business as the apostle, probably on a large scale, and had come to Corinth shortly before with his wife Priscilla (Prisca), in consequence of an edict of Claudius (A.D. 52), which banished the Jews from Rome, but soon went out of force. Thenceforth both appear in different places, —at Ephesus (18 : 18, 26. 1 Cor. 16 : 19), and at Rome (Rom. 16 : 3), —as zealous promoters of the gospel (comp. also 2 Tim. 4 : 19).

Here, too, Paul addressed himself first to the Jews and proselytes, who in Corinth, as in all commercial cities, were very numerous. But he met with such violent opposition, that he left the synagogue, and held his meetings in the adjoining house of one Justus, a proselyte of the gate. Nevertheless, perhaps in consequence of this determined effort,

¹ So great was the dissoluteness of this city, that *κορινθιάζειν*, "to live like the Corinthians," was equivalent to *scortari*. It is a significant fact, that while Minerva, the patroness of wisdom, was enthroned on the Acropolis of Athens, the Acrocorinthus was the site of the most renowned temple to Venus, the goddess of lust.

² Luke does not say whether Aquila was already a Christian, or was first converted by Paul. The former seems to us more probable, in view of his speedy connection with the apostle ; and the appellation *Ἰουδαῖος* (18 : 2) is not against it, since this term often, as in Gal. 2 : 13-15, denotes merely the national origin.

Crispus, the ruler of the synagogue, with his whole household, embraced the faith ; and these, along with a certain Gaius, and the family of Stephanas, Paul baptized with his own hands (18 : 8. 1 Cor. 1 : 14-17), though in other cases he left this business to his aids, who could administer the ordinance just as well. For in the sacrament, where, as it were, the Lord himself officiates, the personal character of the human functionary falls out of view, while in preaching, which founds the church and requires special gifts, it becomes prominent. The great majority of the congregation collected by Paul and his associates, Silas and Timothy (comp. 1 Cor. 1 : 19), were, no doubt, formerly pagans, and chiefly, though not entirely,¹ from the lower classes. For in 1 Cor. 1 : 26-30, Paul himself says, that there were not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble, among them, but that God had chosen those that were foolish and weak in the eyes of the world, to display the more gloriously in them the power of the gospel, and to put to shame the pride of the wise and strong. The apostle had seen in Athens how little susceptibility, generally speaking, the higher and more cultivated circles had for the gospel, which so directly and firmly opposed their Sadducean or Pharisaic spirit. He had, accordingly, determined to appear in Corinth, not with the wisdom and eloquence of man, but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power, with the undorned simplicity of the glad tidings to poor sinners. He had resolved to know nothing among them, save *Jesus Christ and him crucified* (1 Cor. 2 : 1-5), in whom, however, is found all that is needful for salvation. This brought out all the more sharply the opposition between the world and Christianity, and left grace to operate only with the greater purity and power. The apostle, indeed, met with violent resistance from the pride of wisdom in the Greeks, the passion for wonders in the Jews, and the moral corruption of the people generally. He had also to sustain painful struggles in his own breast, and was often so depressed with the sense of his own weakness, that whenever he thought of himself, he feared and trembled (1 Cor. 2 : 3), and needed special encouragement from the Lord in a vision (Acts 18 : 9 sq.). But, in spite of all, his preaching in this city was attended with uncommon success, and the church there spread its influence over the whole province of Achaia (1 Thess. 1 : 7, 8. 2 Cor. 1 : 1).

This rapid progress of the gospel only embittered the hostility of the Jews. They, therefore, took advantage of the arrival of the new proconsul, Annaeus Gallio, to accuse Paul of attacking their religion, which was recognized by law. But Gallio, a man of great kindness,² wisely

¹ Comp. Rom 16 : 23, where Paul sends a salutation from Erastus, the chamberlain of Corinth.

² His brother, the famous Stoic, Annaeus Seneca, considered him the most amiable

observing the limits of his power as a civil judge, dismissed the complaint, and referred it to the Jewish tribunal, as relating to a controversy on religious doctrine, and therefore not at all cognizable by him; whereupon the heathen apparitors vented their spite upon Sosthenes, the ruler of the synagogue (18 : 12-17). After this the apostle still remained in Corinth a long time, meanwhile, as must be inferred from 2 Cor. 1 : 1 (comp. Rom. 16 : 1), either making excursions himself, or sending his disciples, into the neighboring districts of the province.

§ 75. *The Epistles to the Thessalonians.* A. D. 53.

Of this date, about A.D. 53, are the first of Paul's epistles, which have come down to us, and which are also among the oldest portions of the New Testament,—the two letters to the *Thessalonians*.¹ Timothy, whom he appears to have sent back from Athens to Thessalonica (1 Thess. 3 : 1 sq.), brought to him to Corinth intelligence, on the whole very cheering (1 Thess. 1 : 18), of the earnestness, fidelity, and steadfastness of the Thessalonian Christians under protracted persecutions, as also of their zeal for extending the gospel into Macedonia and even to Achaia. But at the same time in many of them the expectation of the speedy return of Christ in glory, which was probably one of Paul's favorite themes, had taken the form of a somewhat immoderate enthusiasm, and had produced, in some, a state of melancholy, a grieving over already departed brethren, as though death had separated them from the Lord, and deprived them of the blessings of his appearing; in others, carelessness, and an undervaluation of their earthly callings, so that they ceased working and became a burden to the benevolent. Unauthorized prophets arose, who inflamed this enthusiasm; and this, in turn, produced, in a part of the congregation, the opposite extreme of contempt for the prophetic gift (1 Thess. 5 : 19, 20). This state of things was the occasion of the apostle's first epistle, which is full of the fresh recollections of his recent visit. He commends the church for its virtues; comforts those who are troubled about the fate of the departed; exhorts the impatient to be industrious, to walk in the light, and to be always ready to meet the Lord, who shall come unexpectedly, like a thief in the night; and warns them, for this very reason, among

of mortals. "Nemo mortalium," says he (*Praef. natur. quaest.*, l. IV.), "uni tam dulcis est, quam hic omnibus." Perhaps, among other things, the protection he afforded the apostle, in connection with Phil. 4 : 22, where converts from the household of the emperor (Nero) are mentioned, gave rise to the groundless supposition, that Paul had an acquaintance and correspondence with the philosopher Seneca, Nero's tutor.

¹ As to their date the reader may compare, besides the current Introductions to the New Testament, particularly Wieseler's *Chronologie der Apost. Gesch.* p. 241 sqq.

other errors, against presuming to calculate the day and hour of his appearing.

But as this did not break the delusion, and as some one even fabricated a letter, as from the apostle (2 Thess. 2 : 2), going to confirm it, he soon afterwards wrote his second epistle, signed with his own hand, in which he instructed the church more fully respecting the appearance of the Lord, and especially concerning the development of the power of evil in its most mature and fearful form, the "man of sin" (2 Thess. 2 : 1-12), which must necessarily precede it ; and exhorted them anew to an orderly and industrious life. It is remarkable, that it was to these very Macedonian churches, where Christianity so charmingly bloomed, that the mystery of iniquity was first disclosed. And the prophecy respecting it was doubtless not perfectly fulfilled in the apostolic age, but looks to the latest days of the church.

§ 76. *Third Missionary Tour of Paul. His labors in Ephesus.*
A. D. 54-57.

After residing a year and a half in Corinth, our apostle, probably in the spring of the year 54, in which Nero came to the throne, resolved to return to the mother church of the Gentile mission ; and to go by way of Jerusalem, where he wished to celebrate Pentecost,¹ and, as it appears, at the same time to present a thank-offering in the temple for escape

¹ Luke, indeed, uses the indefinite expression, *τὴν ἑορτήν*. But this could not have been the feast of tabernacles ; because that feast was of no interest for the specifically Christian spirit, and is never mentioned by Paul. It could not have been the passover, which fell in the spring ; because Paul made the journey by sea, and, in the existing state of the art of navigation, it was only in rare cases, that the sea was passable during the winter months till the vernal equinox (the 23rd of March). The only remaining one of the great feasts is that of Pentecost ; and this was of special interest for the church on account of the outpouring of the Holy Ghost.—Furthermore, we must not omit to mention, that the first clause of the 21st verse : "I must by all means keep this feast that cometh in Jerusalem," is of doubtful genuineness, and by Lachmann altogether rejected. This would bring into question the whole matter of Paul's fourth journey to Jerusalem, and make Wieseler's hypothesis of its identity with that mentioned in Gal. 2 : 1 (comp. above, § 67) utterly impossible. Luke, also, says nothing at all of the presentation of an offering, but speaks in the briefest manner merely of his saluting the church. But even letting go the suspected words from *δεῖ* to *πάλιν*, as not belonging to the original text ; still, the *ἀναβάς*, v. 22, could only refer, it would seem, to a journey from Cæsarea to Jerusalem, which lay higher. For if we make it mean merely the ascent from the landing to the city of Cæsarea, or to the place where the congregation assembled, the word would be entirely superfluous ; whereas in this very passage Luke studies great brevity. Then again, the following *κατέβη* applies very well to the relative geographical positions of Jerusalem and Antioch, but not to a journey from Cæsarea to Antioch. Finally, we see no reason, why Paul, in going from Ephesus to Antioch, should have made the great circuit by Cæsarea, unless he intended to visit Jerusalem.

from death by sickness, or some other cause unknown to us. So at least most commentators understand the vow, he had made at Cenchreae, the eastern 'port of Corinth.¹ Nor was such a course, in itself, incon-

¹ We intentionally leave this problematical, since the words of Luke, 18 : 18 : "Having shorn his head in Cenchreae; for he had a vow," present a double difficulty. In the first place, expositors are divided as to the *subject* of the parenthesis. Grotius and Meyer (also Wieseler, p 203, Note) refer *κευράμενος* to the nearest antecedent, Aquila; especially as his name, contrary to the usage of antiquity, and to the order observed in v. 2 and 26, is here placed after that of his wife Priscilla; the reason of which is found in the gender of the participle. But these names occur in the same order in Rom. 16 : 3 and 2 Tim. 4 : 19. This the above interpreters have overlooked. We are compelled, therefore, to look for the reason of this circumstance, not in the grammatical structure of the sentence, but, with Neander (latest ed. p. 349), in the greater Christian zeal of Priscilla, and her nearer relation to Paul; and we may properly find in it a hint of the exaltation, which Christianity, as compared with heathen antiquity, confers on the female sex. Then again, one cannot understand, why Luke should have remarked this fact respecting Aquila. For the supposition of Schneckenburger (l. c. p 66), that he intended thereby indirectly to defend the apostle against the charge of inducing the Jewish Christians to renounce the law, is too artificial, and is connected with this scholar's general hypothesis of an apologetic purpose running through the whole book of Acts;—a hypothesis, which we cannot regard as well founded. Since, now, Paul is the subject in v. 18 as well as v. 19, it is best, with Augustine, Luther, Calvin, Olshausen, Neander, and De Wette, to refer the parenthesis also to him.—The second difficulty in this passage is about the *kind of vow* here intended. Most commentators think it the vow of a Nazarite (Num. 6 : 1 sqq.), which Philo calls the great vow (*εὐχὴ μεγάλη*). A Nazarite was one, who had consecrated his person to the Lord either for his whole life or for a certain portion of it, and was bound, during the term of his vow, to abstain from intoxicating drinks, and to let the hair of his head grow. At the expiration of the time he presented in the temple at Jerusalem an offering, and had his head shorn (*tonsura munditie*) by the priest, throwing the hair into the flame of the thank-offering, and thus consecrating it to the Lord (Num. 6 : 5, 18). But the latter circumstance does not suit the case before us; for Paul had performed the tonsure out of Palestine, and, it would seem, not at the accomplishment, but at the assumption of his vow. To solve this last difficulty, (as Meyer, ad loc. does), by considering this ceremony as having been the close of the vow, still leaves the other. For not a hint occurs, either in the Old Testament or in the Talmud, of the head being shorn in a *foreign* land; the *assumption* only, never the laying off, of the Nazarite vow, could take place out of Palestine, according to Mishna Nasir, III, 6. Neander accordingly assumes, that the Nazarite vow was modified in later times. But the passage from Josephus (*De bello Jud.* II. 15, 1), to which he refers, is no proof of this. The context and the terms employed can hardly suggest any thing more, than the common Nazarite vow; and besides, the tonsure of Berenice, spoken of just before, took place in Jerusalem. In this state of the case, Meyer, following Salmasius and others, takes the *εὐχὴ*. Acts 18 : 18, to be a *private* vow, or *votum civile*, the term of which expired in Cenchreae. But this makes the letting the hair grow and the cutting it off, which were still a part of the vow of a Nazarite, altogether unmeaning and unaccountable. For no appeal can be allowed, in this case, to the *pagan* custom of those who had recovered from sickness, or had made a prosperous journey, consecrating their hair to a divinity (Juvenal, *Sat.* XII, 81, et al).—We are forced, therefore, to acknowledge, that the vow of Paul, as De Wette (ad loc.) expresses it, is a Gordian

sistent with Paul's liberal principles. For although he was far from making the observance of the law, or any human work, the condition of salvation ; though he resisted from principle the imposition of a Jewish yoke on the Gentile Christians ; yet he gave all due credit to the more legal, pupillary form of piety of the Jewish Christians, and felt free to use, in a voluntary way, for the promotion of his own spiritual life,¹ some of their disciplinary institutions and customs. He fully understood, that the law still retains its character and value, as a schoolmaster to Christ, even for the regenerate, so long as they have to contend with flesh and blood. Indeed it may be said in general of all the religious forms and symbols of the church, that they tend to awaken true piety in those still in their pupillage, and to promote it in the more advanced ; but that they become dangerous the moment they are made indispensable to salvation, and substituted for living faith, or, it may be, even for Christ himself.

Sailing by way of Ephesus, where he left his companions, Aquila and Priscilla, promising to return soon, Paul went to Cæsarea Stratonis ; made his fourth, but very short visit to the church at Jerusalem ; and afterwards again spent some time in Antioch. He then set out on his *third* great missionary tour. He first strengthened the churches already founded in Phrygia and Galatia (18 : 23), and then, in pursuance of his usual missionary policy of directing his chief attention to the most important commercial cities, selected Ephesus for the scene of a protracted activity of nearly three years (19 : 1 sqq.). He probably arrived there before the winter of the year 54 had yet set in.

Ephesus, the then capital of proconsular Asia, lay near the coast of the Icarian sea, between Smyrna and Miletus, in that fair and fertile province, where twenty-five hundred years ago appeared, in the sanguine, buoyant, and gifted tribe of the Ionians, the first blossoms of Grecian art and literature ; where Homer sang the deeds of the Trojan heroes and the return of Ulysses, and Anacreon the light, momentary joys of the heart ; where Mimnermus bewailed the rapid flight of youth and love ; where Thales, Anaximenes, and Anaximander first woke the spirit of philosophical inquiry concerning the origin, meaning, and end of existence.

knot, or, in the words of Winer (*Reallexikon*, I. p. 141. 3rd ed.), that, "with our present knowledge of the ancient Jewish vows, it cannot be satisfactorily explained." Fortunately it touches no essential article of faith. The apostle at all events seems not to have bound himself strictly to any legal form, and to have used great freedom with the vow, whatever may have been its nature.

¹ I cannot agree with Calvin, in referring this vow merely to regard for the Jews. See his Commentary : "Se igitur totondit non alium ob finem, nisi ut Judæis adhuc rudibus, necdum rite edoctis, se accommodaret, quemadmodum testatur, ut eos qui sub lege erant lucrifaceret, se voluntariam legis, a qua liber erat, subjectionem obisse (1 Cor. 9 : 20)."

But besides being a centre of commerce and culture, Ephesus was also a principal seat of the heathen superstition, and of the mystic worship of Artemis.¹ There stood the renowned temple of Diana ; built of white marble in the sixth century before Christ ; set on fire on the birth-night of Alexander the Great (356 B. C.) by the immortal wantonness of Erostratus ; but soon rebuilt in still more magnificent and costly style ; ornamented with a hundred and twenty-seven columns ; visited by numberless pilgrims ; and not finally demolished till the time of Constantine the Great. It contained the image of the great mother of the gods, which was said to have fallen from heaven, and to have remained unchanged from the earliest age ;—an image in the shape of a mummy, with many breasts, and mysterious inscriptions, to which a peculiar magical power was attributed, and from which were fabricated formulas of incantation under the name of *Ἐφέσια γράμματα*.¹

Here, therefore, was opened to Paul, as he himself says (1 Cor. 16 : 9), a great door for extensive usefulness. Here was soon to arise, under his hands, a church, which should surpass in importance the churches of Antioch and Corinth, and become, under John, the centre of Eastern Christendom. To it he communicated, a few years later, in his epistle to the Ephesians, his profoundest disclosures of the glory, the inward nature, and the outward appearance of the bride of Jesus Christ. But from its bosom, too, he already saw coming forth the most dangerous of foes, the pernicious heathen Gnosis ; verifying the maxim : Wherever God builds a temple, Satan erects a chapel by its side. From this point he could spread Christianity into all parts of Asia Minor, either by making excursions himself, or by sending out his disciples and assistants ; and the many mercantile connections of the city furnished him the most convenient ways of getting intelligence from his churches in Greece. Along with these advantages, however, he had there to encounter, also, new trials and sufferings, and was every day in danger of death.² His first short visit, which the Jews had desired him to prolong (18 : 19 sq.), and the faithfulness and zeal of Aquila and his wife, had already prepared the way for the gospel in Ephesus.

He also met there with a singular sort of half-christians, *disciples* of John the Baptist, twelve in number, who had been baptized by John, and directed to the Messiah. They had also believed in the Messiah,

¹ Of this temple there now remain only a few ruins, and on the site of the city once so flourishing stands a miserable Turkish hamlet, *Ajasuluk*, supposed to be so called from John, the *ἁγιος θεολόγος* (pronounced by the Greeks, Seologos). Comp. Schubert : *Reise in das Morgenland*, Part I. p. 294 sqq ; and Tischendorf *Reise in den Orient*, II. p. 251 sqq.

² 1 Cor. 15 : 30–32. Comp. Acts 20 : 1 sqq. 1 Cor. 4 : 9–13. Gal. 5 : 11. 2 Cor 1 : 8, 9.

yet without being fully acquainted with the teaching and history of the Lord, and with the operations of his Spirit. Probably they had left Palestine before the resurrection, to announce the advent of the Messiah to the heathen. They thus formed a continued development, independent of the church and therefore very imperfect, of the spirit of prophecy, which flowed into Christianity; they stood between those disciples of John, who passed directly over to Jesus, and the later Sabians, who held John the Baptist for the Messiah, and opposed Christianity. They cheerfully took more ample instruction from Paul, and received the baptism of the Spirit in the name of Jesus, with the customary laying on of hands. Thereupon the new life revealed itself in the extraordinary gifts of the apostolic age, speaking with tongues and prophecy (19 : 1-6).

After preaching three months in the synagogue, Paul was compelled by the hostility of some Jews to meet the Christian congregation separately, which he did in the lecture-room of Tyrannus, a Greek rhetorician, where he delivered discourses daily for two years.¹ Near this place he wrought striking miracles, which were doubly necessary on account of the juggleries of pagan and Jewish magicians, for whom Ephesus was a great rendezvous. Even to the apostle's handkerchiefs and aprons the people attributed a healing power, and God graciously condescended to their superstitious notions, though without approving them (19 : 12); nay rather, giving, in the occurrence just afterwards related, a warning and preservative against them. There were at that time numbers of Jewish exorcists strolling about those parts, who pretended to be able to cast out devils by means of mysterious magical formulas and amulets, which they derived, as they boasted, from king Solomon.² Some of these jugglers, the seven sons³ of one Sceva, who was either the proper high priest, or the foreman of one of the twenty-four courses of priests,

¹ These two years (19 : 10) are doubtless covered by the first twenty verses of c. 19. After the expiration of them, Paul still remained some time in Ephesus and its vicinity, having already sent his companions before him into Macedonia (v. 22), and not leaving the city himself till after the uproar caused by Demetrius (20 : 1). Adding, now, to the two years the three months, during which he taught in the synagogue, and the indefinite time in v. 22, we have nearly three years for his residence in Ephesus; which agrees with the *triennium*, 20 : 31. Perhaps, however, the latter includes also the visit to Corinth omitted in Acts.

² Respecting these people, comp. 13 : 10. Matt. 12 : 27. Lu. 9 : 49. Josephus, *Antiqn.* VIII. 25. *De bello Jud.* VII. 6, 3, and Justin's *Dial. c. Tryph. Jud.* p. 311, ed. Colon. Josephus, in the first passage referred to, tells how these jugglers astonished even the emperor Vespasian and the Roman army.

³ "Sons" is here probably, according to the Jewish way of speaking, equivalent to disciples, followers; and the number seven may be accounted for by the notion, that devils to that number often took possession of one man and could be expelled only by an equal number of counteracting spirits.

perhaps the head of the Jewish community at Ephesus, and a master magician, desired, like Simon Magus, to turn the semblance of Christianity to account for their selfish purposes, and fancied they were able, by simply calling on the name of Jesus, without sympathy with his Spirit, to produce the same effect as Paul. But the attempt failed. The demon, which they thus exorcised, knew the difference of spirits. The demoniac fell upon the impostors with the almost supernatural muscular power, which often appears in possessed and delirious persons, and abused them so unmercifully, that they fled naked and wounded (v. 13-17). This unexpected demonstration made such an impression, that many, who had formerly made use of the arts of magic, believed in Jesus; nay, even a number of the Goëtae burned their books of magic, which were especially abundant in Ephesus, and the value of which amounted to fifty thousand drachms or denarii—about twenty thousand florins, or eight thousand dollars (v. 17-20). Considering the class of men and the circumstances, this was a splendid and most appropriate victory of light over darkness.¹

Paul was now intending to revisit Greece, and had already sent on into Macedonia his assistants, Timothy and Erastus (not to be confounded with the chamberlain of Corinth, Rom. 16 : 23), when the popular uproar arose against him, described in Acts 19 : 23 sqq. So fast as his preaching undermined idolatry, those who derived their support from idolatrous practices, and yet refused to forsake them, would necessarily break out against him. Thus, among other things, a check was put upon the extensive traffic in gold and silver models of the renowned temple of Diana, which were manufactured in great multitudes in Ephesus, and were a rich source of gain. The silversmith, Demetrius, who carried on this business on a large scale, stirred up his numerous workmen under the cloak of religion, and through them the common people, against the enemy of the gods, and set the whole city in motion. The populace shouting: "Great is Diana of the Ephesians!" first seized Gaius and Aristarchus, and dragged them to the Amphitheatre, where

¹ We cannot wonder, that Dr. Baur (p. 188 sqq.) can see in these strange events nothing historical, still less any evidence of the divinity of Christianity. For the evidence was not designed or adapted for such persons as he. Of Paul's labors among the Epicureans and Stoics of Athens nothing of the kind is recorded. But fortunately the world is not entirely made up of miracle-denying philosophers and skeptical critics. The grand aim of Christianity is, not to establish a new philosophical school, but to turn the wonder-seeking Jews, as well as the wisdom-seeking heathen, to a new life,—to redeem mankind. This could only be accomplished by a concurrence of internal evidence with external; and Paul himself expressly says in the 2nd epistle to the Corinthians, acknowledged even by Baur as genuine, 12 : 12, that he was accredited as an apostle by "signs and wonders and mighty deeds" (powers), comp. 1 Cor. 12 : 9, 10, 29, 30. Rom. 15 : 19. Mk. 16 : 17.

they were accustomed to hold public meetings. When Paul learned this, he was for exposing himself to save his companions and, if possible, allay the storm. But some of the magistrates, Asiarchs, as they were called, who this year had the oversight of sacred things and public plays in Asia, and who were his friends, dissuaded him. The confusion was increased by the interference of the Jews, who, being also enemies of idolatry, and concerned for their own security, sought to divert the popular rage from themselves to the Christians. Then the multitude cried still more vehemently for two hours: "Great is Diana of the Ephesians!"—though most of them knew not for what they were assembled. At last the recorder or chancellor of the city, by a skillful address, succeeded in vindicating the missionaries, who, it appears, never indulged in abusive language respecting the gods (v. 37); and thus the uproar was silenced.

From this occurrence we see, that the labors of Paul had already shaken the foundations of idolatry in those regions, and had made a highly favorable impression on the most distinguished and influential men, among whom were the Asiarchs and the secretary of the city.¹

§ 77. *The Epistles to the Galatians and Corinthians.*

While residing in Ephesus Paul wrote two of his most important epistles—that to the Galatians and the first to the Corinthians. He made the welfare of his remote churches an object of daily supplication and care, and he felt every joy and every sorrow of his spiritual children, as if it were his own (2 Cor. 11 : 28, 29). He, therefore, endeavored to exert his influence upon them continually; partly by sending his delegates and disciples to them, partly by correspondence.

Soon after his second visit to the Galatian churches,² Judaizing false teachers, those deadly enemies of the liberal apostle of the Gentiles, had found their way into them, undermined his apostolical standing, charged him with error and officiousness, and laid on the Gentile Christians the yoke of the Jewish ceremonial law. This sad intelligence caused Paul to send them, about the year 55, an autograph letter, full of holy indignation at this unfaithfulness of the Galatians to their Lord and

¹ About fifty years afterwards the younger Pliny, in a letter to Trajan (X. 97, al 96), lamented the decay of the heathen worship and the spread of Christianity in Asia Minor, though he thought, the evil might still be remedied, as many had in fact already gone back to their idolatry. Says he: "Multi enim omnis aetatis, omnis ordinis, utriusque sexus etiam vocantur in periculum et vocabuntur. Neque enim civitates tantum, sed vicos etiam atque agros superstitionis istius contagio pervagata est. Quae videtur sisti et corrigi posse. Certe satis constat, prope jam desolata templa coepisse celebrari, et sacra solemnia diu intermissa repeti, passimque venire victimas, quarum rarissimus emptor inveniebatur."

² Acts 18 : 23. Comp. the ταχέως, Gal. 1 : 6, and the τὸ πρότερον, Gal. 4 : 13.

his apostles, at their sinking back from the spirit to the flesh, from the freedom of the gospel to the bondage of the law ; but a letter, which breathed at the same time the tenderest love of a father, seeking to reclaim his wandering children. To accomplish his object, he enters upon a full vindication both of himself and of his cause. First he demonstrates his own apostolic dignity, as resting on a direct call and revelation from Christ, and as acknowledged by the older apostles themselves (1 : 1-2 : 14). Secondly, he draws out a masterly development of the gospel as distinguished from the law, and of the living faith, which alone makes us children of God and heirs of the promise (2 : 15-5 : 12). With this, however, he also warns the few in the congregation, who remained faithful to him, against pride, the abuse of their liberty, and uncharitable contempt for their brethren, who were otherwise minded (5 : 13-26). He then once more exhorts both parties ; entreats them to add no more to his heavy sufferings, which accredit him as a servant of Christ ; and closes with the benediction (c. 6).—We know not what effect this letter had. But it is one of the most important parts of the New Testament, and is still, for all Christians, one of the main sources of sound doctrine respecting the law and the gospel.

The circumstances of the Corinthian church had become, during the apostle's absence, more peculiar and complicated. Here the Christian life had developed itself pre-eminently in its wealth and splendor, and the church shone in the most variegated attire of spiritual gifts, like a field of flowers under the sun of spring. But there was a want of thoroughly formed and fixed character and solid earnestness, of regard for authority and order, of humility and mutual fraternal forbearance. The gospel had not yet entirely subdued and sanctified the old Grecian nature. Thus all sorts of imperfections had made their appearance ; partly by the force of former habits and of the peculiar temperament and turn of the Greeks ; partly through the influence of other teachers, such as Apollos, who continued substantially what Paul had begun, and some Judaizers, who endeavored, as in Galatia, only with greater subtlety, to undermine it. The lights and shades of the apostolic church, especially in its union with the Grecian nationality, here appear concentrated ; and the epistles to the Corinthians, accordingly, give us the most complete and graphic picture both of the social life of Christians in those days, and of the vast difficulties, which the apostles had to contend with, and which could be overcome only by the special aid of the Spirit of God.

Before writing his epistle to this church, Paul had paid it a second, but very short visit ("by the way," 1 Cor. 16 : 7). This is not men

tioned, indeed, in Acts, but it is made tolerably certain by several passages of the two epistles themselves; especially 2 Cor. 12 : 13, 14 and 13 : 1, where the apostle speaks of an intended *third* journey to Corinth, coinciding with the second of the Acts, c. 20 : 2. This second visit we may fix either with Baronius, Anger, and others, during Paul's first residence of a year and a half in Achaia (Acts 18 : 1-17), making it simply a return to the metropolis after an excursion in the surrounding country; or, as Neander is inclined to do, in the interval between this and his second arrival in Ephesus (Acts 18 : 18-19 : 1). But it is after all most probable, that the apostle, during his residence of almost three years in Ephesus (Acts 19), made a missionary excursion from there, in which he touched at Corinth.¹ Already had this visit given Paul painful evidence of the re-intrusion of pagan vices into that church under the garb of Christianity. But on his return to Ephesus, he heard still worse accounts, which caused him to write an epistle now lost, forbidding intercourse with professing Christians of licentious habits.² The Corinthians, in reply, laid before him their doubts about complying with this injunction, which they thought rather too sweeping, extending even to vicious persons out of the church; and at the same time made inquiries as to the disputed points of marriage, of eating meat offered to idols, and of spiritual gifts. Paul received, through this answer and the bearers of it, still more minute intelligence; sent Timothy to Corinth, intending himself soon to follow (1 Cor. 4 : 17, 19. 16 : 10. comp. Acts 19 : 21, 22); and shortly before leaving Ephesus (comp. 1 Cor. 16 : 8. 5 : 7, 8), perhaps about Easter of the year 57, wrote with many tears and much anguish of heart (2 Cor. 2 : 4) a long letter, which carries us into the very heart of a Christian community in its forming state, and gives us illustrious proof of the author's extraordinary wisdom as a teacher, and of the divine, all-conquering power of the gospel.

¹ So Rückert, Billroth, Olshausen, Meyer, Wieseler. Wieseler makes this tour extend to Crete, where Paul left Titus, and supposes, that on this journey, perhaps in Achaia, A. D. 56, the first epistle to Timothy was written, which presents so many chronological difficulties (*Chronologie der Apg.*, p. 314). The date of the epistle to Titus he fixes somewhat later, soon after Paul's return to Ephesus (p. 346 sqq.), between the two epistles to the Corinthians, between Easter and Pentecost of the year 57. This arrangement commends itself most, in case we give up the hypothesis of ■ second imprisonment at Rome, and are thus forced to place the composition of the two pastoral epistles *before* the first imprisonment.

² That the words *ἐγράψα ὑμῖν ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ*, 1 Cor. 5 : 9, refer to a former letter, is now the universal opinion of commentators. Equally fixed, however, is the spuriousness of the letter of the Corinthians to Paul, and Paul's answer, preserved by the Armenian church. For these treat of subjects entirely different from those with which the lost epistle of Paul, according to 1 Cor. 5 : 9-12, must have been occupied and they bear the evidence of being ■ second-hand compilation

§ 78. *Parties in the Corinthian Church.*

After congratulating the church on the abundance of its spiritual gifts, the apostle takes up first (1 Cor. 1 : 10 sqq.) the *divisions* which had sprung up among its members, and which he attributes to pride and over-valuation of the natural talents and peculiarities of individuals. Here we discern the great fickleness of the Greeks, their party spirit in politics, and their quarrelsomeness in philosophy, transferred to the sphere of Christianity. This spirit of disputation fitted the Greek church, indeed, to act an all-important part in the doctrinal controversies of the first five centuries ; but it was also one of the main causes of her subsequent decline. The apostle, in v. 12, mentions four parties. One called itself after Paul, another after Apollos, a third after Cephas or Peter, a fourth, in the same sectarian sense, after Christ. We may presume that the first two parties were composed chiefly of the Gentile Christians, who formed the majority of the church ; that the name of Peter was made the watchword of the Jewish Christians ; while the Christ party, nowhere else mentioned in the New Testament, is veiled in obscurity, and has given rise to very different conjectures.¹

1. The party of Paul, which was perhaps the most numerous and the most clearly defined in opposition to the other tendencies, doubtless adhered, indeed, to the doctrine of that apostle ; but some of them carried it to an extreme, boasting as the sole possessors of true knowledge and spiritual freedom ; roughly and uncharitably repulsing the more contracted Jewish Christians, whose views, nevertheless, had just claim to regard ; deriding their scrupulousness ; and, against the apostolic ordinance (Acts 15), wounding their consciences, by eating meat offered to idols (1 Cor. 8 : 1 sqq. 9 : 19 sqq. 10 : 23 sqq.).

2. The second party rallied around Apollos (Apollonius), an Alexandrian Jew. He had come to this city soon after Paul's first short visit to Ephesus, and, though then only a disciple of John the Baptist, had proclaimed the reign of the Messiah with glowing enthusiasm in the synagogue. More precisely instructed in Christianity by Aquila and Priscilla, and provided by the brethren with recommendations, he went to Corinth, taught there some time with great success, and then returned to Ephesus, where he had a personal interview with Paul.² Luke describes him as an eloquent man, learned in the Scriptures (Acts 18 : 24-28) ; and Paul also speaks very favorably of him as a faithful work-fellow, and

¹ Besides the work of Neander, I. p. 375 sqq., and the modern commentaries on the epistles to the Corinthians by Billroth, Rückert, Olshausen, Meyer, De Wette, we must mention particularly some learned and ingenious articles by Dr. Baur in the "Tübinger Zeitschrift," reprinted in his monograph on Paul, p. 260-326, which have led to a more thorough investigation of the character of the Christ party.

² Acts 18 : 24-28. 1 Cor. 1 : 12. 3 : 4, 22. 4 : 6. 16 : 12

urges him to return to Corinth. We may hence conclude with certainty, that, in his views of Christianity, Apollos agreed substantially with Paul, and built on his foundation. The difference between the two was not one of spirit and aim, but simply of peculiar gifts and modes of operating. Paul was specially fitted to lay the foundation, Apollos to carry up the building ; or, according to the apostle's figure, the former to plant the church, the latter to water it (1 Cor. 3 : 6). Add to this that Apollos,—as may be inferred from his parentage, and from the epithets applied to him by Luke and Paul,—having probably gone through the Alexandrian-Jewish school of theology, was better versed in the Greek language, and more rhetorical in his discourse.¹ Hence he has been regarded by many scholars, Luther first, and latterly Bleek, Tholuck, and De Wette,—though without any support from patristic tradition,—as the author of the epistle to the Hebrews, which is characterized by great beauty and eloquence of style, and striking allegorical interpretation. But the cultivated among the Corinthians made too much of this personal accomplishment, and were disposed to undervalue the more simple, unadorned preaching of the cross, which human nature, in its fancied wisdom and importance, condemns and treads under foot. Here we find the germ of the later school of Clement and Origen, which placed the Gnosis and Pistis, philosophical and popular Christianity, in a false position of antagonism. Most probably, therefore, what the apostle says against the desire of the Greeks for wisdom, and their over-valuation of knowledge and brilliant language (1 Cor. 1 : 18 sqq. 2 : 1 sqq.), was aimed, not indeed at Apollos himself, who certainly knew how to distinguish the true wisdom from the false, and who used rhetoric merely as a means to a higher end, but at his disciples, who went beyond him. A morbid admiration of philosophy and eloquence, moreover, was constitutional with the Greeks as a whole, the Christian portion among the rest.

3. These two parties of Paul and Apollos, accordingly, agreed in holding Gentile-Christian principles, but differed in their ways of apprehending and setting them forth. Over against them both stood the party of Cephas. To them Paul addresses himself from the ninth chapter onward, and he frequently combats it, either directly or indirectly, but in the most delicate manner, in his second epistle to the Corinthians. It consisted of Jewish Christians, who could not rid themselves of their old

¹ We do not at all mean to say, that Apollos was more gifted than Paul. The apostle was certainly his superior in genius, profundity, and dialectic power, and had also a rare energy and precision of style. But his gifts had not the dazzling exterior, nor his discourse the elegance, which particularly pleased the Corinthian taste ; and besides, in that very city he purposely laid aside all human art, and left the gospel to its own divine power

legal prejudices, and rise to the freedom of the gospel. Yet they do not seem, like the Galatian errorists, to have made circumcision and the observance of the whole ceremonial law the condition of salvation. At all events they did not come out openly with such doctrine. The Greeks had no susceptibility for this rigid, Pharisaic Judaism. They proceeded, therefore, more cautiously, directing their attacks entirely against the apostolical authority of Paul. This once undermined, they could then venture further. They pronounced Paul an illegitimate pseudo-apostle, and opposed to him, as the only true apostles, those who had enjoyed personal intercourse with Christ; who had been called and instructed by himself in the days of his flesh; above all, Peter, to whom the Lord had assigned a certain primacy. Of course Peter did not fall in with them, any more than did Paul with the light-minded Paulinians, or Apollos with the conceited Apollonians. His prominent position among the apostles of the Jews the false teachers perverted to their own ends against his will. Yet it is very probable, that some of them were personal disciples of Peter, and felt bound to him by gratitude; which also best accounts for the name of the party.

4. Far more difficult is it to determine the peculiar character of the Christ party, the *οἱ τοῦ Χριστοῦ*, respecting which we have no certain hints to guide us. Had they called themselves "of Christ" in the good sense, as also Paul, in opposition to all sectarianism and bondage to men, would be simply a disciple of Christ (1 Cor. 3 : 23), we should be saved all further inquiry.¹ But in this case Paul would have held them up as a pattern to the other parties; which he does not do. He rather counts them as a sect along with the three others, and immediately proceeds in the strain of censure: "Is Christ divided?" (1 Cor. 1 : 13). From this we must infer, that the Christ party made Christ himself a sectarian leader, and perverted his name, as the Pauline faction did that of Paul, the Apollonians that of Apollos, and the Petrines, that of Peter, for selfish party purposes. The simplest explanation of the name

¹ We should then have to suppose, that, while the other parties are saying: "I am of Paul," &c., the apostle interrupts and *corrects* them with the words: "But I am of Christ," 1 Cor. 1 : 12. But this is certainly a very forced construction. It is, however, worthy of attention, that the Roman bishop, Clement, a disciple of Paul and Peter, in his first epistle to the Corinthians, written towards the close of the first century, and occasioned likewise by divisions in the church, mentions only the first three parties, saying nothing at all of the Christ party. His words are: *Ἀναλάβετε τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ μακαρίου Παύλου τοῦ ἀποστόλου· τί πρῶτον ὑμῖν ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου* (i. e. when the gospel was first preached at Corinth) *ἔγραψεν; Ἐπ' ἀληθείας πνευματικῶς ἐπέστειλεν ὑμῖν, περὶ αὐτοῦ τε καὶ Κηφᾶ τε καὶ Ἀπόλλω, διὰ τὸ καὶ πῶς προσκλίτετε* (factiones) *ὑμῶς πεποιῆσθαι* (c. 47). Yet this silence may be accounted for by the fact, that, at the time when Clement wrote, the Christ party was no longer 'n existence; which is the more probable, if it consisted of personal disciples of Jesus

of this faction according to the analogy of the other sectarian names, would be the fact, if it could be proved, that this party, or at least its leaders, were personal disciples or auditors of Jesus, and prided themselves particularly on this knowledge of Christ after the flesh (2 Cor. 5 : 16). It is in itself very possible, that many of our Lord's hearers lived twenty or thirty years after his death, and were scattered amongst the Christian communities in the larger cities. But however this may be, the appellation warrants us in supposing, that this party made the name of Christ their watch-word, in an exclusive, sectarian sense, after the fashion of the North American sect of "Christians" or "Disciples of Christ;" or like the Weinbrennerians, who assume, in opposition to all the rest of Christendom, the arrogant title: "The Church of God." This, however, gives us very little satisfaction respecting their peculiar theological character; since the name of Christ and the appeal to the Bible must have been made, even at this early day, a cloak for all possible errors. On this point four different views have been proposed by Storr, Baur, Neander, and Schenkel respectively, which merit a detailed consideration. None of them, however, can give perfect satisfaction. For Paul makes no further mention of the Christ party; and the passages, which have been applied to it, may just as well be referred to the party of Peter. We here find ourselves, therefore, entirely in the region of exegetical and critical conjecture.

If we consider, that there existed in the apostolic age two great opposing forces, Gentile Christianity and Jewish Christianity, and the germs of the corresponding heresies of Gnosticism and Ebionism; that, furthermore, the first two Corinthian parties were simply different shades of the Gentile Christian tendency; we might easily conclude, that between the last two parties, also, there was no essential difference, and that the Christ party must accordingly be counted as Jewish-Christian. This view, however, admits of two modifications. Storr¹ supposes, that the party in question made James, the brother of the Lord (Gal. 1 : 19), their leader, and attached great importance to his consanguinity with Jesus. To this the "knowing Christ after the flesh" alludes (2 Cor. 5 : 13); and for this reason Paul speaks of the "brethren of the Lord" (1 Cor. 9 : 5), and of James in particular, along with Peter (1 Cor. 15 : 7). But in this case they must have styled themselves rather, *οἱ τοῦ κυρίου*, or *οἱ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ*, or still more accurately, *οἱ τοῦ Ἰακώβου* (comp. Gal. 2 : 12). We should also expect that the followers of James would lay far more stress on the law, than those of Peter; yet the epistles to the Corinthians nowhere come into conflict with a strictly legal tendency.

¹ *Opusc. acad.* II. p. 246. The same view is adopted by Flatt, Bertholdt, Hug, and Heidenreich.

Hence Baur identifies the Christ party with the party of Peter. The same members of the church, he thinks, called themselves after Cephas, because he stood at the head of the Jewish apostles, and at the same time after Christ, because they made immediate personal connection with Christ the grand mark of apostolical authority; for which very reason they refused to acknowledge Paul, who arose later, as an apostle of equal birth.¹ This view Baur ingeniously endeavors to substantiate by all those passages, in which Paul demonstrates, that he has the same right, as any other, to call himself an apostle of Christ; particularly 2 Cor. 10 : 7. But this hypothesis, with all its plausibility, has against it the fact, that Paul designates the parties of Peter and Christ as *two*, and therefore distinct.

If, on the contrary, we start from the name of the Christ party, which seems to contain an antithesis to the human names of the apostles, we rather reach the conclusion, that, *in an arrogant and arbitrary spirit, they rejected all human authority*, and, *in opposition to the followers of any apostle*, in opposition to the mediation ordained by God himself, were for holding simply to Christ. So a number of ancient and modern sects appeal to the Bible alone, against the church doctrine and symbols; while yet they take but a partial and distorted view of the Scriptures, through the spectacles of their own traditional preconceptions, and only add to the ecclesiastical divisions, against which they profess to contend.⁴

¹ *Paulus* p. 272 sqq. This view is adopted substantially by Billroth in his *Commentar zu den Korintherbriefen*, Credner in his *Einleitung in's N. T.*, and Schwegler. *Nachapost. Zeitalter*, I. p. 162. A peculiar modification of Baur's hypothesis is held by Thiersch (*die Kirche im apostolischen Zeitalter*, p. 143 sq.) He distinguishes, indeed, the Christ party from the Cephas party, but still takes them to have been Pharisaically disposed Judaizers, and the most violent personal opponents of Paul, who cast suspicion on his whole work, and were styled by him, in irony, "the very chiefest apostles;" nay, false apostles and servants of Satan (2 Cor. 11 : 13-15. 12 : 11). But it is very hard to think, that such malicious and dangerous men were all personal disciples of Jesus, as Thiersch, on the ground of the name of the party, supposes.

² It might not be amiss, perhaps, to illustrate this by an example from the history of the modern American sects. We mean the "Christians," who arose at the end of the last century, and whose name itself shows, that they aim to reject all human authority and abolish all lines of sect, though they, in fact, accomplish just the opposite. Some passages from the description given by one of their number in the *History of all the Relig. Denominations in the United States*, 2nd ed. Harrisburg, 1848, p. 164, will suffice to show their character in this respect: "Within about one half century, a very considerable body of religionists have arisen in the United States, who, rejecting all names, appellations, and badges of distinctive party among the followers of Christ, simply call themselves *Christians*. . . . Most of the Protestant sects owe their origin to some individual reformer, such as a Luther, a Calvin, a Fox, or a Wesley. The Christians never had any such leader, nor do they owe their origin to the labors of any one man. They rose nearly simultaneously in different sections of our country, remote from each other, without any preconceived plan, or even knowledge of each other's movements. . . . This singular coincidence is regarded by them as evidence that they are a people raised

But with this general result we shall have to be content. For a more definite knowledge of the Christ party we have no certain data.

We must, however, notice two more hypotheses lately propounded. The Swiss divine, Schenkel,¹ holds the "Christians" to have been false *mystics* and *visionaries*, who took their name not merely because they acknowledged the authority of no apostle, but also because their leaders, the "false apostles, deceitful workers," attacked by Paul in 2 Cor. 11 : 13, pretended to maintain, by visions and revelations, an immediate, mysterious communion with Christ, and thus threatened to substitute a subjective, ideal Christ for the historical one. De Wette, who here substantially agrees with his former pupil, puts them in the same category with the theosophic errorists in Colosse, and pronounces them Judaizing Gnostics. The proof of this is found particularly in the twelfth chapter of 2 Corinthians, where the apostle is forced to boast of his own visions in opposition to these enthusiasts. But this hypothesis rests upon a series of arbitrary and artificial combinations ; and the latter passage is evidently directed against the adversaries of Paul's apostolic authority *in general*. More simple and plausible is the supposition of Neander, that the Christ party consisted of wisdom-seeking Greeks, and embodied a philosophico-rationalistic tendency, which regarded Christ as a second and higher Socrates.² He identifies it with the opponents of the doctrine of the resurrection, who are attacked in the fifteenth chapter of the first epistle. These errorists, he thinks, probably conceived the resurrection as altogether spiritual and ideal, and as something already past (comp. 2 Tim. 2 : 17, 18) ; and this suits philosophically educated Greeks far better than Jews. A reference to the Sadducees seems to be forbidden here by the character of the apostle's entire argument, as compared with our Lord's way of refuting them from the Pentateuch, to which they appealed (Matt. 22 : 23 sqq). Rejection of the human media of divine revelation, appointed by God himself, almost always leads to a rationalistic tendency, if it does not start from one in the first place. We might refer for illustration to the Neo-Platonist, Por-

up by the immediate direction and overruling providence of God, and that the ground they have assumed is the one which will finally swallow up all party distinctions in the gospel church."

¹ In his tract : *De ecclesia Corinthia primaeva factionibus turbata*, etc. Basil. 1838. With him go De Wette, and, with some modification, Goldhorn and Dähne.

² *Ap. Gesch.* I. p. 395 sqq. So Olshausen in his *Commentar*, III. p. 478 sqq. The latter divine, however, is wrong, at all events, in supposing the Christ party to have been the most important in Corinth. For then we should assuredly have had clearer allusions to it, and Clement of Rome, intimately acquainted as he was with Paul and with the circumstances of the Corinthian church, would not have passed over it in perfect silence.

phyry, in the third century, also to some extent to the Manicheans, and in modern times to many Deists and Rationalists, who have imagined an antagonism between a Christianity of Christ, and a Christianity of the apostles and the church, and have explained the latter as a corruption of the former.¹ As already remarked, however, for want of sure data, this view of Neander, like the others, cannot rise to certainty, and labors under various difficulties, which Baur, in particular, has acutely brought out. The greatest objection to it is, perhaps, that the name of the Christ party seems to point to some specific outward relation to Christ, and thus to indicate rather a Jewish than a Gentile origin. And that a rationalistic tendency, which casts off all human authority, could proceed even from Judaism, is proved by Sadducism.

Besides this party spirit, Paul rebuked still other faults, not all necessarily connected with this,² yet more or less influenced by it, and checking the pure development of the Christian life. Among these we notice especially the incestuous connection of a church member with his step-mother (1 Cor. 5 : 1 sqq.), and unchastity in general (5 : 9 sqq. 6 : 12 sqq. 2 Cor. 12 : 21). Of this vice the people of Corinth, that πόλις ἐπαφροδιτοῦ, as *Dio Chrysostom* calls it in the bad sense, had the most inadequate and superficial conception ; for about the renowned temple of Venus in that city there lived upwards of a thousand priestesses as public prostitutes. This scandal in the church the apostle rebukes with overwhelming earnestness, requiring the exclusion of the offender from the congregation. He then goes on to censure the practice of carrying suits into heathen courts, instead of settling the difficulties before the tribunal of the church (1 Cor. 6 : 2 sqq.). The difference of opinion respecting the merit of the unmarried life he adjusts by conceding to that state in certain circumstances, according to his own view, the preference over the married state ; but without laying down a law about it for anyone (c. 7). As to participating in the sacrificial meals of the heathen, and eating meat which had been offered to idols, he recommends a charitable regard to weak consciences (c. 8 and 10). He next rebukes the unbecoming freedom of women in respect to covering the head (11 : 1 sqq.) ; the light treatment and profanation of the love-feasts on the part of the rich (11 : 17 sqq.) ; disorder in the worship of God, the over-valuation and vain parading of extraordinary spiritual gifts, especially that of tongues. Against this he holds up the truth, that all gifts are intended to subserve the glory of Christ and the edification of his people, and, in that incomparably beautiful picture in c. 12-14, drawn as with the pencil of a seraph, extols love as the most precious gift of all. Finally, in the fifteenth

¹ The "Christians," also, above noticed, fall in with Rationalism in many points, as in the denial of the Trinity and the divinity of Christ.

² As *Storr* and other commentators erroneously suppose.

chapter, in opposition to Epicurean and skeptical views, he treats of the resurrection of the body, and the complete development of the Christian church to the point where God becomes all in all. Then (c. 16), with an exhortation respecting the collection for the Christians in Jerusalem, with intelligence respecting himself, and with salutations, the epistle closes.

§ 79. *A New Visit to Greece. Second Epistle to the Corinthians.*

A. D. 57.

Some weeks after writing the first epistle to the Corinthians, about Pentecost of the year 57 (1 Cor. 16 : 8), Paul left Ephesus, intending to visit his churches in Greece, return thence to Jerusalem, and then go for the first time to the capital of the world (Acts 20 : 1. Comp. 19 : 21). Travelling first to Troas, he preached there some time. There he hoped, also, to meet Titus, whom he had sent to Corinth a little after Timothy (2 Cor. 12 : 18. 7 : 13-15), and to learn from him what impression his first epistle had made ; but in this he was disappointed (2 Cor. 2 : 12, 13). He then sailed to Macedonia (Acts 20 : 1. Comp. 1 Cor. 16 : 5), where he experienced, indeed, much outward and inward trouble (2 Cor. 7 : 5), but at the same time the joy of finding his churches in a flourishing condition. For they had approved themselves in tribulation, and, notwithstanding their great poverty, had joyfully contributed to the support of the churches in Judea, even beyond their power (2 Cor. 8 : 1-5). This collection was at that time a matter of special concern with the apostle, and he recommended it also very urgently to the Christians in Achaia (1 Cor. 16 : 1-3. 2 Cor. 8 and 9). In Macedonia he met his anxiously expected messenger, Titus, with accounts from Corinth, which were on the whole cheering.¹ His first epistle had given a salutary shock to the feelings of the largest and best part of the community, and awakened a godly sorrow (2 Cor. 7 : 6 sqq.). The incestuous person (1 Cor. 5 : 1) had been excommunicated by the majority, and now manifested penitence, so that the same majority besought Paul, that they might be allowed to treat him more mildly ; —a request which Paul, also, to save the penitent from despair and prevent a greater evil, gladly granted (2 Cor. 2 : 5-10). But, on the other hand, the Judaizing antagonists of the apostle were only the more embittered against him, and sought to impeach his purest motives,

¹ Timothy also appears with Paul in Macedonia during the writing of the second epistle to the Corinthians, and is named in the superscription. Probably he had already rejoined the apostle in Ephesus, according to expectation (1 Cor. 16 : 11), and had accompanied him from there. Several modern critics suppose, that Timothy, for some reason or other, did not get to Corinth at all. But the grounds for this opinion are untenable ; comp. Wieseler, l. c. p. 359 sqq.

accusing him of weakness and inconsistency, haughtiness and self-interest.¹

In this state of things Paul thought it advisable, during his stay in Macedonia, probably in the summer of the year 57, before appearing at Corinth in person,² to write once more to the Christians in Corinth and the whole province of Achaia (2 Cor. 1 : 1), and by this means to remove beforehand, if possible, every hindrance to a joyful and fruitful visit there. The contents of this epistle may be divided into three parts. In the first six chapters the apostle describes his late protracted perils in Ephesus, and his divine consolations under them ; advises the restoration of the penitent fornicator ; and then portrays the office of a gospel preacher, and his own conduct as an apostle. Chapters 8 and 9 treat of the collection of alms for the poor Jewish Christians in Jerusalem. In the third part (c. 10-13), he defends himself against the charges of the false apostles, and confronts their pretensions with his own self-denying labors and the revelations imparted to him.³

The second epistle to the Corinthians is less important for doctrine, than the first and the epistle to the Romans, but is the more interesting as an exhibition of the personal character of the apostle. None of his other letters give us so clear a view of his noble, tender heart, the sufferings and joys of his inward life, his alternations of feeling, his anxieties and struggles for the welfare of his churches. These were his daily and hourly care, as his children, whom he had brought forth in travail, and the mortification their conduct had caused him, far from cooling his affection for them, only inflamed his love and his holy zeal for their eternal salvation. The epistle is evidently the fruit, not so much of calm, clear reflection, as of deep and strong emotion, like the book of the prophet Jeremiah. Hence its abrupt, often obscure, and harsh, but fascinating and striking style ; its sudden transitions ; its bold strokes of light and shade in depicting spiritual states and experiences. Without this epistle, we should be ignorant of one of the essential traits of that incomparable man, whose heart was as warm and tender, as his mind was strong and profound.

Paul sent this letter to the Corinthians by Titus and two other brethren, charging them to complete the collection already begun for the Palestinian Christians (8 : 6-23. 9 : 3, 5). Perhaps late in the

¹ 2 Cor. 10 : 10 sq. 12 : 16 sqq. Comp. also 1 : 15 sqq. 3 : 1, and 5 : 12 sq.

² Comp. 2 Cor. 1 : 8. 2 : 12, 13. 7 : 5 sqq. 8 : 1-5. 9 : 2, 4.

³ Wieseler, l. c. p. 357 sq., endeavors to show, that Paul wrote only the second and third parts after meeting with Titus, and the first six chapters before this time, while he had as yet only the accounts which Timothy had given. In this way he explains Paul's recurring, shortly after mentioning the arrival of Titus (7 : 6 sqq.), to the effect of his previous letter, and his seeking, in part, to counteract those wrong impressions.

autumn of this year, after having extended his field of operations, personally or through agents, from Macedonia to Illyria, a province on the eastern coast of the Adriatic (comp. Rom. 15 : 19), he went himself to Hellas, and spent three months in Corinth and its vicinity (Acts 20 : 2 sq. Comp. 1 Cor. 16 : 6). Respecting his subsequent relation to this remarkable church, the history is silent. But we have another invaluable monument of his activity at this period in his epistle to the Romans. This letter was designed to prepare the way for his labors in the metropolis of the world, which he intended to visit in the ensuing year, 58 (Acts 19 : 21. 23 : 11. Rom. 1 : 13, 15. 15 : 23-28).

§ 80. *The Church at Rome, and the Epistle to the Romans.* A.D. 58

The exact *origin* of the *Roman* church, which plays a part of such extraordinary moment in ecclesiastical history, is veiled in mysterious darkness. We regard it as similar to the rise of the church at Antioch, which was originally an assembly of the disciples of the apostles and emigrant members of the church of Jerusalem, and was afterwards placed on a firmer foundation, and permanently organized by Barnabas, Peter, and Paul.¹ We should presume, that the news of the gospel reached Rome at a very early day. For the world's metropolis was a centre of confluence for all nations and religions; and Ovid could justly say: "Orbis in urbe erat."² In Rom. 16 : 7, also, among the Roman Christians, some are saluted, who became believers before Paul. It is even possible, though certainly not demonstrable, that the seeds of this congregation were sown on the birth-day of the church. For, among the eye and ear witnesses of the miracle of Pentecost, Jews from *Rome* are expressly enumerated (Acts 2 : 10); and these may have carried back with them to their homes the first news of Christianity. In this case the apostle Peter, who bore so prominent a part in the transactions of the day of Pentecost, would be certainly, in some sense, the founder of that church; and it is to be presumed that he continued to exert upon it, through his disciples, an important influence. But that Peter *himself* was in Rome *before* the year 63, it is utterly impossible to prove. In Acts 12 : 17 it is said, that, after his liberation from prison, shortly before the death of Herod Agrippa, therefore in the year 44, he left Jerusalem, and went into "another place." The history gives us no further information respecting his subsequent sphere of labor; and this chasm leaves room, indeed, for the supposition, that under the emperor Claudius, as we are first told by Eusebius, he made a *transient* visit to

¹ Comp. Acts 11 : 19-26. Gal. 2 : 11, and § 61.

² Athenaeus (*Deipnosoph.* I, 20) calls Rome πόλιν ἐπιτομὴν τῆς οἰκουμένης, the world in epitome, in miniature, where all cities might be seen collected, and where ὅλα εἰδὴ ἐθρῶς συνῴκισται.

the imperial city—(we say a *transient* visit ; for in the year 50 we find him again in Jerusalem, Acts 15, and somewhat later in Antioch, Gal. 2 : 11)—and labored among the many Jews collected there. But this supposition has against it the fact, that neither the Acts of the Apostles, nor the epistles of Paul, contain, even where we should certainly expect it, the slightest hint of any previous operations of Peter there ; but rather furnish clear proof of his absence between the years 50 and 63, as we shall hereafter (§ 93) more fully show. At all events, he cannot have been there when the epistle to the Romans was written, or Paul would certainly have mentioned him among his many personal friends in the salutations of c. 16. It is very doubtful, moreover, whether the apostle, whose professed principle it was to work independently, and not to encroach upon the domain of his colleagues,¹ would have written so long and important a letter to the Roman church, had it then already stood under the special personal direction of Peter.

The first clear trace of a formal Christian *congregation* in Rome has been rightly found by judicious historians in the edict of the emperor Claudius (41–54), banishing the whole body of Jews from the city, because they kept up a constant uproar at the instigation of “ Chrestus ”² Now we may, it is true, suppose the Chrestus, named by Suetonius as the cause of this perpetual tumult, to have been a seditious Jew then living, one of those political false prophets, who abounded in Palestine before the destruction of Jerusalem. But as no such person is otherwise known to us, and as it is a fact, that the Romans often used Chrestus for Christus,³ it is more than probable, that the same mistake is made also in this edict ; and the popular tumults must, accordingly, be referred to the controversies between the Jews and Christians, who were at that time in the view of the heathen not very distinct from one another. This is confirmed by Luke, who, in Acts 18 : 2, among the

¹ Comp. Rom. 15 : 20, 21. 2 Cor. 10 : 16.

² Suetonius : *Claud.* c. 25 : “ Judaeos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes Roma expulit.” This edict is mentioned by Luke in Acts 18 : 2, where Aquila and Priscilla are said to have come to Corinth in consequence of it, and that too not long (προσφύτως) before Paul’s first arrival there. hence about A.D. 52 (comp. § 74 supra). This date would be corroborated, if the edict, of which Suetonius speaks, were identical with the decree of the Senate *de mathematicis Italia pellendis*, assigned by Tacitus, *Ann.* XII, 52, to the year 52 ; and the probability of this identity is attempted to be shown by Wieseler among others : *Chronologie*, p. 125 sq.

³ Tertullian : *Apolo.* c. 3., and Lactantius : *Divin. Instit.* IV, 17. They wrongly derived Christus from *χρηστός* ; and by this etymological error Justin endeavored to prove the unrighteousness of persecuting the Christians for the sake of their name, which itself signifies “ good men ” (*Apol.* I. p. 136. Comp. Hug’s *Einleitung*, II. p. 391 sq.). That Suetonius, in his Life of Nero, c. 16, properly writes *Christiani*, is no proof that he would have avoided the above error in another passage, where he probably had an official document before him.

Jews banished from Rome in the year 51, names Aquila and his wife, Priscilla ; yet they were no doubt then already converted, since Paul was at once hospitably received by them. But, however this may be this edict must soon have lost all force, especially after the accession of Nero (A.D. 54), who, with his wife, Poppaea, favored the Jews.¹ Besides, Christianity had, in all probability, already taken root among the Gentiles, and that, doubtless, chiefly through the instrumentality of the disciples of Paul (comp. Rom. 16) ; and the Gentiles were not touched by this edict. A few years afterwards, A.D. 58, when the epistle to the Romans was written, the Roman congregation was already very numerous and important ; in fact, the most important church in what is properly called the West. This is clear from its wide-spread fame (Rom. 1 : 8) ; from the large number of its teachers (c. 16), and its different places of meeting (16 : 5, 14, 15) ; and from the transcendent doctrinal importance of the epistle. Add to this the fact, that in Rome the two leading apostles ended their sublime public career, and sealed it with their blood ;—and we have the historical and religious groundwork of the immense authority and influence, which the Roman church swayed already in the second and third centuries.

As to its *ingredients*, this church was, no doubt, like all the congregations out of Palestine, a mixture of Jewish and Gentile Christians (Rom. 15 : 7 sqq.). The presence of Jewish Christians is implied in Rom. 4 : 1, 12, where Abraham is designated as πατὴρ ἡμῶν ; 7 : 1–6, where Paul addresses those who know the law ; 14 : 1 sqq., where he recommends indulgence towards the weak in faith, who, like the Jewish Christians in Corinth (1 Cor. 8), abstain from meat and wine (probably the sacrificial flesh and wine placed before them when eating in company with the Gentiles), and scrupulously observe the Jewish feasts. That Rome, also, was not without its Judaizers, who opposed Paul and his liberal principles, is evident, partly, from the analogy of other churches, as those of Galatia and Corinth ; partly, from Rom. 16 : 17 sqq. ; and still more plainly from some passages of epistles written a few years after, during the Apostle's imprisonment in Rome, as Phil. 1 : 15 sqq. 2 : 20, 21. Col. 4 : 11. 2 Tim. 4 : 16. But the great majority of the congregation consisted, no doubt, of Gentile Christians. This is probable in itself ; since Rome was the centre of Heathendom, and maintained the most active intercourse with the chief seats of Paul's labors, Antioch, Asia Minor, and Greece. There are also clear indications of it

¹ Josephus describes Poppaea, by the term θεοσεβης, as a proselyte to Judaism (*Archæol.* XX. 8, 12) ; and informs us in his *Autobiogr.*, c. 3, that he himself was in great favor with her. Even as early as the end of the year 52, under Claudius, we find the younger Agrippa again in Rome, where he successfully defended the Jewish deputies against the baillif, Cumanus (*Josephus, Arch.* XX. 6, 2).

in the epistle, especially in such passages as Rom. 1 : 5-7, 13, where by the *ἔθνη*, among whom the apostle classes the Romans, we are, as usual, to understand Gentiles ; 11 : 13, 25, 28, where he particularly addresses Gentile Christians ; 14 : 1 sqq., where he exhorts them to be charitable towards the prejudices of the Jewish Christians ; 15 : 15, 16, where he derives his right to instruct and strengthen the Roman church from his call to be the apostle of the *Gentiles*. We may also suppose that, at least at that time, Paul's view of Christianity was the one which prevailed in Rome. For in c. 16 Paul salutes many there who were his followers and friends ; Aquila and Priscilla, who had returned from Ephesus to Rome, Epenetus of Achaia, and others. He moreover has a strong desire to visit that church (1 : 11, 15. 15 : 23) ; is on the whole satisfied with its practical Christianity (1 : 8. 15 : 14) ; finds no difference between its gospel and his (2 : 16. 6 : 17. 16 : 17, 25) ; and nowhere contends, at least directly, as in his epistles to the Galatians and Corinthians, against Jewish false teachers and personal opponents of his apostolical standing.¹

As Paul had for years cherished a desire to preach the gospel in the metropolis of the world,² he wished, in the mean time, before carrying out this design, to compensate and prepare for oral instruction by

¹ Dr. Baur (first in the "Tübinger Zeitschr." 1836, No. 3, and again lately in his work on Paul, p. 334 sqq.), and after him Dr. Schwegler (*Nachapost. Zeitalter*, I. p. 283 sqq.), have attempted to establish an entirely opposite view ; viz., that the Roman church consisted almost wholly of Jewish Christians, and followed the Petrine, or what in the theology of these writers is the same, the strictly Judaizing, Ebionistic tendency. This assertion stands or falls with Baur's entire conception of primitive Christianity, as being nothing but a Judaism, which believed in Christ as the Messiah, but was characterized by exclusiveness, bigotry, slavish observance of the law, and consequent hatred of Paul and his free gospel. It contradicts, moreover, all the ideas hitherto current respecting the scope and structure of the epistle to the Romans. This epistle, according to Baur, was intended as a defense of Paul's missionary operations against the particularistic prejudices of the Jewish Christians ; or, in Schwegler's rather more comprehensive terms, an apology for Paulinism in general, and a systematic refutation of the primitive Judaistic Christianity, or Petrinism. Both these scholars, accordingly, find the gist of the whole letter in the analysis of the historical development of the kingdom of God, c. 9-11, and regard the first eight chapters, which go into the very heart of saving doctrine, as merely an introduction to and basis for this ; whereas the apostle states clearly enough. 1 : 16, as the theme of his epistle, the far more momentous and comprehensive thought, that the gospel is a power of God to justify and save all sinners through faith. Respecting the details of the train of thought, compare especially the commentaries of Olshausen, Tholuck (4th ed.), Fritzsche, De Wette, and Philippi (*Einleitung*, p. xxi. sqq.), who all declare against Baur's hypothesis. This hypothesis, however, is characteristic of the Tübingen school, which has merely a philosophical and critical interest in Christianity, and overlooks the deep practical wants of our nature, which it is the main object of the Christian religion to relieve.

² Rom. 1 : 13, 15. 15 : 22 sqq. Comp. Acts 19 : 21.

sending a written communication ; and for this he had a favorable opportunity in the departure of the deaconess, Phebe, from Cenchreae near Corinth for Rome (Rom. 16 : 1). The grand object of the letter was the *positive exhibition of saving truth, of the great central doctrine of justifying, sanctifying, and saving faith in Jesus Christ, as the only ground of salvation for lost sinners, Jews as well as Gentiles* (1 : 16). To Rome, the mistress of the world, whose great importance for the future history of the church he clearly foresaw, Paul was not ashamed freely and fearlessly to proclaim the gospel as the only hope for humanity languishing under the curse of sin and death ; to announce Christianity as the absolute revelation, in which Heathenism and Judaism must merge, if they would have their deepest longings satisfied, and all their prophecies and types fulfilled. This epistle, therefore, presents the most complete and systematic view of Paul's theology, and is the most important dogmatic portion of the New Testament. We are far from denying, that, along with his main object, the apostle had regard also, particularly in the hortatory parts, to the special wants and faults of the congregation, with which he might easily have become acquainted through letters from his friends in Rome. Among these particular subjects' of animadversion were the disposition to resist the civil authority (c. 13) ; the doubts of weak believers (14) ; the narrow prejudices and carnal pretensions of the Jews (9 and 10) ; the incipient intrigues of the Jewish Christians (16 : 17-20) ; and the bickerings between them and the Gentile converts (15 : 7-9). But we must not make these polemical side-glances, these references to special circumstances, the main object of the epistle, and thus misplace the true point of view, from which it was written. In the epistle as a whole, the general scope as above stated, viz., the analysis of the doctrines of the sin of man, the redeeming grace of God in Christ, and the new life of faith, plainly occupies the foreground.

The train of thought is as follows : The apostle, immediately after the introduction, propounds his theme : The gospel, the power of God for the salvation of all men through faith (1 : 16, 17). He then treats (1) of the universal sinfulness of Gentiles and Jews, and their need of redemption (1 : 18-3 : 20) ; (2) of the provision of salvation, or the revelation of righteousness through Christ, especially through his atoning death, and of justifying faith in him, the second Adam, who has given us far more than we lost in the first (3 : 21-5 : 21) ; (3) of the moral effects of faith, or the marriage of the soul with Christ, of sanctification, of walking in the spirit, and of the blessedness of the state of adoption (6-8). Then follows (4) an exceedingly profound discussion of divine election and reprobation, and of the progressive development of the kingdom of God ;—a sort of philosophy of church history ;—the demonstra-

tion, that the rejection of the unbelieving Jews, through the unsearchable counsel of God, subserved the conversion of the Gentiles, and that, when the fulness of the Gentiles shall have come in, the hour of all Israel's redemption shall strike ;—whereupon the apostle breaks out into a rapturous eulogy of the grace and wisdom of God (9—11). Thus he had proved the last point of his theme (1 : 16), that the gospel is the power of God unto salvation "to the Jew first, and also to the Greek," the representative of the whole heathen world. (5) To this doctrinal portion, which forms the main body of the epistle, he adds, according to his custom, in c. 12—16, copious practical exhortations, closing with recommendations, greetings, benediction, and doxology.

The epistle to the Romans, therefore, like that to the Galatians, proceeds entirely from the anthropological point of view, the nature of man as in need of redemption, and his relation to the law of God. In this respect it is admirably adapted to the peculiar character and turn of the Latin church, of which Rome was so long the centre. The Oriental Greek church, in virtue of her propensity to speculation, took more to the later christological epistles of Paul to the Ephesians and Colossians, and still more to the writings of John, and developed from them with the greatest precision the fundamental doctrines of the nature of God, the Trinity, the Incarnation, and the relation of the two natures in Christ, while to anthropology and soteriology she paid very little attention. Then when it subsequently came the turn of the Western church to labor in the development of doctrine, she, led by the great Augustine, who so much resembled Paul, drew the material for her system of anthropology and soteriology, and for the more immediately practical doctrines of sin and grace, chiefly from the epistle to the Romans. And when, in the course of the Middle Ages, the Roman church, as once the Galatians, wandered from the path of the gospel back into Jewish legalism, from justification by faith to justification by works, it was pre-eminently the renewed study of the epistles to the Romans and to the Galatians, which armed the Reformers of the sixteenth century for the battle against all Pelagianism, and pointed the way to a deeper understanding of the doctrine of salvation, of the nature of the law and the gospel, of faith and justification. The epistle to the Romans, too, has ever since continued to be the main bulwark of evangelical Protestantism ; though by this we by no means intend to say, that Protestantism has everywhere rightly conceived and has already thoroughly fathomed its contents.

§ 81. *The Fifth and Last Journey to Jerusalem.* A.D. 58.

After staying three months in Achaia, Paul set about the execution of his purpose, to go once more to Jerusalem, to wind up his labors in the East, and then to carry the gospel to Rome and Spain (Rom. 15 : 22-25). For this visit to Jerusalem he had both an outward occasion, and an inward motive. In the first place, the collection for the poor Jewish Christians, which had been gathered during the past year, and which proved a large one, he wished himself to carry, that, with this supply for their bodily wants, he might also give the mother church a practical testimony of the grateful love and pious zeal of the Greek Christians, and, so far as in him lay, knit more firmly together the two grand divisions of the church.¹ The perfect healing of the inward schism, which, through the persevering machinations of the Judaizers, threatened continually to break forth anew, must have appeared to him, with his conception of the church as the body of Christ, to be, even in itself, worth any effort and sacrifice, and at the same time indispensable to the further successful propagation of the gospel. But to this outward occasion was added the being "bound in spirit," of which the apostle speaks in his farewell address to the elders of Ephesus (Acts 20 : 22) ; that is, an indefinable inward constraint, in which he recognized a higher impulse from the Holy Ghost, to go to meet the event which should decide his own fate,—the arrest at Jerusalem. Hence he gave no ear to the voices, which would deter him from this journey ; convinced, that even the bondage and tribulation, which awaited him in Jerusalem, must redound to the glory of God and the good of the church (20 : 23, 24. 21 : 13, 14).

Paul, therefore, leaving Corinth in the spring of the year 58, spent the season of Easter in Philippi, where he again met with Luke, and then sailed with him² to Troas, whither his seven companions, Sopater, Aristarchus, Secundus, Caius, Timothy, Tychicus, and Trophimus, had gone before by the direct sea route (Acts 20 : 4-6). There he remained a week with the church founded by him a year before, strengthening it by his exhortations, and by the miraculous resuscitation of the young man, Eutyches, who, during a discourse protracted beyond midnight, had fallen asleep in the window and been precipitated into the street. As the apostle wished to be in Jerusalem at Pentecost, he sailed along the coast by Ephesus, but sent for the elders of this and perhaps the neigh

¹ 1 Cor. 16 : 3, 4. 2 Cor. 9 : 12-15. Rom. 15 : 25-27.

² For at c. 20 : 6 Luke suddenly resumes the "we" in his narrative, which had given place to the third person at Paul's first departure from Philippi (17 : 1). The minuteness of the subsequent description of the journey, also, bespeaks an eye witness

boring churches,¹ to meet him at Miletus, a maritime city of Ionia, lying somewhat further south.

Here, in the face of the dangers which threatened him, and with the mournful presentiment that he should never see them again, he delivered to them a hortatory and apologetic *valedictory* (Acts 20 : 17-38), which breathes the most touching love for his spiritual children and the most faithful care for the future welfare of the church. He first reminded the bishops of his labors in Ephesus; how, from the first day of his residence there, with all possible humility, and in the midst of many tears and temptations, caused particularly by the waylayings of the Jews (this is merely hinted at in Acts 19 : 9), he had unremittingly served the Lord, and had withheld from the church nothing which was needful for its spiritual profit, but had preached publicly and in private circles the whole way of life (v. 18-21). An apostle could, doubtless, without any violation of humility, point to himself, and through himself to the Lord, as the highest example,² as, indeed, true humility in any one consists not so much in ignoring his own virtue, as in referring it to its source, the free, unmerited grace of God, and in feeling his entire dependence on that source.³ He then announces to them (v. 22-25) his separation from them, which was to be forever. For from church to church as he passed along (comp. 21 : 4, 11), prophetic voices predicted, that bonds and afflictions awaited him. But he allowed them not to stop him. He was prepared to finish his course of witness-bearing with joy, and to sacrifice his life in the service of the Saviour. The words, v. 25 : "I know that ye all shall see my face no more," are, we may add, no certain evidence against those, who advocate a second imprisonment of Paul in Rome, and suppose, that, after being liberated from the first, he again came into Asia Minor (2 T.m. 4 : 13, 20). For the infallible foreknowledge of the future, especially in personal matters, is not one of the

According to the opinion of Irenaeus, who understands by *ἐκκλησίας*, 20 : 17, not merely the Ephesian congregation, but the whole church of Asia Minor, and makes Paul hold a formal council; as we must infer from his words: "In Mileto convocatis episcopis et presbyteris, qui erant ab Epheso et a reliquis proximis civitatibus" (*Adv. haer.* III. 14. § 2). The transaction can in no case, indeed, be regarded as formal; but the supposition, that other churches in the neighborhood besides that of Ephesus were represented, is favored by the phrase *ἐν οἷς διήλθον*, v. 25. And it is in itself, too, very probable, that Paul, either from Ephesus as a centre, or before and after his residence there, had planted churches in the surrounding region.

² Comp. 1 Cor. 4 : 16. Phil. 3 : 17. 1 Thess. 1 : 6. 2 Thess. 3 : 9.

³ The familiar expression of Luther : "True humility never knows that it is humble; for if it did, it would be proud of contemplating this beautiful virtue,"—does not well consist with this conduct of Paul, nor with the Saviour's declaration : "I am meek and lowly in heart." It is much more applicable to innocence.

necessary marks of an apostle ;¹ and the epistles written during the apostle's confinement at Rome show, that he was uncertain respecting the issue. Here, in the sorrowful hour of departure, his prevailing feeling was, that the separation was final. Hence he exhorts the elders or bishops the more earnestly and emphatically to watchfulness over themselves,—lest, having preached to others, they themselves should be cast away,—and to the faithful and disinterested care of the church, which the Holy Ghost had committed to them, and which the Lord had purchased with his own blood (v. 26–35). This exhortation, which must be regarded as the main design of the address, he enforces by pointing forward to the false teachers, who, after his departure, would intrude upon them from without, nay, rise up from among themselves,² and, like fierce wolves, destroy the flock (29, 30). This must, without question, be understood of the Judaizing Gnostics, or their forerunners, who are attacked openly in the Pastoral Epistles and the epistle to the Colossians,³ and more covertly and indirectly in the epistle to the Ephesians and the writings of John. The conditions of such an adulteration of Christianity with foreign elements were all at hand in Ephesus, where Jewish and heathen superstition and magic had fixed one of their chief centres.⁴ After thus showing the dangers which threatened the church, the apostle commends his hearers to the protection of Almighty God, and once more presents for their imitation the example of his three years' labor. He reminds them how with the most unwearied care and the most disinterested devotion he served the Lord and his people ; earned with his own hands the sustenance of himself and his companions ; and in so doing experienced abundantly the truth of a saying of Christ not recorded in the Gospels : “It is more blessed to give, than to receive ;”—that is, it makes one more happy to be in want and to starve from love for others, than to possess and enjoy at others' expense ; which is absolutely true of God, the Giver of every good gift and the Fountain of all happiness (31–35).⁵

¹ Comp. Acts 20 : 22, where the contrary is intimated : “And now, behold, I go bound in the spirit to Jerusalem, *not knowing* the things that shall befall me there.”

² The ἐξ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν we must refer either to the presbyters themselves, immediately addressed, or to the Christian churches represented by them. The former reference is plainly the more natural ; and this leaves the less room for the inference, that the first epistle to Timothy, which presupposes the actual presence of false teachers, was not written till *after* the valedictory at Miletus. For in this epistle not a word is said of heretical *presbyters* ; and even in 1 Tim. 4 : 1 sqq. comp. 2 Tim. 2 : 16 sqq., 3 : 1 sqq., which agree with Acts 20 : 29, 30, the apostasy from the faith is represented rather in the spirit of prophecy, as something to arise “in the latter times.”

³ 1 Tim. 1 : 4, 20. 4 : 1 sqq. 2 Tim. 2 : 16 sqq. 4 : 3 sq. Tit. 1 : 10 sqq. 3 : 9 Col. 2 : 8 sqq.

⁴ Comp. § 76 *supra*.

⁵ Even this masterly discourse and the ensuing parting scene, which, for every unprejudiced mind, carry in themselves the clearest marks of genuineness and primitive

Then, as Luke depicts the scene in the simplest, yet most expressive and touching words (v. 36-38), the apostle knelt down, prayed with his spiritual children, and parted from them with warm embraces and tears.

A similar parting scene occurred at the Phenician commercial city, Tyre, where the ship discharged her cargo. After vainly endeavoring to keep him from pursuing his journey, the brethren, with their wives and children, accompanied him with heavy hearts to the harbor, and knelt down with him on the shore, and prayed (21 : 3-5). In Caesarea Stratonis Paul again staid some days with his attendants in the house of Philip, the evangelist, one of the seven first deacons of the church at Jerusalem ; and here also he was warned of the impending danger. The prophet, Agabus of Judea, the same who had predicted the famine of the year 44 (11 : 28), bound himself hand and foot with Paul's girdle,¹ and said : " Thus saith the Holy Ghost, So shall the Jews at Jerusalem bind the man that owneth this girdle, and shall deliver him into the hands of the Gentiles " (21 : 11). Here the members of the church and Paul's companions, from the impulse of their own hearts, united in beseeching him, urgently and with tears, not to go to Jerusalem. But he felt compelled to obey his inward desire and the voice of duty, rather than the counsel of friends and disciples, though it proceeded from pure love to him and regard for the welfare of the church, and therefore deeply moved his full heart. He was ready not only to be bound, but

antiquity, is not left untouched by the radical skepticism of Dr. Baur, but is pronounced the bungling work of a later hand (*Paulus*, p. 177 sqq.). His grounds are (1) A supposed contradiction between the presentiment of death there expressed and the joyful hopes of new labor even away in Spain, appearing in the epistle to the Romans, c. 15 : 22 sqq., which was written shortly before. But, in the first place, Baur has no right at all to appeal to the fifteenth chapter of Romans ; for he rejects it as not written by Paul. And besides Rom. 15 : 31 does, in fact, express the apprehension of dangers, which threatened the apostle from the unbelieving Jews in Jerusalem, and in view of which he solicits the intercessions of the Roman Christians. Nor does the parting address at Miletus go essentially beyond these indefinite apprehensions (comp. Acts 20 : 22 : τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ συναντήσουτά μοι μὴ εἰδώς) ; only, in consequence of the preceding warnings by the voices of prophets and in view of his approaching departure, which fills every noble, loving heart with pain, these apprehensions very naturally become for the moment the prominent object (2) The reference to the false teachers, v. 29, 30 ; which, however, by its very indefiniteness gives evidence of high antiquity ; aside from the corroboration of it by the Pastoral Epistles, whose spuriousness Baur has by no means proved. A later author, who lived in the midst of the already developed heresies, would certainly have put into the mouth of Paul a far clearer and more extended description of them.

¹ This symbolical action was intended the more impressively to present before the eyes of the bystanders the approaching arrest, as an actual reality. Similar dramatic prophecies occur in the Old Testament ; e. g. the yokes of Jeremiah (27 : 2) ; the secret digging through the wall by Ezekiel (12 : 5).

also to die, for the name of the Lord Jesus. The brethren finally submitted to the will of the Lord. Some of them accompanied the apostle on his last journey to the city "which killed the prophets and stoned them which were sent unto it." With one of the oldest Christians, Mnason of Cyprus, the missionaries to the Gentiles found a hospitable reception and lodging.

§ 82. *The Arrest of Paul.* A.D. 58.

We here reach a point, which forms an epoch in the life of Paul. For twenty years he had preached the gospel, as an itinerant missionary, from city to city, from land to land, and by the grace of God had labored more than all the other apostles (1 Cor. 15 : 10). Henceforth he was to serve his divine Master yet several years in chains and in prison, till at last he should glorify Him by martyrdom. This second part of his apostolic life, like the first, has been an incalculable blessing to the church, not only of his own day, but of all ages, and gives, if possible, still stronger proof of the power of his faith and the divine character of the Christian religion.

He came to Jerusalem as a messenger of peace ; full of anxious love for his kinsmen according to the flesh, for whose conversion, could it thus have been effected, he was ready himself to undergo the punishment of the damned (Rom. 9 : 3). He came, also, laden with the liberal gift of the Grecian brethren to the poor churches of Judea, and animated with a sincere desire for the firmer union of all the Christians. But he had to meet a bitter experience of the ingratitude of the world and the false brethren. The persecution proceeded from the unbelieving Jews who thirty years before had crucified the Lord of glory himself. They hated the apostle as an apostate from the law and a rebel against the authority of God. They followed him with the same blind fanaticism, in which he himself had once vainly labored to exterminate the infant society of Christians. But as the Saviour was betrayed by one of his own disciples, and denied in the hour of danger by another, so here it would seem, that the narrow-minded, Pharisaical portion of the Jewish *Christians* were accomplices in the arrest of Paul, while the more liberal portion forsook him from fear of men. For we have, in fact, already found the former his bitterest enemies, taking all pains to undermine his reputation and his influence ; and as to the others, we at least have no account of their having put in so much as a word with either the Jewish or the heathen magistrates in behalf of the captive servant of Christ. But this is the more strange, since James, with his elders, states the number of converted Jews in Jerusalem to have been many myriads, or tens of thousands (Acts 21 : 20). This may, indeed, be taken merely as

a natural hyperbole to denote an indefinite multitude, and as including also the Jewish Christians of the whole vicinity, as well as those from other countries, who were present at the feast ; still, with all we know of the later history of the church at Jerusalem,¹ the number seems in credibly large, unless we assume, that at least a considerable part consisted of those, who had been baptized, indeed, as Christians, with water, but not with fire, and hence, in the critical hour, either fell back into proper Judaism, or propagated themselves as an Ebionistic sect. That the disposition to apostatize was very strong, we see from the epistle to the Hebrews, which was addressed to the Jewish Christians of Palestine, and written, though not by Paul himself, yet by one of his disciples under the immediate influence of his own spirit. We have reason to suppose, that the appearance of Christ after his death had a powerful effect also on the great mass of those, who, though they had been offended with him in his humiliation, were yet expecting, from his speedy return, the fulfillment of their carnal Messianic hopes, and hence outwardly assumed the Christian name, without any change of mind or heart. The more necessary, therefore, was the fearful crisis of the Jewish war, to put an end to this mock peace between Judaism and Christianity, and to sift out the true confessors of Jesus from the false.

On the very first day after his arrival Paul went, with his company, to James, the presiding officer of the Christian community at Jerusalem, and related to him and the elders assembled with him the blessed result of his labors among the Gentiles. For this they praised God (Acts 21 . 20) ; for James, as we learn from the transactions of the apostolic council, and from the epistle to the Galatians, fraternally acknowledged the peculiar gifts and mission of Paul, though he confined his own labors to the Jews, and, for himself, adhered strictly to the Old Testament forms of piety. But not all the members of the church were of this mind. Among many, and, it would seem, among the majority of them, there prevailed strong prejudices against the apostle of the Gentiles. They suspected him, not only of absolving the Gentiles from all allegiance to the law of Moses, but also of seducing all the foreign Jews to apostatize from it, and of forbidding them to circumcise their children. Now it is assuredly true, that he had laid down and continually acted upon the principle, that man is saved by faith in Jesus Christ alone without the deeds of the law ; and in this Peter and all the apostles agreed with him (Acts 15 : 11). This principle must, in time, bring about the abolition of the ceremonial law even for the Jewish Christians. But Paul was far from attempting to effect this abolition suddenly and forcibly. He left it rather to the inward development of the spirit of the gospel,

¹ At the time of Origen, and according to his estimate (*In Joann.* T. I. § 2), the number of converted Jews in the whole world did not amount to 144 000

as he himself plainly enough declared, when he said : " Is any man called being circumcised ? let him not become uncircumcised. Is any called in uncircumcision ? let him not be circumcised. Circumcision is nothing, and uncircumcision is nothing, but the keeping of the commandments of God. Let every man abide in the same calling wherein he was called " (1 Cor. 7 : 18-20). Nay, he several times accommodated himself to the Jewish forms, as in the circumcision of Timothy (Acts 16 : 3), save where it was maintained, that circumcision, or any observance of the ceremonial law, was necessary to salvation. The above accusation was, therefore, only half true, and was based upon a hasty inference from the doctrine of Paul, and perhaps upon some practical examples among those Jewish Christians, who were disposed to go further in shaking off the old yoke, than he himself, under existing circumstances, held to be wise and prudent.

James, who had much at heart the preservation of harmony in his flock and the welfare of his " brother," Paul, accordingly advised him to join in the ascetic exercises connected with the Nazarite vow (comp. Num. 6 : 1-21), which just then, as by a providential juncture, four poor members of the church had assumed ; to bear for them the expense of the sacrifice for purification, which passed for a work of merit ; and in this way to present a practical refutation of the dangerous charge against him. In this advice, James had no thought of encroaching on the freedom of the Gentile Christians. Hence his reference to the decree of the apostolic council (Acts 21 : 25, comp. 15 : 20, 29). But of Paul, as a Jew by birth, he thought such a submission to an ordinance of Moses might reasonably be expected, especially as the Lord himself had voluntarily obeyed the law. Paul, who, indeed, had come to Jerusalem with thoughts of love and peace, followed this well-meant counsel, submitted to the privations of the Nazarites, and the next day announced to the priests the time when the vow was to be accomplished and the closing sacrifice presented. Of course he did this not merely out of accommodation to the weakness of his Jewish brethren, but with good conscience, as in fact on other occasions he voluntarily applied to himself the discipline of the law,¹ though without any view of thus earning salvation.

This is the conception hitherto current of the paragraph in Acts 21 : 18-26. But we prefer another explanation,² according to which Paul *did not become a Nazarite at all*, but only bore the expense of the sacrifice for the four Nazarites, whose vow, which had been previously made (comp. v. 23), expired on the following day (v. 26). In this case the *ἐγρέσθητι*, which James demands of Paul (v. 24), is to be understood of

¹ Acts 18 : 18. Comp. above, § 76, especially the second note.

Recently proposed by Wieseler in his *Chronologie*, p. 105 sqq

the customary purification, which preceded the offering of sacrifice and every visit to the temple, especially the celebration of a feast ;¹ and the somewhat difficult verse, 26, must be translated : " Then Paul took the men, and after he had on the next day purified himself with them, he went into the temple, to announce the accomplishment of the days of the Nazarite (and remained there), till the gift had been presented for every one of them." This admirably suits the aorist (*προσηνήχθη*), which seems to indicate the actual offering of the sacrifice on this day, and therefore the expiration of the vow. In the other interpretation this verb must be taken as future (*donec offeretur*); in which case, however, in a conditional clause with *εως ου*, like this, we should by all means expect the subjunctive (comp. 23 : 12, 21. 25 : 21). Then again, it is expressly observed in 24 : 18, that the apostle was arrested the *same* day, in which he, being purified (*ἡγιασμένον*, comp. the *ἁγισθεῖς*, 21 : 26), was sacrificing in the temple. Finally, this view relieves the case, at least in a measure, of the offensiveness which attaches to the idea of the apostle Paul's being a formal Nazarite. Though certainly even his participation, his aid in the mere closing ceremony of the vow, involved a virtual, relative approval of it, and of the Jewish form of piety, to which it belonged.

Thus did the two apostles, from different starting points, meet here on the same conservative, pacific ground. While we must certainly esteem and admire their condescending love and indulgence towards the weak, and their self-denying regard for the unity of the church,² we may yet leave room for the opinion, that perhaps on this occasion, both of them, one in counselling, the other in acting, carried their accommodation too far. As their own explicit declarations, and the well-known temporary dispute of Paul with Peter, Barnabas, and Mark (comp. § 70), forbid our acquitting the apostles of all human infirmity, we may ask, with all modesty and reverence : Might not, nay, must not their conduct in this case have tended to confirm the zealots for the law in their unevangelical error, in the persuasion, that the observance of the Mosaic ceremonies was necessary to salvation ? Should not James rather have upheld Paul in his principles, and fearlessly endeavored to purge away the old leaven of the Pharisees ? And did not Paul here, on his own principles, —though certainly encompassed with far greater dangers—commit the same fault, for which he so sharply rebuked Peter at Antioch ? Had it

¹ Comp. 1 Sam. 16 : 5. Ex. 19 : 10. 2 Macc. 12 : 38. Jno. 11 : 55.

² In regard to this disposition of the apostles to yield to the weak Jewish believers, R. Stier says : " Would that this disposition had prevailed in the time of the reformation ! There would no more have been two evangelical churches opposed to one another, than there were then a Pauline and a Petrine church of God !" (*Die Reden der Apostel*, Part II. p. 219).

not been better, if he had firmly withstood these half-Christians, as formerly, when they demanded the circumcision of the Gentile, Titus? (Gal. 2 : 5). Though these doubts, however, certainly very naturally suggest themselves, we have to consider, on the other side, first, that the record of Luke is far too summary, and gives us too little light on the particular circumstances of the church at Jerusalem, to warrant such unfavorable inferences. Secondly, the position of James, as his martyrdom a few years after shows, was at all events one of extreme difficulty ; since, amidst the growing obduracy of the nation, and in sight of its impending doom, he still had to stand—for this was his proper mission—as the connecting link between the old and the new dispensations, to rescue as many as possible from the destruction. And finally, as to Paul, he was here not in his proper Gentile-Christian field of labor. His conduct on other occasions proves that he was far from allowing himself to be restricted in this field. He reserved to himself entire independence in his operations. But he stood now on the venerable ground of the Jewish-Christian mother church, where he had to respect the customs of the fathers and the authority of James, the regular bishop. Clearly conscious of already possessing righteousness and salvation in Christ, he accommodated himself, with the best and noblest intentions, to the weaker brethren. Though himself free, he became to them, that were under the law, as under the law ; to the Jews, a Jew ; to those who were not free, a servant, that he might gain some, according to his own maxim, 1 Cor. 9 : 19-23. Should he, therefore, in this particular instance, have yielded too much, it would at all events not have been a betrayal of his convictions,—this is precluded by the firm, logical consistency of his character,—but a personal sacrifice for the great end of the peace and unity of the church. And surely this sacrifice must have been duly appreciated by the more moderate and noble-minded of the Jewish Christians.

The enmity of the Jews against Paul, however, was too deeply rooted to allow them to be propitiated by this approach to their religion. Before the end of the Pentecostal week,¹ the Jews of Asia Minor, who

¹ Here arises the question, to what are the perplexing "seven days," 21 : 27, to be referred? They are commonly understood to mean the whole duration of the vow of the four brethren. But this is at variance with Jewish usage. The vow of a Nazarene was either for life, or at least for *thirty* days. Grotius, Kühnöl, and De Wette suppose, therefore, that the brethren at that time had seven days of their vow still remaining to be fulfilled, and that Paul joined himself to them only for this remainder ; and De Wette thinks, that the priests, at their own discretion, allowed a shorter time to those, who defrayed the expenses of the vow. But no proof can be brought for such a custom ; and besides, this hypothesis conflicts irreconcilably with the statement of *twelve* days (24 : 11), as intervening between Paul's departure from Cæsarea for Jerusalem and the sixth day of his confinement in Cæsarea. These must be reckoned

were present at the feast, and who might have already persecuted the apostle of the Gentiles in Ephesus, raised a wild uproar against him, and seized him in the temple, crying : " Men of Israel, help : this is the man that teacheth all men everywhere against the *people*, and the *law*, and the *temple*, which he has desecrated." The fanatics groundlessly inferred from his association with the Gentile Christian, Trophimus, likewise a native of Asia Minor (20 : 4. 2 Tim. 4 : 20), that he had brought Greeks into the sanctuary, which was forbidden under penalty of death.¹ The furious multitude dragged him from the temple, that it might not be polluted with blood, abused him, and would undoubtedly have killed him, had not the tribune of the Roman garrison, which was stationed in the neighboring castle of Antonia, northwest of the temple, hastened to the spot in time with his soldiers and captains. Claudius Lysias,—as the chiliarch is called in 23 : 26,—rescued the witness of Jesus Christ from the enraged populace, and had him brought, bound with two chains, to the castle. How favorably the orderly, law-abiding disposition of the heathen Roman here contrasts with the unbridled rage of the degenerate people of God ! Paul now from the stairs of the castle delivered an address in Hebrew (22 : 1–21), hoping by the simple story of his conversion from the strictest Pharisaism to the Christian faith, and by the description of the great things God had wrought among the heathen by the preaching of the gospel, to calm in some measure the excited multitude. But when he came to his divine call to be the apostle of the Gentiles, which was communicated to him by a vision in the temple, the tumult broke forth afresh, and the mob stormily demanded his execution. The tribune, who at first took him for an insurgent, was about to have him scourged, to make him confess his crime. But Paul knowing the protection which the Roman law afforded him, declared, as he had done

thus : two days, for his journey to Jerusalem ; the third day, for his interview with James (21 : 18–25) ; the fourth (probably Pentecost), for the offering in the temple with the Nazarites, and for the arrest (21 : 26–22 : 29) ; the fifth, for the hearing before the Sanhedrim (22 : 30–23 : 11) ; the sixth, at nine o'clock in the evening, for the departure for Cæsarea (23 : 12–31) ; the seventh, for his arrival there (23 : 32–35) ; and the remaining five days he had already spent in prison there, when Ananias arrived from Jerusalem (24 : 1–23). This would leave, we see, only one day, instead of the supposed seven, for the Nazariteship of Paul. Under these circumstances, Wieseler seems to me to give the proper solution of the difficulty, when he tells us (l. c. p. 110), that by the *ἐπὶ ἡμέραι* Luke means the *Pentecostal week* ; which he might presume to be clear to his readers from the connection, since he had shortly before (20 : 16) noticed Paul's intention of keeping this feast.

¹ On the pillars of the porch of the Israelites stood the warning in Greek and Latin : " No foreigner (one not a Jew) may enter the sanctuary," (*Joseph. De bello Jud. V. 5, 2*). According to Philo and Josephus, the Jews had, or at least claimed, the right to put to death every Jew, even a Roman, who profaned the temple by transgressing this prohibition.

on a former occasion (16 : 37), that he was a Roman citizen, and escaped this disgrace.¹

§ 83. *Paul before the Sanhedrim.*

The next day Lysias brought the prisoner before the assembled Sanhedrim. Here Paul conducted with dignity and sagacity. He thought at first to defend himself in a regular discourse ; but in this he was rudely and unlawfully interrupted by the presiding high-priest, Ananias, a proud and cruel man, who afterwards fell by the hand of an assassin in the Jewish war. This man commanded him to be smitten on the mouth ; whereupon Paul let fall the words : " God shall smite thee, thou whited wall !" (23 : 3) i. e. thou hypocrite, white outside, but inwardly filthy, whose behavior is unbecoming thy sacred office. However suitable and deserved this reproof may have been, it nevertheless betrays a passionate excitement, which ill compares with the calm dignity and resignation of Jesus under a still greater provocation (Jno. 18 : 22, 23),² and was inconsistent with the respect due to the representative of the high-priesthood. This Paul himself felt, and instantly rebuked his own rashness by quoting a passage of Scripture : " Thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of thy people " (Ex. 22 : 28). This seems to be the most natural view of the scene. It is possible, however, to explain the apostle's conduct in such a way as to free him from all blame, and to present him in the light of a prophet of God, who, with the authority of the heavenly ruler, judged and condemned the unrighteousness of his unworthy earthly judge.³

¹ The *lex Porcia* and the *leges Semproniae* made it a crime to bind or scourge a Roman citizen. Hence Cicero exclaims, Verr. v. 66 : " O nomen dulce libertatis ! O jus eximium nostrae civitatis ! O lex Porcia, legesque Semproniae ! Facinus est vinciri civem Romanum, scelus verberari ! "

² This contrast Jerome brings out, perhaps too strongly, in the beginning of his work *Contra Pelag.* III : " Ubi est illa patientia salvatoris, qui quasi agnus ductus ad victimam non aperuit os suum, sed clementer loquitur verberanti : si male locutus, argue de malo, si autem bene, quid me caedis ? " But he adds by way of qualification : " Non apostolo detrahimus, sed gloriam Domini praedicamus, qui in carne passus carnis injuriam superat et fragilitatem. "

³ All depends here upon the proper interpretation of the difficult words : " *I wist not, that he was the high-priest* " (23 : 5). This can hardly be taken in a strict and literal sense, as Paul might have known the fact even from the seat, which Ananias held, and his official dress, though he were not personally acquainted with him. The *οὐκ ᾔδειν* has, therefore, been variously understood ; as meaning (1) *non agnosco*, on the supposition, that Ananias either never was proper high-priest, since he acquired the office in an unrighteous manner, by bribery, or that he, since his accusation before the emperor, had ceased to be such, and had only usurped the office during the interregnum immediately after the assassination of his successor Jonathan. But Luke calls him " high-priest, " v. 2, without any qualification. (2) *Nesciebam*, but ironically : " I could not suspect that a man, who shows himself so unholy, was

Seeing that, while his enemies were so excited, a calm defense was useless, and in fact impossible, he took the course of that wisdom, which, so long as it serves simply as a means to a higher end, and conflicts not with truth, is not only allowed, but even enjoined (comp. Matt. 10 : 16).¹ He presented the weighty doctrine of the *resurrection* of the dead as the issue. Thus he cast a firebrand into the assembly, composed as it was of Sadducees (with Ananias at their head), and Pharisees, and drew the stronger party, at least for the moment, to his side. Of course he conceived the resurrection of the pious in general as intimately connected with, and resting upon, the resurrection of Jesus, which last, in fact, is expressly designated by Festus (25 : 19) as the grand point of controversy. It has been said that this stratagem was a dishonest evasion of the point in dispute.² The specific accusation against him was, to be the high-priest. For him certainly no one can lawfully revile." This view, which is adopted by commentators of different theological tendencies, Camerarius, Calvin, Stier, Meyer, Baumgarten, and also by Baur (p. 207), would not require us to suppose Paul to have been rash in his previous language. The matter might be made to appear as though, in v. 3, he spoke not in the ebullition of human passion, but under the guidance of the Holy Ghost (which was promised to the apostles, especially for such occasions, Matt. 10 : 19, 20), telling the miserable Ananias the truth in the name of God, and announcing the punishment, which afterwards actually came upon him. (So Stier : *Reden der Ap.* II. p. 321 sqq., and quite lately Baumgarten, *Apostelgeschichte* II. 2. p. 185 sqq.) The expression, "thou whited wall," is certainly no stronger, than the epithets which our Lord himself applies to the Pharisees, Matt. 23, where, among other comparisons, he likens them, to "whited sepulchres," v. 27. The angelic martyr Stephen, too, said to the assembled Sanhedrim to the face : "Ye stiff-necked and uncircumcised in heart and ears, ye do always resist the Holy Ghost, as your fathers did, so do ye" (Acts 7 : 51). But a great deal depends here also upon the tone and manner in which such reproof is administered, and it may be, that Paul suffered the natural vehemence of his temper to rise too high for a moment, as was perhaps also the case in his collision with Peter and Barnabas at Antioch. For if we free him from all guilt in this difficulty, his colleagues would be doubly censurable, and nothing gained for those who imagine an apostle to have been an absolute saint while yet on earth. Then again, in v. 5, the irony is evidently not sufficiently manifest. Hence in our text we have preferred the interpretation proposed, under various modifications, by Bengel, Wetstein, Kühnöl, Olshausen, Neander, and others ; viz. (3) *non reputabam*, "I did not at the moment consider;" involving a self-correction, a retraction of his harsh language, as a violation of decorum. It must be confessed that this unusual signification of *εἰδέναι* is not sufficiently supported by Eph. 6 : 8. Col. 3 : 24, and other passages ; yet it seems to give the plainest sense, and in this case is at once suggested by the context, as the hearers took no offence at this word, as they probably would have done, if they had understood it ironically.

¹ Or. c. 23 : 6, Grotius aptly remarks : "Non deerat Paulo humana etiam prudentia, qua in bonum evangelii utens, columbae serpentem utiliter miscebat et inimicorum dissidiis fruebatur." Bengel views the matter differently : "Non usus est P calliditate rationis aut stratagemate dialectico, sed ad sui defensionem simpliciter eos invitat, qui propius abeant a veritate."

² So Dr. Baur, l. c. p. 203 sqq., who for this very reason rejects the narrative of the

sure, that of blaspheming the law, the people, and the temple. But this was, in reality, only a negative expression for his energetic faith in Christ as the author of a new creation, through whom the old was passing away and all was becoming new. This was his sole crime. But what, in Paul's view, is the foundation of this faith? What is pre-eminently the basis of this conviction of the divinity of Christianity? Manifestly the fact of the resurrection, through which a new principle of life was introduced into humanity. Hence the apostles styled themselves emphatically, "witnesses of the resurrection," and it was for their testimony respecting this, that they were first persecuted, while the Sadducees were in power in the high council (4 : 2 sqq. 5 : 17 sqq.). In this alone the desire and hope of Israel find their fulfillment, and without it the resurrection of believers is groundless and unmeaning. For "if Christ be not raised, your faith is vain ; ye are yet in your sins" (1 Cor. 15 : 17). This very fact, however, justifies us in supposing, that Paul, who was far less concerned for his own safety, than for the glory of his Lord, sought, by this policy of *divide et impera*, to help the gospel, if possible, to the breach, by exclaiming to the Pharisees, as if for the last time, though in vain : "That, which ye hold as an empty form, is present in me as living truth. If, therefore, ye would really triumph over the dangerous heresy of the Sadducees, ye must make earnest of your theory of the resurrection, and believe in Christ, without whom it is an idle dream." The Pharisees actually gave, involuntarily and from bitter party spirit, a testimony to the innocence of the apostle, which the simple love of truth and justice would never have drawn from them : "We find no evil in this man" (23 : 9). They granted, also, that a spirit or an angel may have appeared to him on the way to Damascus. But this was all. They would not consent to acknowledge that spirit to have been the Messiah. At last, this party strife growing more and more violent and threatening the life of the apostle, (the Sanhedrim thus giving sad proof of the frightful corruption of the whole nation which it represented), Lysias drew him away, and brought him back to the castle of Antonia.

The next night, while Paul, not only exhausted by his many hardships, but also overcome with anxiety and fear, was probably in perplexity respecting his plan of preaching the gospel in Rome, and was looking above for light and strength, the Lord appeared to him in a vision, and comforted him with the assurance, that, as he had borne witness of his master in the metropolis of Judaism, so he must testify of him in the capital of Heathendom (23 : 11). This prospect of an abundant

Acts as not veritable history, and explains it as having originated in the desire to conceal the opposition of Paul to Judaism to make him appear as Judaizing as possible.

harvest, of which he was afterwards re-assured in the midst of his perils at sea (27 : 24), this divine "must," was a potion which nerved him for all the long sufferings before him.

§ 84. *Paul in Cæsarea before Felix and Festus.* A. D. 58–60.

On the following day more than forty of the worst zealots, in concert with the high-priest and the Sadducean party in the Sanhedrim, conspired against the life of Paul. The Roman tribune, apprised of this in time by a nephew of the apostle living in Jerusalem, sent him the same night, under a strong military guard, which seemed necessary on account of the conspiracy and the bands of robbers then continually thickening in Palestine, to Cæsarea to the procurator Felix, with a letter stating the facts about the prisoner, and testifying his innocence. This Felix is represented by Josephus and Tacitus as a very worthless character, cruel, unjust, dissolute, and servile.¹ He committed the apostle to the prætorium, built by Herod, till his accusers should appear, and a trial might be instituted. After five days the prosecutors came from the Sanhedrim, Ananias himself at their head, bringing with them an advocate by the name of Tertullus. This orator, in a flattering, deceitful speech (25 : 2–8), sought to asperse the apostle as a political insurgent, a ringleader of the sect of the Nazarenes, and a profaner of the temple. He complained, at the same time, of the uncalled-for interference of Lysias, and hinted to Felix to force the prisoner to a confession of his crime, and to gain for himself the favor of the Jews by punishing him, or, still better, by delivering him to the Sanhedrim. But Paul, in his defense (v. 10–21), exposed the groundlessness of these charges; reminded Felix of the absence of the Asiatic Jews, who should have appeared as eye-witnesses of the pretended sacrilege; and represented himself as a genuine and consistent Israelite, as in fact he was, inasmuch as the Messiah is the substance and end of the Old Testament, the fulfillment of the law and the prophets. The governor deferred giving sentence till he should hear further evidence; for he could find no punishable fault in him, and was reluctant to meddle in the religious controversies of the Jews.

Some days after this, Felix, with his Jewish wife, Drusilla,² daughter of king Herod Agrippa the elder (12 : 1), whom he had alienated from her former husband, Aziz, king of Emesa, by the aid of the magician

¹ Comp. Winer's *Reallexik* and Kitto's *Cyclopædia of Bibl. Liter.*, art. *Felix*. He constantly had banditti in his service, Sicarians as they were called, whom he employed, moreover, even to murder the high-priest, Jonathan, in the temple, and to combat false Messiahs; and he conducted so as only to fan the flame of tumult.

² She afterwards, with her son, Agrippa, met a miserable death from the eruption of Vesuvius, A. D. 79. Josephus, *Antiqu.* XX. 7, 2.

Simon,¹ had the apostle brought before him, to gratify his curiosity respecting the Christian faith. But when Paul came to the practical application of the truth, and appealed to the conscience of his hearer respecting *righteousness, temperance, and a judgment to come*, the old sinner trembled, and dismissed his fearless reprove with the remark, so characteristic of the worldly mind, which feels the force of truth, but bids it defiance: "Go thy way for this time; when I have a convenient season I will call for thee" (24 : 24 sq.). He was undoubtedly convinced of Paul's innocence, but hoped to receive bribes from him; for the apostle, though himself certainly poor, could very easily have been supplied with money by his Christian friends in Cæsarea and elsewhere. Of course he scorned any such means for his liberation, trusting that the Lord, according to his promise, would, in his own time, and in an honorable way, bring him to Rome. He accordingly remained two years in confinement in Cæsarea (24 : 27), uncondemned, visited by the Christians, occasionally heard before the governor, and, it would appear, mildly treated, laboring for the kingdom of God in a way to us unknown.² At the expiration of this time Felix was recalled; but, to please the Jews, who, however, complained to the emperor Nero of his oppression, he left Paul a prisoner in the hands of his successor, M. Porcius Festus, who entered on his office in the year 60, or at latest 61.³

¹ Josephus, *Antiqu.* XX. 7, 1.

² Olshausen (on Acts 25 : 27) says: "God's main design in this dispensation might have been, to afford the apostle a time of quiet for composing his mind and for meditation. The continual agitations of Paul's life must of course have interfered with that attention to himself necessary for his happy inward development. Divine grace, therefore, sees to the union of the two; while it uses its instruments for the advancement of the truth in others, it also at times takes these instruments themselves in hand for their personal sanctification." It is more probable, however, that Paul continued during this confinement to superintend his churches in Asia Minor and Greece through delegates and correspondence, as he did afterwards as a prisoner at Rome.

³ Here again we have a fixed chronological datum for the life of Paul, whence we can reckon forwards and backwards. It is true, the length of the reigns of these two procurators is not expressly stated, but it can be determined with tolerable accuracy by combining circumstances. First, as to *Felix*; the *latest* date for his recall must be the year 62, since his brother, Pallas (a favorite of Nero's), whose mediation cleared him of the charges of the Jews (Joseph. *Antiqu.* XX. 8, 9 sq.), and the prefect, Burrus, who was still living during this impeachment (XX. 8, 9), were poisoned in the year 62,—the former towards the end (at all events, after the death of the empress Octavia, Tacitus, *Ann.* XIV. 65. Dio, LXII. 14); the latter in the beginning of it (Tac. XIV. 51 sqq. Dio, LX. 13). The *earliest* date for the recall of Felix is the year 60 (comp. here the accurate calculations of Wieseler, *Chronol.* p. 66 sqq.). The accession of *Festus*, who was procurator only one or two years, must fall in the year 60, or at latest 61; for his successor, Albinus, had already entered upon his office at the time of the feast of tabernacles four years before the Jewish war, therefore, A. D.

Festus, who, judging from the scanty records of his short administration,¹ was a lover of justice, at all events one of the better governors, was brought, three days after his inauguration, by official and personal business, to Jerusalem, where the high-priest (Ishmael, successor to Ananias) and the prominent Jews besought him to deliver Paul to them, intending secretly to kill him. But this time also, through the justice of the heathen, God protected his apostle against the malice of the degenerate Jews. Festus required them to present a regular indictment in Cæsarea, and held his court there the day after his return. Again the prosecutors failed to prove that Paul had offended either against the law (rightly understood), or against the temple, or (and this was the only charge properly cognizable by a Roman tribunal) against the emperor. Festus, wishing on the one hand to please the Jews, but on the other not to trespass upon the rights of Paul, of whose innocence he was convinced, asked him, whether he was willing to be tried before the Sanhedrim under the governor's supervision. Then Paul, who, as a Roman citizen, could not be forced to submit himself to a lower tribunal, appealed to the emperor, and thus opened the way to the fulfilment of his long-cherished desire to testify of the Saviour of the world in the world's metropolis. Festus, who might have anticipated this result, had of course to acknowledge the right of appeal here, as in the case of every Roman citizen, and said, as the unconscious instrument of divine providence (25 : 12), "Thou hast appealed unto Cæsar. Unto Cæsar shalt thou go !"

A few days after this, the young king, Herod Agrippa II.,—a favorite of the emperor Claudius, at whose court he had been educated ; son and heir of his namesake, the persecutor of the Christians, mentioned in Acts 12 : 1 ; great-grandson of Herod the Great ; and the last king of his house,—with his beautiful, but abandoned sister, Bernice,—formerly married to her uncle, Herod of Chalcis ; at this time, and also again after a second marriage, living, as was suspected, in incestuous intercourse with her brother ; and finally mistress of the emperors Vespasian and Titus,—paid a complimentary visit to the new governor. Since

62 (Joseph. *De Bello Jud.* VI. 5, 3) ; and the Jewish ambassadors, who, by his leave went to Rome with a dispute, must have arrived there (as Wieseler has supported, against the common opinion, p. 93 sqq.) before the marriage of Poppæa with Nero, which, according to Tacitus, took place in May of the year 62. Consequently Felix and Festus changed places in 60 or 61, more probably 60, as the most eminent modern chronologists, Wurra, Winer, Anger, and Wieseler, suppose. Now as Paul had already been two years a captive in Cæsarea when Festus arrived (Acts 24 : 27), his arrest must have taken place in the year 58.

¹ Besides Acts 25 and 26, see respecting him Josephus, *Antiqu.* XX. 8, 9 sq., and *De Bello Jud.* II. 14, 1.

Agrippa was a Jew and the overseer of the temple,¹ Festus laid before him the case of Paul, to learn his opinion respecting this religious question and the resurrection of "one Jesus, which was dead" (25 : 19), that he might be able to give a better account to the emperor. The king, who could not have been unacquainted with Christianity,—for it was his father, who had executed the elder James, and cast Peter into prison,—desired to hear the prisoner for himself. Festus, therefore, the next day ordered Paul into his audience-room, where Agrippa and Bernice had come with great pomp, attended by the principal officers of the five cohorts stationed in Cæsarea, and by the most distinguished military and civil personages of the city, to gratify their curiosity.

Before this brilliant audience, after an introductory explanation by the procurator, Paul joyfully delivered an apologetic discourse (26 : 1–23), fulfilling the Lord's prediction (Matth. 10 : 18. Mk. 13 : 9) : "Ye shall be brought before governors and kings for my sake, for a testimony against them and the Gentiles." On this occasion also, as before, to the people in Jerusalem, he related how he was miraculously converted, from a bigoted Pharisee and persecutor of the Christians to an apostle of Jesus Christ, to turn the Gentiles from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God. He had, therefore, not arbitrarily chosen his calling, but had been constrained to it by a heavenly vision ; and he preached nothing but the fulfillment of what the prophets had already foretold,—the death and resurrection of the Messiah, and the salvation offered in him to Jews and Gentiles. To the cold, Roman worldling, as to the Athenians (17 : 32), what Paul said, especially about the resurrection, seemed the foolish extravagance of an over-taxed brain. "Paul, thou art beside thyself," involuntarily² exclaimed the governor, "much learning (much reading in the Jewish Scriptures, to which Paul had just referred, v. 22 and 23) doth make thee mad." The apostle, to whom the madness seemed to lie rather in his former rage against the Christians (v. 11), could answer, in the calm consciousness of victory : "I am not mad, most noble Festus ; but speak forth the words of truth and soberness." Then, turning to the Jewish king, he called him to witness, that the great facts of Christianity did not take place in a corner, but publicly in Jerusalem, and in presence of the whole assembly, he put to the king's heart and conscience the question : "Believest thou—not me, not the appearance in Damascus, but, first of all simply—the prophets ? I know that thou believest." Agrippa replied, either in real earnest under momentary conviction, or in ironical

¹ To him it belonged, also, to choose the high-priest, Joseph. *Ant.* XX. 1. 3.

² Others, as Olshausen, take the expression as a jest, by which the Gentile sought to rid himself of the impression of the discourse, and to repel the impulse of grace.

mockery designed perhaps only to hide his inward compunction : "Thou wouldst shortly¹ persuade me to be a Christian." Then Paul uttered that sublime sentence, which gives us a glimpse of his holy zeal for the salvation of souls, and of his own inward happiness : "I would to God, that, sooner or later, not only thou, but also all that hear me this day, were such as I am, except these bonds" (26 : 29). How infinitely exalted the shackled servant of God above his judges, bound to the world in the chains of gold !

§ 85. *Paul in Rome.* A. D. 61-63.

Agrippa also was forced to testify to the perfect innocence of the apostle. But, now that he had appealed to the emperor, Festus could neither acquit nor condemn him, but must send him to Rome. He delivered him, therefore, at the first opportunity for embarking, with some other prisoners, to the care of the centurion, Julius,² of the imperial cohort ; and thus Paul left Cæsarea, attended by his faithful companions, Luke and Aristarchus of Thessalonica.³ The voyage, which Luke describes minutely and with the vividness and accuracy of an eye-witness,⁴ was very dangerous, as must be expected at that advanced season of the year. For when they landed at Lasea on the island of Crete, the great day of fasting and atonement, which fell on the tenth of Tisri, towards the end of September, was already past (27 : 9)

¹ The words *ἐν ὀλίγῳ* (26 : 28) are variously interpreted : (1) Almost, lacking little (Chrysost., Luth., Beza, Grot.). But then we should expect *παρ ὀλίγον οὐ ὀλίγον*. (2) With little, with so few words, with so little effort, as Eph. 3 : 3 (Mey., Olsh.). This interpretation would be necessary, if instead of *ἐν πολλῷ* (v. 29), we had to read, with Lachmann, according to *cod. A B. Vulg.*, *ἐν μεγάλῳ*. (3) In a short time, soon (Calv., Kühn., Neand.). Corresponding to these are three different interpretations of the words in Paul's answer, *κ. ἐν ὀλ. κ. ἐν πολλ.* (v. 29) ; viz., (1) Not only almost, but altogether. (2) As well by little, as by much ; whether it require little effort, with some, or, with others (where Festus might perhaps be intended), great, to convert them to Christianity. (3) Sooner or later.

² Probably the same as Julius Priscus, who, according to Tacitus, *Hist.* II. 92, was promoted under Vitellius, A. D. 70, from a centurion to prefect of the prætorians, and according to *Hist.* IV. 11, committed suicide : "Jul. Prisc. prætoriarum sub Vitellio cohortium præfectus se ipse interfecit, pudore magis quam necessitate."

³ Acts 27 : 1. 2. Comp. Col. 4 : 10. Philem. 24.

⁴ A Scotch gentleman of great naval experience and reading, James Smith, who has subjected the narrative of this voyage to a very thorough scrutiny in his original and valuable work : *The Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*, London, 1848, concludes, that the author, without being a seaman by profession, was well accustomed to the sea, and proves himself an exceedingly faithful and careful eye-witness. This point he illustrates by the journals of others similarly situated, and by comparison with the evangelist's own account of the storm on the Lake of Gennesaret. So also the apparently useless minuteness of this account must go to confirm the credibility of the book of Acts, and to put to shame the airy speculations of its modern opponents

Paul advised to winter there ; but his advice was not followed, as the harbor seemed unsuitable. After a stormy run of fourteen days, the ship stranded on the shores of Malta (27 : 27, 33 sqq., 28 : 1), and the apostle, through his prayers and good counsel, was the means of saving the whole company (27 : 21-26, 31 sqq.). For the sake of one righteous man, two hundred and seventy-five souls were preserved. So was the Lord once ready to spare Sodom for the sake of a small remnant (Gen. 18 : 32). The children of God are poor, and powerless, and yet by their faith they protect the world. This shipwreck is the radiant centre of the whole voyage. Here appears the majesty of the captive Paul, amidst the raging storm and in the face of death,—a powerful proof of his divine mission.

Having remained in Malta three months, and by his miraculous preservation from the bite of a poisonous serpent (comp. Mk. 16 : 18), and by healing the sick, having inspired the barbarians and the governor of the island with a sense of reverence and gratitude (Acts 28 : 3-10), he sailed in the Alexandrian ship "Castor and Pollux" (28 : 11), to Syracuse in Sicily, stopping there three days ; then to Rhegium (Reggio), opposite Messina ; and thence he arrived in two days at Puteoli (Puzzuolo), the destination of the Egyptian ship, near Naples. Here he remained a week with the small congregation of Christians, and then journeyed by land to Rome, where he may have arrived about the end of March of the year 61, or at latest 62. Some brethren of the Roman church had come more than a day's journey (forty-three Roman miles), to the village of Forum Appii, on the Appian Way, and others at least to the tavern, Tres Tabernæ (thirty-three Roman miles), to meet the apostle ; thus giving him a token of their respect and love, which must have afforded him great encouragement and joy.

Thus, therefore, were fulfilled his ardent desire¹ and the assurance of the Lord,² that he should yet testify of Christ in the capital of the world ; though under other circumstances than he had at first intended (Rom. 15 : 24). The centurion Julius, who had treated him politely and kindly throughout the voyage,³ now handed him over to the captain of the imperial body-guard (præfectus prætorio 28 : 16).⁴ But since

¹ Acts 19 : 21. Comp. Rom. 1 : 10 sqq., 15 : 23 sqq.

² Acts 23 : 11. 27 : 24.

³ Acts 27 : 3, 43, 44. 28 : 14, 15.

⁴ From the fact, that in 28 : 16 only *one* prefect (στρατοπεδάρχης) is mentioned, we may with tolerable certainty infer, that the excellent Burrus, the friend of Seneca, and with him, preceptor of Nero, is intended. For before and after him there were always *two* prefects of the body-guard. Now since Burrus was poisoned in February or at all events before the middle of March, A. D. 62, for opposing the divorce of the empress Octavia, and the marriage of Nero with Poppæa Sabina (comp. Tacitus : *Ann.* XIV. 51 sqq.), it would follow, that Paul arrived in Rome at least a year before, and therefore in the spring of 61 (comp. Anger, *Temp. rat.* p. 100, and Wieseler, *Chro*

the apostle, according to the testimony of Festus, and even of Agrippa himself, had transgressed no law of the state ; since, therefore, the *litteræ dimissoriae*, or *apostoli*, as they were called, in which the procurator was obliged to lay before the emperor the charge against the prisoner and the whole state of the case, all went only in Paul's favor ; and since the centurion also, no doubt, gave evidence for him, his confinement must have been a very easy one. This is confirmed by Luke's description, 28 : 16 sqq. The apostle was, indeed, continually watched by a soldier, a prætorian, and bound with a long chain on his left arm (v. 16, 17, 20) ;¹ but he was allowed to rent a private dwelling, receive visits, and write letters ; and in this condition he might labor for the kingdom of God, without hindrance, for two whole years (v. 30, 31), till all the witnesses should have arrived, and the proper trial, of which, however, the Acts give us no account, should begin.

And he did labor. Three days after his arrival he sent for the most prominent Jews in Rome, probably the rulers of the synagogues ; partly because he always began his apostolic work with the children of the promise ; and partly because he wished to inform them of the true cause of his appearance in Rome, to assure them of his pure intentions, and to prevent new machinations among them. For he must have feared, that they had received slanderous accounts of him from Jerusalem, and would look upon him as an enemy to their nation. But this, according to their own declaration, was not the case. They said, they had heard nothing bad about him either by letters or orally ; yet they desired to hear him personally, for thus much they certainly knew of the Christian sect, that it was everywhere spoken against (28 : 21, 22). It is undoubtedly true, that the Sanhedrim could not have given any *official* intelligence to the Roman Jews till after Paul's appeal ; and as the winter soon set in, which shut up all communication by sea (*mare clausum*), any such report could not well have reached Rome, at all events, before Paul himself. It is also possible, that these Roman Jews of quality gave

not. pp. 83 and 87 sqq.). It is certainly possible, but not so natural, to understand the singular. with Meyer and De Wette, thus : "The *præfectus prætorio* concerned, the one to whom transfer was made."—That the commanders of the imperial body-guard, the highest military officers of the city, were charged with the safe-keeping of accused persons sent from the provinces to the emperor, and that Luke, therefore, here tells historical truth, is evident from Pliny, *Epp.* X. 65, where Trajan writes : "Vinctus mitti ad præfectos prætorii mei debet." Comp. Joseph. *Antiqu.* XVIII. 6, § 6 and 7.

¹ This was the usual mode of fettering in the *custodia militaris*, and was designed not for punishment, but for the safe-keeping of persons on trial. See Josephus, *Ant.* XVIII. 6. 7, according to which Agrippa was connected with the centurion on guard ; and Seneca, *Epist.* 5 : "Quemadmodum eadem catena et militem et custodiam copulat ;" comp. Sen., *De tranquill.* 10 : "Eadem custodia universos circumdedit alligatque sunt etiam, qui alligaverunt, nisi tu forte leviozem in sinistra catenam putas."

themselves but little trouble about religious matters. Yet it is, after all, exceedingly improbable, that they had never heard by *private* communications anything against the renowned apostate; for he had already for twenty years been hated and persecuted by the Jews in Palestine, Asia Minor, and Greece; and the Christian community in Rome, as appears from the epistle to the Romans, was large enough to attract attention. Besides, the first part of their declaration is not fully consistent with the second, that they knew "this sect" to be everywhere spoken against. We are forced, therefore, to suppose this pretended want of acquaintance with the apostle of the Gentiles to have been intentional dissimulation on the part of the Jews, whether it be, that they wished thereby to express their contempt for his supposition of the contrary, or that they feared they should fail in sustaining their charges against him, and be in turn prosecuted by himself. When Paul, on an appointed day, preached the gospel to them more fully, a division arose among them; some believed; the others hardened their hearts, as Isaiah (6 : 9, 10) had predicted; and thus, repulsed by his own brethren, he could again turn with good conscience to the Gentiles, who, here as elsewhere, manifested a greater susceptibility to the gospel.

In his epistle to the Philippians (1 : 7, 13, 14) Paul could write, that his imprisonment was favorable to the spread of the gospel. As his guards relieved one another, each told his comrades, what he had heard from the apostle, so that the word of the cross became known to the whole imperial guard (the *prætorium*, the *castra prætoria*, Phil. 1 : 12-14). The very personal appearance of the apostle, his courage, the cheerfulness, with which he sacrificed everything for his cause, must have wrought in favor of his doctrine. In Rome also, it is true, there was no lack of Judaizing false teachers, who preached the gospel from impure motives, from envy and the spirit of contention, and sought to undermine Paul's reputation and to embitter his condition (Phil. 1 : 15, 16). He complains, that only three of the Jewish Christians, Aristarchus, Mark, and Jesus Justus, were a comfort to him (Col. 4 : 10, 11). But he did not allow this to discourage him. In genuine self-denial, he forgot his own person in the cause of the Lord, and rejoiced, that the facts and truths of Christianity, though mixed with many errors, were spread even by his enemies. "What then? notwithstanding, every way, whether in pretense or in truth, Christ is preached; and I therein do rejoice, yea, and will rejoice" (Phil. 1 : 18).

His activity was not limited, however, to the Roman church. He had around him, at least at times, most of his friends and fellow-laborers, Luke, Aristarchus, Timothy, Mark, Tychicus, Epaphras, Demas, and

Jesus, surnamed Justus.¹ Through them he could the more easily keep up intercourse with all his churches in Greece and Asia Minor, and continue to direct them. This he did by sending his delegates to these churches with oral instructions, and with letters, by which he wrought upon the whole church of his day and of succeeding ages, so that we still continue to enjoy the rich fruits of his imprisonment.

§ 86. *The Epistles written during the Imprisonment at Rome, to the Colossians, Ephesians, Philemon, and Philippians.* A. D. 61–63.

During this Roman captivity appeared the epistles to the Colossians, to the Ephesians, to Philemon, to the Philippians, and the second to Timothy; concerned partly with personal matters, partly with the new dangers of the church, and especially with the development of the doctrine of the person of Christ, forming the transition to the writings of John. That Paul wrote these epistles while a *prisoner*, he himself informs us in several passages of them.²

These alone are not, indeed, enough to show that Rome was the place of composition; for he was also confined upwards of two years in Cæsarea. Yet the almost unanimous tradition of the ancient church favors the opinion that it was. In the case of the second epistle to Timothy this is conceded by all modern critics,³ since in c. 1 : 17 Rome is expressly named (compare also the Roman names, Pudens, Linus, and Claudia, 4 : 21); the only difficulty here being, whether the epistle were written during the first or a second imprisonment in Rome, of which we shall hereafter speak. The epistle to the Philippians conveys a salutation, c. 4 : 22, from the house of the *emperor*, by which it is most natural to understand the palace of Nero and the members of his

¹ Col. 4 : 10–15. Phil. 2 : 19, 25. Philem. v. 23, 24. Comp. 2 Tim. 4 : 10 sqq.

² Such as Eph. 3 : 1, 13. 4 : 1. 6 : 20. Col. 1 : 24, 29. 2 : 1. 4 : 3, 18. Philem. v. 1, 9, 10, 13, 22. Phil. 1 : 7, 12 sqq., 17, 19–26, 30. 2 : 17. 2 Tim. 1 : 16. 2 : 8. 4 : 6 sqq., 16 sqq.

³ With the exception of Böttger in his *Beiträgen zur histor. kritischen Einleitung in die paulinischen Briefe*. Göttingen. 1837, Part 2, where he propounds and ingeniously defends the singular view, that Paul was confined in Rome but five days at most, and spent the remainder of the two years in perfect freedom there. Against this comp. the remarks of Neander, l. p. 498 sq., and Wieseler, *Chronologie*, p. 411 sqq. Thiersch also (*Apost. Kirch.* p. 151) places the composition of the second epistle to Timothy in the imprisonment at Cæsarea in the year 58, and in its beginning and close sees evident indications of Paul's departure from Ephesus having taken place but a few months before (2 Tim. 1 : 4, compared with Acts 20 : 37.—2 Tim. 4 : 13, with Acts 20 : 13.—2 Tim. 4 : 20, with Acts 20 : 15). The strongest ground for this hypothesis seems to us to lie in the forsaken condition of the apostle (2 Tim. 4 : 10), which cannot be easily explained if he were in Rome. But against it is especially the expectation of death, with which he was then filled (2 Tim. 1 : 8. 4 : 16; whereas in Cæsarea he distinctly hoped to reach Rome, and could rest this hope on a vision seen in Jerusalem.

body-guard or his domestics. What Paul says in c. 1 : 7, 12-18, of the beneficial results of his imprisonment for the spread of the gospel, also suits far better with what the Acts tell us of his situation in Rome, than with their description of his captivity in Cæsarea. It is more difficult to determine the place from which the epistles were written to the Ephesians, the Colossians, and Philemon. Yet in favor of Cæsarea, for which Schulz, Wiggers, Meyer, and Thiersch have declared, not a single positive argument can be brought, while the freedom and boldness, which Paul used in preaching,¹ point again to Rome. Then, too, we can more easily conceive, how the many fellow-laborers above enumerated might join Paul in Rome, the world's rendezvous, than how they should meet with him in the less important city of Cæsarea. Finally, the passage Philem. v. 22, according to which Paul hoped to go soon to Phrygia, seems decisive. In Rome he might, no doubt, think of such a journey; but not in Cæsarea; for here Rome and Spain were uppermost in his mind,² while the thought of returning to Asia Minor was far from him (comp. Acts 20 : 25).

As to the chronological order of these letters; we suppose, that the epistles to the Ephesians, the Colossians, and Philemon were written and sent first and almost simultaneously, during the author's two years of quiet, Acts 28 : 30, 31 (A.D. 61 : 63); the epistle to the Philippians, somewhat later; and the second to Timothy, last.³ In favor of this is the gradual change, which these letters exhibit, in the condition of the apostle in his confinement. According to Eph. 6 : 19, 20. Col. 4 : 3, 4, he preaches the gospel without hindrance, and is expecting his liberation. In his epistle to Philemon in Colosse, he already bespeaks a lodging in that city (v. 22), since the circumstances of the church in Asia Minor made his presence desirable, and seem to have caused a change in his former plan of going to Spain. These letters are as silent as the Acts respecting a trial. While writing the epistle to the Philippians, he could speak already of the great success of his preaching in Rome (1 : 7, 12-19. 4 : 22). This indicates a later date. He also then still entertained the hope of being *soon* set free and revisiting the Philippians (1 : 25, 26. 2 : 24); but the prospects were no longer so

¹ Eph. 6 : 19. Col. 4 : 3, 4. Comp. Acts 28 : 30 sq

² Acts 19 : 21. 20 : 25. Comp. Rom. 1 : 13. 15 : 23 sq

³ So Marcion (as early as A.D. 150) in his canon, which is chronologically, and, with the exception of the epistles to the Thessalonians, which should stand first, correctly arranged. According to Epiphanius (*Haeres.* 42, 9), he read the ten epistles of Paul, which he received, in the following order: Galatians, Corinthians, Romans, Thessalonians, Laodiceans (the same as Ephesians), Colossians, Philemon, Philippians. So Wieseler, p. 422 sq. of his *Chronologie*; only he places the epistles to Philemon and the Colossians *before* that to the Ephesians (comp. p. 455).

favorable, and he had before him the possibility of speedy martyrdom. Finally, the second epistle to Timothy shows, that he had already made his first judicial defence before the emperor (4 : 16, 17) ; was bound as a malefactor (2 : 9) ; expected nothing now but his execution ; and saw his course already finished, his battle fought (4 : 6-8, 18). The number of attendants assembled round him leads to the same result. Coloss. 4 : 7-14 shows eight : Philem. 10, 23 sq., five ; Phil. 1 : 1, 2 : 25 (comp. however, 4 : 21), only two, Timothy and Epaphroditus ; and at the writing of the second epistle to Timothy, all but Luke had forsaken the apostle ; some, as Tychicus, under commission from him ; others, of their own accord, and, it would seem, from fear of the impending danger, and from love of ease (4 : 9, 10, 16 1 : 15).

1. The epistle to the *Colossians* was sent by Tychicus, the faithful helper of Paul (Col. 4 : 7, 8 ; comp. Acts 20 : 5. Tit. 3 : 12), as was also the epistle to the *Ephesians* (Eph. 6 : 21). From this circumstance and the striking similarity in the matter of the two letters, we should judge that they were written at about the same time. The one to the *Colossians* is probably the older, since the epistle to the *Ephesians* consists in part of a mere enlargement of the same thoughts and exhortations.¹ The church of Colosse, a city of Phrygia, not far from Laodicea and Hierapolis, was not founded by Paul himself, but by his disciples,

¹ We have no decisive *external* marks of the priority of one or the other of these epistles. Harless, indeed (in the Introduction to his thorough Commentary on *Ephesians*. p. lix.), thinks he finds in the apparently insignificant particle *καί* before *ὑμεῖς*, Eph. 6 : 21, a decisive proof, that the epistle to the *Colossians* had been previously written ; since it implies a reference to the parallel passage, Col. 4 : 7, 8, as written shortly before, the sense being : "But that ye *also*"—as well as the *Colossians* to whom I have just written—"may know my affairs, and how I do, I have sent Tychicus." &c. So Wiggers, Meyer, Neander (I. p. 524, Note 1), and Wieseler (*Chronol.* p. 432). But Paul, in using the *καί*, might very well have had in mind other brethren, to whom he had not written, but whom Tychicus was to visit ; and the expression could not have made the *Ephesians* think of the *Colossians*, unless they had the epistle to that church before them, as we have ; for elsewhere in the epistle to the *Ephesians* there is not the slightest reference to it.—On the other hand, the advocates of the priority of the epistle to the *Ephesians* appeal (a) to Col. 4 : 16. on the presumption, that the letter to the *Laodiceans* here mentioned is identical with that to the *Ephesians*. But the apostle might have referred to this by anticipation, as he intended to write it immediately. (b) To the omission of Timothy's name in the superscription of the epistle to the *Ephesians*, while it is inserted in Col. 1 : 1 ; indicating, that he did not arrive in Rome till after the composition of the first letter. But this omission is more naturally accounted for by the encyclical character of the letter to the *Ephesians*, which, in general, has nothing to do with personal matters, and gives salutations neither from nor to third persons. So with the epistle to the *Galatian churches*. It is possible, also, that Timothy left Rome a short time after the writing of the letter to the *Colossians*, and returned to the neighborhood of the apostle before the composition of the epistle to the *Philippians*.

particularly Epaphras. It consisted mostly of Gentile Christians. The occasion of Paul's letter to it was the intelligence, partly cheering, partly suspicious, which Epaphras had brought him (1 : 6-8. 4 : 12, 13). The church of Asia Minor was threatened with new danger from the adulteration of the gospel, against which the apostle had already warned the Ephesian elders in his parting address (Acts 20 : 29, 30). The gross Pharisaical Judaism had been for a while suppressed by the powerful and decided attack upon it in the epistle to the Galatians. But now the Judaistic error was assuming a more refined, spiritualistic form, and beginning, by union with elements of Hellenistic philosophy, to shape itself towards Gnosticism. Many educated Jews, especially at Alexandria, had become ashamed of the uncouth realistic character of their religion, and sought to clothe its naked simplicity with the fig-leaves of Grecian speculation. They declared the facts of sacred history to be merely symbols veiling higher Platonic ideas, and these ideas they endeavored to find in the Old Testament itself by means of allegorical interpretation. Thus arose that remarkable amalgamation of Judaism and Heathenism, which we have noticed above in Philo and the Therapeutae.¹ The Colossian errorists, however, seem to have stood in no direct connection with this eclecticism. Their theory may be more simply explained from the union of Essenism with the Phrygian national character, which was inclined to enthusiasm and extravagance. In the epistle before us (particularly c. 2) they appear as ascetic theosophists, who lost themselves in the cloudy regions of the spiritual world ; worshipped angels at the expense of the higher dignity of Christ ; boasted of a hidden wisdom ; and sought to atone for sin by the mortification of sense.

This Judaizing Gnosticism the apostle meets with a positive refutation, setting forth briefly but comprehensively the doctrine of the *person of Jesus Christ* and his *redeeming work*. Christ is presented as the centre of the whole spiritual world, raised above all created beings ; as the mediator, by whom the world was made and is upheld ; as the embodiment of all the fulness of the Godhead ; as the head of the church, and the source of all wisdom and knowledge. The redemption wrought by him embraces heaven and earth ; releases believers from outward statutes, from this perishable world ; and leads them on gradually to the true perfection.—Then follow practical exhortations, items of intelligence, and salutations.

2. The epistle to the *Ephesians* has no such direct and clear reference to a particular error or a particular circle of readers, and, on account of its general character, has been by some modern critics, like De Wette and Baur, rejected as spurious. Considering that Paul had labored

¹ See above, § 51.

three years in Ephesus, it must certainly seem strange, that he no where reminds his readers of this residence with them ; that he salutes them neither for himself nor for his companions, but rather concludes in the third person with a general benediction on all Christians (6 : 24) ; and even seems to be acquainted with them only indirectly from hearsay.¹ These singular circumstances are sufficiently explained, however, by the simple assumption, that we here have before us a *circular* letter, addressed, indeed, to the church of Ephesus, the principal congregation of Asia Minor, particularly to the Gentile Christians there,² but at the same time to the neighboring churches also, which had sprung from it, and with which Paul, especially after having been three or four years absent from them, could personally be but partially acquainted.³ In favor of this are also the facts, that the words of address : *ἐν Εφέσῳ* (1 : 1), in the important *codex Vaticanus* (B), are found only on the margin, and, in Tischendorf's opinion,⁴ were put there by a *second* hand in smaller characters ; that in *cod.* 67, they are marked as suspicious by diacritical points ; and that, according to the statements of Basil the Great,⁵ and Jerome,⁶ they must have been wanting also in other ancient manuscripts. Now though this address be sufficiently ascertained by the preponderance of testimony to be the original reading ; yet the omission of it in many copies is most easily accounted for by supposing the letter to have been a circular. Finally, we know, that the Gnostic Marcion, in the middle of the second century, entered the epistle to the Ephesians in his canon as *Epistola ad Laodiceos* (πρὸς Λαοδικέας).⁷ We can see no reason for supposing this to have been an intentional falsification, and it confirms the opinion, to us very probable, that the epistle to the Laodiceans, which the Colossians (4 : 16) were charged to read, was no other than the epistle to the Ephesians.⁸

¹ Eph. 1 : 15. 3 : 2-4. Comp., however, the similar form of expression in 2 Thess. 3 : 11. Phil. 1 : 27.

² Comp. 2 : 11 sqq., 19 sqq. 3 : 1 sqq. 4 : 17, 22.

³ So Beza : "Suspicio non tam ad Ephesios ipsos proprie missam epistolam, quam Ephesum, ut ad caeteras Asiaticas ecclesias transmitteretur." The opinion, that the epistle to the Ephesians is an encyclical or catholic letter, is likewise held, with immaterial modifications, by Usher (*Annal. V. et N. T.*, ad a. 64. p. 686), Hammond, Bengel, Hess, Platt, Neander, Anger (*Der Laodiceerbrief*. Leipz. 1843), Harless, Stier and others.

⁴ In the "Studien und Kritiken," 1847, p. 133 sq.

⁵ Adv. Eunom. II, 19.

⁶ Ad Ephes. 1 : 1.

⁷ According to Tertullian : *Adv. Marc.* V. 11 and 17.

⁸ The phrase : *ἐπιστολὴ ἡ ἐκ Λαοδικείας*, Col. 4 : 16, may mean, according to the connection, simply an epistle of Paul intended for Laodicea. The *ἐκ* describes Laodicea not as the place where the letter was written, but as the place whence it was to be brought. Harless, De Wette, and others, understand by it, indeed, an epistle, now lost, intended expressly for the Laodiceans. But in this case we should rather expect

Perhaps Laodicea was the last church in the circle, as, in fact, the series of epistles in the Apocalypse begins with Ephesus, and closes with the lukewarm Laodicea.

The contents of the epistle are, as already remarked, much the same as those of the epistle to the Colossians, but indicative of progress,—the idea of the church being more fully developed in the closest connection with the person and work of the Redeemer. The main doctrinal thought of this circular is, *The church in Christ Jesus*, the eternal principle of her life, her unity of many members, her warfare and victory, her steady growth, and her glorious end. The church is represented as the body of Jesus Christ; the fulness of all his theanthropic glory; a mystical spiritual temple, which rests on Christ as its corner-stone, and in which Gentiles and Jews are joined together in a fellowship of peace and love before unknown. Hence, in the hortatory portion, the apostle urges especially the preservation of unity (4 : 1 sqq.), and derives the duties of husband and wife from the relation of Christ to his church and of the church to Christ (5 : 22 sqq.). Here, therefore, we have an epistle on the church, designed primarily for the church of Asia Minor, but through it for that of all ages and climes. Even at the time of the apostle's departure from Ephesus the fundamental conception of this epistle was floating in his mind (Acts 20 : 28). There everything urged to the maintenance of a firm unity in the growing church, that it might withstand as well the approaching persecutions from without, as the incipient errors from within, which threatened to dissolve and evaporate the historical substance of Christianity. The epistle to the Ephesians nowhere, indeed, combats errors directly, like that to the Colossians; yet it is at the same time a positive refutation of the spiritualistic Gnosticism, and marks in ideal outline the course which the church in the next age had to take to oppose an effectual barrier to this dangerous foe.¹

the designation : *τὴν πρὸς Λαοδικεῖς*. It is inexpedient, also, to increase unnecessarily the number of the lost epistles of the apostles; and there is here the less reason for so doing, since Paul had already sent three letters simultaneously into these regions. Latterly Wieseler (*Commentat. de epist. Laodicena quam vulgo perditam putant*. 1844, and *Chronol.* p. 450 sqq.) advocates the view, that the epistle to the Laodiceans is identical with that to Philemon. But against it are the facts, that this last epistle has to do merely with a private matter, and that Philemon and Archippus lived not in Laodicea, as Wieseler tries to show, but in Colosse (Col. 4 : 17 and 9).

¹ Dr. Baur, on the contrary (p. 417 sqq.), makes this epistle the product of the Gnosticism of the second century, as expressions like *θρόνοι, κυριότητες, αἶών, πλήρωμα, γνῶσις, πολυποίκιλος σοφία, μυστήριον*, are supposed to testify! With this he joins also a Montanistic source, since the views of this epistle respecting the Holy Ghost and Christian prophecy (3 : 5. 4 : 11), respecting the different stages and the holiness of the church (4 : 13, 14. 5 : 3 sqq.), and respecting marriage (5 : 31), were first brought into vogue by Montanism! So also Schwegler: *Das nachapost. Zeitalter*, II

Not that it had distinctly in view the specific form of church government, which meets us in the second and third centuries; but that, which was true and eternal in the ancient church, that, which armed her for victorious conflict with the grand heresies, and which is now again needed for her rebuilding, was mainly the complete doctrine of the theanthropic person of Christ and the church unity founded upon it,—a doctrine, the development of which started first from the later epistles of Paul, particularly those to the Ephesians and Colossians, as also from the writings and later activity of John.

As to style; in no other epistle do the ideas flow in such an unbroken stream and such involved periods, as in that to the Ephesians. The perverted taste of some modern critics has pronounced this “diffuseness,” “verbosity,” &c. Grotius understood the matter better, when he said: “Rerum sublimitatem adaequans verbis sublimioribus, quam alia habuit umquam lingua humana!” The first chapter has, so to speak, a liturgical, psalmodic character, being as it were a glowing song in praise of the transcendent riches of the grace of God in Christ and the glory of the Christian calling.

3. The short epistle to *Philemon*, a zealous Christian in Colosse, is a recommendation of his slave Onesimus, who had run away from his master on account of some offense he had committed (ancient tradition says theft), but was converted by the apostle during his imprisonment, and now penitently desired to return in company with Tychicus (Col. 4 : 9). The letter is a “gem of Christian tenderness,” an invaluable contribution to the portrait of the generous, amiable, kind-hearted apostle, who, in the midst of his cares for the whole church, had also a warm heart for a poor slave, and treated him as a dear brother in Jesus Christ.

4. Some time after the composition of the above epistles, perhaps not till the expiration of the first two years of the apostle’s confinement,

p. 330 sqq., and p. 375 sqq. But are not Montanism and Gnosticism two directly opposite systems, as the relation of Tertullian to Marcion itself shows? And how can it be thought possible, that the same church, which fought against Gnosticism as its deadly enemy, should universally recognize such a Gnostic production as apostolic and canonical? It is a fundamental mistake in Bur’s construction of history, that it makes error the source of truth; darkness the mother of light; whereas the very reverse is the fact,—that heresy arises only in opposition to truth already substantially present, and borrows from this truth its best weapons. Gnosticism, indeed, brings its view of the world from heathenism; but what gave this system its peculiar form, and made it so dangerous an enemy of the church, was the union of old Oriental and Grecian principles of philosophy with *Christian* ideas, which it took chiefly from the writings of Paul and John. The same reasoning, by which this destructive criticism derives the epistle to the Ephesians from the school of Valentine and Montanus, might make the Gnostic Marcion the author of the epistles to the Galatians and Romans.

A.D. 63,¹ but probably before the proper trial began,² was written the epistle to the church at *Philippi*, the first congregation planted by Paul on European soil, and one with which he stood on terms of peculiar friendship (comp. 1 : 3–11). It was sent by Epaphroditus, who had brought the apostle a present of money from the Philippians (4 : 10, 18. 2 : 25). For this Paul returned his thanks (4 : 10–20), together with information respecting his personal condition and his labors in Rome (1 : 12–26) ; exhortations to humility and unity, to rejoicing in the Lord, to prayer, and to delight in every virtue ; and warnings against Judaizing false teachers, who would substitute their own righteousness of works for the righteousness of faith (1 : 27–4 : 9). The close consists of salutations and the usual benediction (4 : 21–23). In a doctrinal point of view the christological passage c. 2 : 5 sqq. is the passage of chief importance. In other respects this epistle has more the character of a familiar letter, than any other of Paul's epistles to churches. It is full of personal matters ; it is the hearty effusion of the impressions and feelings of the moment ; and a lovely memorial of the author's tender, sympathizing heart, and his susceptibility to hallowed friendship.

§ 87. *The Hypothesis of a second Imprisonment of Paul in Rome. The Pastoral Epistles.*

The book of Acts concludes its narrative of the labors of Paul, c. 28 : 31, with the remark, that for two years, while in custody in Rome, he preached the kingdom of God, and taught concerning the Lord Jesus Christ, "with all confidence, no man forbidding him" (μετὰ πάσης παύρησίας ἀκολούτως) ; thus leaving it altogether problematical, whether he was ever set at liberty or not. Luke seems to have employed these two years of rest in writing or continuing his two works (probably begun in Cæsarea), partly on the basis of older documents, partly from his own observation, and to have finished the book of Acts just at the expiration of this time. In this second work, which forms with his gospel a continuous composition, his purpose of describing the planting of the Christian church among the Jews and Gentiles by the two leading apostles

¹ Hug infers from Phil. 2 : 21 compared with Col. 4 : 14, that Luke was no longer with the apostle when the epistle to the Philippians was written. Yet he may very well be included in the salutation, c. 4 : 21. At all events we find him again with Paul in 2 Tim. 4 : 10.

² It is true, many commentators, following Chrysostom, have referred the ἀπολογία Phil. 1 : 7, to a defence before a court (comp. 2 Tim. 4 : 16, ἀπολογία μου). But this word is plainly to be closely connected with τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, as is evident from the very omission of the article before βεβαιώσῃ, and from v. 16 ; and denotes the activity of the apostle in defending the gospel, not so much against the civil power of the heathen, as against the false teachers from amongst the Jews (comp. v. 16 and 17).

(comp. 1 : 8), finds a convenient stopping-place in Paul's joyful preaching of Christianity in Rome, the capital of the then known world, and soon the centre of the Christian church. With this the promise given to the apostle^a (23 : 11, comp. 19 : 21. 27 : 24) was fulfilled, and the final triumph of the gospel decided.

But here at once arises the question respecting the subsequent fortunes of the apostle. From tradition no more is certain and generally received, than that he suffered martyrdom at Rome under Nero. But whether this took place during his first imprisonment or a second, is a point on which commentators and church historians to this day disagree.¹ According to one view, the apostle was executed as early as the year 63 or 64 ; according to the other, he was set at liberty, made several more missionary tours, and did not die till about A. D. 66 or 67. In the latter case his liberation must be dated at all events *before* the year 64. For in this year broke out the great conflagration in Rome, and, in consequence of it, the cruel persecution of the Christians, in which Paul, as the leader of the hated sect, would be the very last to be spared. But what, now, did Paul do between the first and second imprisonments? On this point the advocates of the latter hypothesis are themselves divided. Baronius and Hug place the composition of the Pastoral Epistles *before* the time of Paul's liberation, while Usher, Pearson, Heidenreich, Gieseler, and Neander date the first epistle to Timothy and the epistle to Titus during the interval between the two terms of confinement, and the second epistle to Timothy, after the example of Eusebius, during the second imprisonment in Rome. Neander then, with his usual circumspection and judgment, constructs from the historical hints in the Pastoral Epistles the following picture of that part of Paul's life, which the Acts leave entirely unnoticed.² After his liberation, Paul first carried out the purpose, expressed in the epistles to Philemon and the Philippians, of making a tour of visitation to Asia Minor and Greece ; left Timothy in Ephesus to govern the church there and watch against the secret intrusion of errorists ; brought the gospel to Crete ; entrusted the further management of the church on this island to his disciple Titus ; then went again into Greece (to Nico-

¹ This difference, however, is one of merely scientific interest, and does not touch at all the doctrines of faith and morality. Among the advocates of a second imprisonment of Paul in Rome are to be named particularly, Baronius, Tillemont, Usher, Pearson, Mosheim, Mynster, Hug, Wurm, Schott, Credner, Gieseler, and Neander ; on the other side are Petavius, Lardner, Schrader, Hensen, De Wette, Winer, Baur, Niedner, Wieseler. The latter seems to us to have most thoroughly and ingeniously investigated this question in its exegetical and traditional aspect, in his *Chronologie des apost. Zeitalters*, p. 461 sqq., and p. 521-551.

² *Apost. Gesch.* I p. 538 sqq.

media in Epirus) and Asia Minor, took leave of Timothy, and now fulfilled his former resolution to preach the gospel in Spain ;¹ was here arrested a second time, and taken to Rome, where he wrote the second epistle to Timothy, and afterwards suffered martyrdom. But we must here at once remark, that so many, so extensive missionary tours could scarcely have been crowded into the space of three, or, at most, four years ; especially since, for all we know from the book of Acts, the apostle did not usually merely fly through the countries he visited, but settled in the larger cities for a considerable time.

We propose now to examine, with all possible impartiality, the principal arguments for and against the hypothesis of a second imprisonment in Rome. Here six points present themselves : (1) The nature of Paul's trial ; (2) the conclusion of the book of Acts ; (3) Paul's own expectations ; (4) the date of the Pastoral Epistles, especially (5) of the second epistle to Timothy ; (6) the statements of patristic tradition.

1. As to the first point ; Paul was properly innocent. He had committed no crime, for which he could be condemned before the tribunal of the Roman law. The Roman state had as yet taken no official notice of Christianity as such, had not yet declared it a *religio illicita*, and gave itself no concern with the internal religious disputes of the Jews. Felix, Festus, and Agrippa were convinced of the apostle's innocence ; the official statement, which accompanied him to Rome, was no doubt in his favor ; and to it the centurion, Junius, who had learned on the voyage to esteem and love him, and who owed him the preservation of his own life, might have added his recommendation, founded on personal knowledge.

But, on the other hand, it must be considered, that the Jews certainly left no means untried to evade the real point in dispute, and to hold up the victim of their fanaticism as a disturber of the public peace, and therefore a political offender, as had already been attempted by their advocate, Tertullus, in Cæsarea. In the empress Poppæa, who was married to Nero in the year 62, they could easily find support ; for she was a Jewish proselyte, and often successfully interceded for the Jews.² Then again, the efficient labors of Paul in Rome itself had led many Gentiles and Jews to apostatize from their religion, and drew upon the new sect the attention and suspicion of the Roman authorities. The persecution of the Christians, which broke out in the year 64, therefore at all events soon after the expiration of the two years of Acts

¹ Mynster, on the contrary (*De ultimis annis muneris apostolici a Paulo gesti*, in his *Minor Theological Writings*, p. 234), reverses this order, making Paul to have gone first to Spain and then to Asia Minor

² Josephus, *Archæol.* XX. 8, 11, and his *Vita.* § 3.

28 : 30, shows that the Christians had already become an object of public hatred and abhorrence ; otherwise the slander, which made them the incendiaries of Rome, could not have been so easily taken up. And that Nero should shortly before have treated Paul justly and fairly, is very improbable, since even from the year 60, and especially from the death of Burrus in 62, he had begun to rule with the most arbitrary self-will and horrible cruelty. Granting, moreover, that Paul was actually acquitted of the charge brought by the Jews, it by no means follows that he left Rome, and was afterwards a second time arrested. In the circumstances of the Roman church he might have seen good reasons for continuing to labor there after his liberation, until the outbreak of the Neronian persecution in the summer of 64 put an end to his life and all his further missionary plans.

2. The silence of the book of Acts as to the result of the appeal to the emperor and respecting the apostle's end has been variously explained ; from the acquaintance of Theophilus with the facts ; or from an intention on the part of Luke to continue the history ; or from considerations of prudence, lest the mention of the Neronian persecution of the Christians should cause excitement ;—but all these explanations can easily be shown to be unsatisfactory. Probably when the Acts were finished the fate of Paul was yet entirely undecided ; and in this case the silence would be neither for nor against a liberation, unless it were assumed, that a turn for the worse in the condition of the prisoner, or that the outbreak of the persecution hindered the author from continuing his work. But if the book were not completed till *after* the death of the apostle, it is rather against a second imprisonment, that the author says nothing at all of the plan of going to Spain, which Paul conceived in Corinth (Rom. 15 : 24, 28), but afterwards seems to have given up, or at least to have indefinitely postponed (Philem. 22. Phil. 2 : 24), and generally speaks of Rome quite distinctly as the *farthest* and *last* point of the apostle's labor (19 : 21. 23 : 11. 27 : 24. Comp. 20 : 25, 38).

3. Paul himself, in his epistle to Philemon, v. 22, and in Philippians, 1 : 25. 2 : 24, expresses the hope of being set free, and on this builds his plan of a tour of visitation to his churches in Greece and Asia Minor, and even engages a lodging in Colosse. This, however, by no means warrants the supposition, that he was actually set free. For this hope proceeded not from a higher revelation, as in the case of his journey to Rome, but merely from his own mind and his very natural desire to revisit his brethren and renew his labors for the kingdom of God. We are not at all at liberty to attribute to the apostles an infallible foreknowledge of their own future. We find, on the contrary, that

Paul's mind, as to such personal matters, changed with his circumstances. In his valedictory at Miletus he took leave of the Ephesian elders for ever ;¹ his previous plan of going directly from Rome to Spair (Rom. 15 : 24) he gave up ; and when he wrote his epistle to the Philippians, he was by no means so confident of being released, but rather had in view the possibility of speedy martyrdom (2 : 17), and in his own mind, also, he wavered between the desire to depart and be with Christ, and the wish still longer to serve his brethren (1 : 20-23). But how easily might an unfavorable change have taken place in his situation in Rome, especially after his regular trial had begun ! When writing the second epistle to Timothy, which several even of the advocates of a second imprisonment suppose to have been written before his liberation, he was still bound, indeed, with only one chain (2 Tim. 1 : 16), yet as an evil-doer (2 : 8) was forsaken by many of his brethren, even by his fellow-laborer, Demas, through fear of death (4 : 10. 16 : 18), and was expecting nothing but a martyr's crown (4 : 6-8).

4. A much stronger argument in favor of a second imprisonment in Rome seems at first sight to be furnished by the *Pastoral Epistles*, the genuineness of which some modern critics, Baur and De Wette, after the Gnostic Marcion, have in vain impugned. As to the first epistle to Timothy and the epistle to Titus, it is difficult to find a place for these in the earlier life of Paul, mainly because the Acts give no account of Paul's preaching the gospel on the island of Crete (now Candia), which is nevertheless presupposed by Tit. 1 : 5.² Then again, their contents seem better suited to a later time. The apostle gives Timothy, whom he finds in Ephesus (1 Tim. 1 : 3), and Titus, whom he had left behind him in Crete (Tit. 1 : 5), instructions respecting the conduct of church affairs, especially as to the qualifications and duties of church officers, and the resistance of Gnosticizing errorists, who are represented, some as already present, others as still to come. Finally, the spirit and style of the Pastoral Epistles so differs from those of Paul's other epistles, as to indicate their later composition. They are not so didactic, so logically argumentative, so strictly coherent as, for instance, the epistles to the Galatians and Romans, but almost exclusively practical, desultory, abrupt in their transitions, and pervaded by a kind of mournful

¹ Comp. above, § 81.

² Luke, it is true, notices a very short and accidental visit of Paul at "Fair Havens," near the city of Lasea (probably the same as the Lisia of the Peutingerian Table), on his way to Rome (Acts 27 : 8). But this stoppage there cannot possibly be meant in Tit. 1 : 5—Furthermore, this chronological difficulty seems to me an evidence for the genuineness of the Pastoral Epistles; for a later forger would certainly not have involved them in relations which cannot be at all shown from the Acts to have existed.

tone, as though the writer longed to escape from the heat of the day and the theatre of strife into a land of quiet.

But all these considerations are by no means decisive against the earlier composition of these epistles, and are in part set aside by the very fact, that the ancient church almost unanimously, and even many advocates of the hypothesis in question, take the first epistle to Timothy and the epistle to Titus to have been written *before* the first imprisonment in Rome. Had they been composed shortly after it, we should expect some intimation of the fact; but we find none. And closer inspection enables us to solve the difficulties to tolerable satisfaction.

(a) The silence of the Acts of the Apostles respecting Paul's labors in Crete is not decisive, since this book does not propose to give a complete history, and entirely omits many other events, as the apostle's three years' residence in Arabia (Gal. 1 : 17), his second visit to Corinth (see above, § 77), his work in Illyria (Rom. 15 : 19), and many of his hardships and persecutions (2 Cor. 11 : 23 sqq.). Paul might very easily have made a trip to Crete from some one of the larger cities, Antioch, Ephesus, Corinth, where he staid for years; and since, according to Rom. 15 : 19 (comp. v. 23), therefore before his arrest, he had *finished* the preaching of the gospel between Jerusalem and Illyricum, and had no more room to labor here (for which reason he turned his eye towards Rome and Spain), it is even very probable, that he had at that time already been also in Crete, as well as in Cyprus (Acts 13 : 4 sqq.); for Crete was the *largest* and *most important* island of the Archipelago, and lay directly between Illyricum and Jerusalem.¹ To us the best founded supposition seems to be, that Paul's journey to Crete, as also the epistle to Titus and the first to Timothy, fall in the time of his three years' residence in Ephesus (Acts 19 : 7, 10, comp. 20 : 31),² in which we have also placed (§ 77) his second visit to Corinth, likewise passed over in Acts, but made certain by 2 Cor. 12 : 13, 14. 13 : 1. These two journeys agree very well with one another, and with the intended winter's residence at Nicopolis (Tit. 3 : 12), which can be no other than

¹ From the fact, that Luke in his detailed account of the voyage (c. 27 : 7 sqq.) says nothing of a salutation by Christian brethren, Dr. Neander is somewhat hasty in concluding that there were as yet no Christians in Crete (*Ap. Gesch.* I. p. 543). For, in the first place, the Christians had no opportunity whatever to hear of Paul's accidental and brief stoppage there; and secondly, he might have labored in quite another part of this large island, which is called even by Homer the "hundred-cities" (ἐκατόμπολις).

² Perhaps the well-known difference of nine months between the dates given by Luke and Paul may be adjusted by supposing Paul to have included also his journey to Crete and his second visit to Corinth (2 Cor. 13 : 1), from which he again returned to Ephesus.

the Nicopolis in Epirus, belonging to the province of Achaia, built by Augustus in commemoration of his victory over Antony, and early a very flourishing city. For from the first epistle to the Corinthians, also, which was written from Ephesus about this time, in the spring of 57 (see § 77), we know, that Paul hoped to spend the ensuing winter in Achaia, to which province, as just observed, Nicopolis in Epirus belonged.² This purpose, according to Acts 20 : 2, 3, he carried out, and on his way through Macedonia to Corinth he might very easily have touched at Nicopolis. This possibility is even made a certainty by the explicit declaration of the apostle in the epistle to the Romans, written soon after in 58, that he had at that time labored in Illyria, which joins Epirus (15 : 19), and had no more room for preaching the gospel in those parts (v. 23). Besides, the Acts say, that he spent the winter of 57-58, not in Corinth alone, but in Hellas, i. e. Achaia (20 : 2, 3); and when he was in Illyria, his nearest way to Corinth was by Nicopolis. Thus, on closer examination, all the circumstances fit admirably together; whereas, in placing the epistle to Titus between the first and second imprisonments in Rome, one finds himself entirely on the uncertain ground of conjecture.³—And that the first epistle to Timothy was written at the same time with the epistle to Titus, perhaps even earlier, is favored by the fact, that Timothy was still a youth (1 Tim. 4 : 12; comp. Tit. 2 : 15), and in general little acquainted with the management of church affairs; which ill accords with the time after the first imprisonment, as Timothy had been Paul's assistant ever since Acts 16 : 1 sq., A.D. 51 (see § 71).⁴

(b) The presence of church officers and false teachers at so early a day is nothing strange. There were deacons and presbyters much earlier in the mother church at Jerusalem,⁵ and in the churches planted by

¹ As Tacitus expressly says, *Annal.* II. 53 : "Apud *Achajæ* Nicopolim, quo venerat per Illyricam oram," etc.

² 1 Cor. 16 : 3 sqq., 6. Comp. 2 Cor. 10 : 15, 16. Acts 19 : 21.

³ We refer here, respecting the two pastoral epistles, to the extended and discerning investigation of Wieseler: *Chronologie*, p. 286-315 and p. 329-355, where also the various views are tested. Wieseler, as we have already remarked, places the first epistle to Timothy in the year 56, during Paul's absence from Ephesus either in Macedonia or in Achaia; and the epistle to Titus somewhat later, in the last months of the apostle's residence at Ephesus, A.D. 57, between the two epistles to the Corinthians.

⁴ Even in the second epistle, which is at all events later than the first, Paul warns Timothy, it is true, against "youthful lusts" (2 Tim. 2 : 22); by which we must understand, according to the context, particularly disputatiousness, propensity to useless subtleties, and ambition. But an older man, also, may very well be subject to such temptations, and has to guard against them the more, because such faults are in him especially unbecoming.

⁵ Acts 6 : 3 sqq. 11 : 30. 15 : 2, 46.

Paul.¹ A Judaizing Gnosis, altogether like that combated in the Pastoral Epistles had spread at least in Colosse even at the time of the first imprisonment.² Why should not the germs of it have been visible some few years before in the leading church of Asia, that centre of Jewish and Heathen magic and false philosophy? (Comp. Acts 19 : 13-19). Paul himself, in one of his earliest epistles, A.D. 53, says, that "the mystery of iniquity" (2 Thess. 2 : 7), which, however, stands connected with an apostasy from the Christian truth (comp. v. 11), "doth already work." We may, indeed, adduce against this Paul's valedictory at Miletus (Acts 20 : 29, 30), where he warns the elders against false teachers, who should appear *after his departure*. But, strictly understood, he is there speaking of the approaching intrusion of errorists among the Ephesian *presbyters*; and from this we should infer, that in the *congregation* they were present earlier, rather than later. And who does not know the instability and changeableness, the ebb and flow, of the history of heresies and sects! How easily might the false brethren impudently raise their heads under the administration of the young and inexperienced Timothy; be disarmed for a time, on the return of Paul, by his intellectual power and personal weight of character; and then re-appear after his departure with new and more dangerous weapons. Add to this, that the evil is represented in the first epistle to Timothy, 1 : 1 sqq. (comp. 2 Tim. 2 : 17 sqq. 3 : 1 sqq.), as one, which should not fully unfold itself till hereafter, "in the last times."

(c) Finally, the peculiar contents and tone of the epistles in question are explained to the satisfaction of those, who are firmly convinced of their genuineness, by their concern with the practical affairs of the church; by the specially agitated state of the author's mind, to which we have a parallel in the second epistle to the Corinthians (comp. § 79); and by the character of the persons, to whom he wrote.

5. The main exegetical bulwark of the hypothesis in hand is the

¹ Acts 14 : 23. 1 Thess. 5 : 12. 1 Cor. 16 : 15 sq. Rom. 16 : 1, where even a deaconess, Phebe, is mentioned. Mosheim reasons the other way, and from the many instructions of the first epistle to Timothy, infers the still incomplete organization of the Ephesian church, and consequently the very early composition of the epistle.

² According to Dr. Baur, indeed, the false teachers of the Pastoral Epistles were the anti-Jewish Marcionites of the second century. But this view rests on a forced interpretation. Neander (l. p. 538, note) justly remarks: "What is said of false teachers in this epistle (the first to Tim.), can excite no suspicion in my mind. The allusions to the later Gnostic doctrines, which Baur would find in this, as in the other pastoral epistles, I am utterly unable to detect. The germs of such a Judaizing Gnosticism, or theosophico-ascetic tendency, as comes to view in the two epistles to Timothy, I should expect *a priori* to be present at this time; since the phenomena of the second century point back to some such tendency gradually evolving itself out of Judaism."

second epistle to Timothy. To this epistle, therefore, the most recent advocates of a second imprisonment make their chief appeal. This letter, which presupposes that the person to whom it was addressed was in Ephesus, or at least in its vicinity,¹ and summons him to come quickly with Mark to the imprisoned apostle in Rome (4 : 9, 11, 21), contains some apparent hints of Paul's having lately been in Asia Minor and Corinth, and of his having taken a route varying from that of Acts 27 ; besides indicating, that his situation was not the same as in the first imprisonment Acts 28 : 30 sq. A more accurate exegesis, however, leads to altogether different results, as we shall now proceed to show. The passages in point are the following :

(a.) Paul charges Timothy to bring with him the portmanteau,² books, and parchments, he had left at Troas (4 : 13). But this may very well be referred to the visit of Paul in Troas mentioned in Acts 20 : 6 ; his leaving these things there having been either intentional, or made necessary by his travelling to Assos on foot (v. 13). It is undeniable, that several years had passed since this time. But there is nothing to hinder us from supposing, either that he had hitherto had no good opportunity to send for the books, or had purposely left them there so long for the use of Carpus, or had not till now needed them. And since, when he wrote the second epistle to Timothy, he was expecting soon to suffer martyrdom, there is certainly room for the opinion, that he sent for these documents at that time simply because they were important in his trial, as evidence of his innocence. It is also possible, however, that they were of use to Luke in the composition of his Gospel and the book of Acts.

(b.) The remark, that he "left Trophimus at Miletum sick," and that "Erastus abode at Corinth" (4 : 20), is not enough to establish the fact of his having shortly before made a visit to Corinth and Miletus, of which the Acts take no notice. For the narrative in Acts simply states, that Erastus (undoubtedly the chamberlain of Corinth, Rom. 16 : 23), contrary to Paul's expectation, did not come to Rome, where the apostle might have employed him, on account of his high station, as *deprecator*, and perhaps as a witness in the trial, if his Jewish accusers had renewed their prosecution before the tribunal of Annaeus Gallio (Acts 18 : 12-27). And as to his leaving Trophimus behind him sick, the ἀπελιπον, which is commonly taken as the first person singular, with Paul for its subject, may just as grammatically be the third person plural, and read : Trophimus they (i. e. his countrymen, the Asians, 2 Tim. 1 : 15,

¹ 2 Tim. 1 : 15, 18. 4 : 19, with which 4 : 12 is not necessarily inconsistent.

² Φερόντης may mean "cloak," or "portmanteau," "case," "portfolio." The latter is best, on account of the books and parchments.

16) left at Miletum sick.¹ Should this not satisfy, we may refer the statement—in case it is really the Carian Miletus, and not the Cretan, which is *śīeant*, or if the reading might not even be Malta (*ἐν Μελίτῃ*)—to the apostle's transportation from Cæsarea to Rome. On this voyage he came, it is true, only to Myra in Lycia, and there took another ship (Acts 27 : 5) ; but he might have left Trophimus behind, distinctly instructing and expecting him to go on to Miletus in the first vessel, which was, in fact, bound for Adramyttium near Troas, and was to sail by the maritime cities of Asia Minor (27 : 2).² At any rate, the apostle hardly intended here to tell Timothy anything new about Trophimus ; for Timothy himself was then in or near Ephesus, and therefore near Miletus. He was describing his own lonesome, forsaken condition (2 Tim. 4 : 16), and showing the reasons for his request, that Timothy should come to him to Rome before winter (v. 21). It must have been the harder for him to be without Trophimus, since this brother had been the innocent occasion of his arrest at Jerusalem (Acts 21 : 29), and might therefore have been of special service to him as a witness, in disproving the charge of his having profaned the temple by bringing into it a Gentile.

(c) In 2 Tim. 4 : 16, 17, Paul speaks of his *first answer* (*πρώτη ἀπολογία*), in which his human friends forsook him through fear of death, but the Lord strengthened him mightily, and rescued him from the jaws of the lion (*ἐκ στόματος λέοντος*). By this several church fathers, following Eusebius, understand liberation from a former imprisonment in Rome, and from the power of the emperor Nero ; and then refer the words : “that by me the preaching might be fully known, and that all the Gentiles might hear,” to the subsequent labors of the apostle among other western nations, which he had not visited before. But, not to mention, that ἀπολογία is not the same as αἰχμαλωσία, nor πρώτη as προτέρα, this interpretation is at once contradicted by the fact, that Paul is here telling Timothy something new ; whereas his deliverance from a first imprisonment could not have been unknown to him. Hence almost all commentators now place the “first answer” within the time of the imprisonment, during which Paul wrote the letter, and refer the preaching before all the Gentiles to the *judicial defense* of the apostle, since criminal trials among the Romans were public, and Rome was a rendezvous for all

¹ So Hug in his *Einl. z. N. T.* II. 418 sq., where he cites a passage from Lucian. (*De morte pergr.* § 13), to show with what zeal the primitive Christians sent to an imprisoned brother commissioners at the common expense, to comfort him and defend his cause.

² So Wieseler, p. 466 sqq. The simplest way of all to get rid of this difficulty would be to place the composition of the second epistle to Timothy, as Thiersch does, in the time of Paul's imprisonment in Cæsarea, a few months after he was in Miletus (Acts 20 : 15). But to this there seem to us to be too many objections.

nations. The interpretation of the "lion" is decisive neither way; yet we are probably to understand by it not Nero, but either the peril of death, or Paul's prosecutor, the representative of the Sanhedrim.¹ Besides, the epistle before us gives no hint of a former imprisonment in Rome; even in c. 3 : 11, where something of the kind would be expected in the apostle's enumeration of his sufferings and persecutions.

As this epistle, accordingly, furnishes no decisive proof of a second imprisonment of Paul in Rome; so, on the other hand, its general tenor is positively *against* this hypothesis. It indicates, that the apostle's situation was substantially the same, as when he wrote the epistles of the first imprisonment. He had the same attendants; some of them with him, as Luke (4 : 11);² some shortly before sent on a mission, as Tychicus (v. 12);³ some with orders to come to him, as Timothy and Mark (v. 9, 11). He was bound with only *one* chain (1 : 16). He was at liberty to receive visitors and write letters. That his circumstances in a second captivity were precisely the same, and that, even after the Neronian persecution, he was allowed intercourse and correspondence with friends and a *second* defense (to which *πρώτη*, 2 Tim. 4 : 16, properly points), is surely very improbable. For this reason many advocates of a second imprisonment, as Baronius and Hug, have assigned 2 Timothy to the first imprisonment; though erroneously to the earlier part of it.⁴ For all the circumstances, particularly the absence of most of the apos-

¹ The singular would still be proper; for the Roman law uniformly allowed but *one* accuser. Wieseler, p. 476, cites a passage from Josephus, *Antiqu.* XVIII. 6, 10, where *λέων* is used in the same sense. Compare also the term *ἐθνηγομάχῃσα*, 1 Cor. 15 : 32, where by wild beasts are probably to be understood the enraged accusers of Paul.

² Comp. Col. 4 : 14. Philem. 24.

³ Comp. Eph. 4 : 21. Col. 4 : 21.

⁴ In this Petavius, Lightfoot, Schrader, Matthias, &c., agree with them. The only argument for this view is, that Timothy was not yet in Rome; whereas at the writing of the epistles to the Colossians (1 : 1), Philemon (v. 1), and Philippians (2 : 19), we find him with the apostle (Hug's *Einleit.* II. p. 415 and 451). But this is rather to be explained by Timothy's having been twice in Rome; because everything else indicates the earlier composition of the last named epistle (comp. § 86). It was Paul's intention, while writing the epistle to the Philippians, to send Timothy as soon as possible to Philippi (Phil. 2 : 19-24); and it was not far from there to Ephesus, whence the apostle afterwards called him back. Mark he had already sent into the same region, to Colosse (Col. 4 : 10). The salutation, which he gives Timothy from several Christians in Rome (2 Tim. 4 : 21), likewise makes it probable, that Timothy had already been in Rome. Hug's conclusion is opposed by the far more certain conclusion from the absence of Aristarchus (2 Tim. 4 : 11); for Aristarchus had come with Paul to Rome (Acts 27 : 2), is named in Col. 4 : 10 and Philem. 24, as in his company, and cannot, therefore, have left until after the two last mentioned epistles had been written.

tle's companions, his forlorn condition (4 : 9, 10, 16),¹ the advanced stage of his trial (4 : 16, 17), his expectation of speedy martyrdom (4 : 7, 8, 18), and the apostasy of Demas (4 : 10, comp. with Col. 4 : 14), go to show, that the second epistle to Timothy was written last, and after the expiration of the two years, with which the book of Acts closes ; since Paul had already had his first hearing, of which Luke says nothing, and his condition, though still essentially the same, had become considerably worse as to its probable issue. The limits, for the date of this epistle, therefore, are the spring of the year 63, and the conflagration of Rome in July, 64, after which the persecution broke out. And since Paul charged Timothy to come to him soon (4 : 9), and before winter (v. 21), the latter part of the summer of the year 63 might be sated as the most probable date of this epistle.

In the New Testament itself, therefore, we find no proper evidence whatever in favor of the hypothesis in question ; and even supposing, that the above difficulties in the interpretation of the Pastoral Epistles cannot be solved to perfect satisfaction, yet they by no means authorize us to assume a series of historical facts, of which we otherwise have not the slightest reliable trace.²

But now the question arises : May not the hypothesis of a second imprisonment be established by later testimony ? Several of its supporters, as Baronius and Hug, while they abandon the exegetical ground, betake themselves to the authority of some church fathers. In this case we should have no documents whatever respecting the labors of Paul after his liberation, and would know simply the general facts, that he either remained in Rome, or, according to his former purpose, made several more missionary tours, perhaps to the East, perhaps to Spain, perhaps to both, and then suffered martyrdom in a second confinement. This brings us to the sixth and last point.

¹ This forlorn condition of the apostle, by the way, is certainly somewhat mysterious, when we consider, how many Roman friends he salutes in Rom. 16, whose number must have been increased by his personal labors there ; and that, according to Tacitus, an "*ingens multitudo*" of Christians were put to death under Nero. This furnishes, we should think, a very plausible argument for the opinion, that the second epistle to Timothy was written during Paul's imprisonment in Cæsarea ; though for other reasons this is highly improbable. It will perhaps be necessary to limit the πάντες με ἐγκατέλιπον, "all forsook me" (v. 16), to the witnesses in the trial.

² Winer, in his *Reallexikon*, sub "Paulus" (II. p. 220 sq. 3d ed.), well remarks : "We should not fail to observe, that, as we have in Acts no complete history of Paul's journeyings ; as the proper notices of the apostle are only incidental ; it is very natural that, in dating an epistle, which contains numerous special references, we should meet with difficulties. These difficulties, and the impossibility of solving many of them, may be openly acknowledged where they occur ; but this furnishes no reason for the positive assertion of a fact, resting on so uncertain historical grounds."

6. Of the statements of tradition only two here come properly into view, those of Clement of Rome and Eusebius; for on this point the other church fathers draw entirely from Eusebius.

(a) Clement of Rome, a younger contemporary and probably a disciple of Paul (Phil. 4 : 3), and thus a witness of special weight, says in his epistle to the Corinthians, c. 5, according to the *common* interpretation, that Paul bore chains seven times; preached the gospel in the East and West; taught the whole world righteousness; *came to the limit of the West*; and *died a martyr under the rulers*.¹ Had Clement said in plain words, Paul was in Spain, the matter would soon be settled. We should then have unequivocal testimony, that the apostle was released from his first confinement in Rome; since he cannot be proved to have been in Spain before it, but designed to go thither from Rome (Rom. 15 : 24, 28). The case, however, is not so simple. Everything depends on the interpretation of the expressions *τέρμα τῆς δόσεως* and *μαρτυρήσας ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων*. To begin with the latter; the advocates of a second imprisonment take *μαρτυρεῖν* in the sense (usually only in later authors), "to suffer martyrdom," and refer *ἡγούμενοι* either (with Pearson) to Helius and Polycletus, the regents at Rome during the absence of Nero in Greece, A. D. 66–67, therefore after Paul's first imprisonment, or (with Hug) to the prefects, Tigellinus and Nymphidius Sabinus. But, apart from some historical difficulties, *ἐπὶ* here is hardly a designation of *time*: "in the time of the princes" (*sub præfectis*, as Hefele translates it); it means, *coram principibus*. And then, too, *μαρτυρήσας* is rather to be understood in its usual sense, as meaning the public, bold confession, which Paul made before the imperial court.²

¹ As the interpretation of this passage is disputed, we give the Greek original: *Διὰ ζῆλον [ὁ] Παῦλος ὑπομονῆς βραβεῖον [ἐπέσχ]εν, ἐπτάκις δεσμὰ φορέσας, [παι]δευθεὶς, λιθασθεὶς. Κῆρυξ γ[ενύ]μενος ἐν τε τῇ ἀνατολῇ καὶ ἐν [τῇ] δύσει, τὸν γενναῖον τῆς πίστεως αὐτοῦ κλέος ἔλαβεν δικαιοσύνην διδάξας ὅλον τὸν κόσμον κ[αὶ ἐπὶ] τὸ τέρμα τῆς δόσεως ἐλθὼν καὶ μαρτυρήσας ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων, οὕτως ἀπὸ ἀλλαγῆς τοῦ κόσμου καὶ εἰς τὸν ἅγιον τόπον ἐπορεύθη, ὑπομονῆς γενόμενος μέγιστος ὑπογραμμός.* The parts enclosed in brackets have been supplied by the editor of this anciently very notable epistle, the librarian, Patricius Junius, and cannot, therefore, be confidently substituted for the original text. In the *codex Alexandrinus* in the British Museum, in which alone the epistle of Clement is still preserved, and from which Junius committed it to the press for the first time A. D. 1633. at Oxford, several characters have faded away, leaving chasms in the text, which can be filled only by conjecture (comp. on this, Hefele: *Patrum Apostolicorum Opera*, prolegg. p. xxxv. sqq. ed 3).

² Comp. 2 Tim. 4 : 16, 17. Acts 23 : 11. So also Dr. Neander, I. 529, note 1, explains the passage ("he bore witness of his faith before the heathen magistrates"), and holds it inadmissible to suppose, that Clement intended by *ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγουμ.* to designate the time more distinctly, and to refer to the men who were at that time entrusted with the supreme control of the affairs of the empire at Rome.

The idea of death Clement expresses, in fact, immediately after by ἀπηλλάγη τοῦ κόσμου καὶ εἰς τὸν ἅγιον τόπον ἐπορεύθη (e mundo migravit et in locum sanctum abiit). Consequently the whole burden of proof falls upon the much disputed phrase *τέρμα τῆς δύσεως*. By this expression Pearson, Hug, Neander, Olshausen, and others, think it most natural to understand Spain; inasmuch as Clement, in fact, wrote from Rome, so that Italy was for him not the limit, but rather the beginning of the West. For, in itself, the word "limit" may denote beginning as well as end; and its meaning is to be determined by the writer's position. Anglican theologians, interested in the apostolical origin of their church, have referred the phrase to Britain, still more remote from Rome.¹ But *τέρμα*, if ever interpreted geographically, admits also of being taken subjectively, and may possibly denote only what was for Paul the limit of his apostolic labor,² or what appeared to the *Corinthians*, to whom Clement was writing, to be the boundary of the West. And even aside from this, the whole passage is plainly so colored by rhetoric and panegyric, that it cannot possibly furnish, of itself, adequate ground for so important a hypothesis. Clement says, for example, that Paul bore chains *seven times*,—which certainly cannot mean, that he was so many times imprisoned. He speaks of him as having taught "*the whole world*" righteousness,—which at any rate can only be understood as a hyperbole. Paul uses just such expressions to denote the rapid spread of the gospel over the whole Roman empire, and that, too, in a time, when confessedly he had *not* yet been in Spain. See Col. 1 : 6, 23 (2 Tim. 4 : 17), and even Rom. 10 : 18, where he applies to the heralds of the gospel the words of the nineteenth Psalm : "Their sound went into all the earth, and their words *unto the ends of the world*" (εἰς τὰ πέρατα τῆς οἰκουμένης). So it is said, Acts 1 : 8 (comp. 13 : 47), that the apostles should be witnesses of Jesus "*unto the uttermost part of the earth*" (ἕως ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς); and yet Luke, likewise writing in

¹ So Usher (*Brit. Eccl. Antiqu.* c. 1), and Stillingfleet (*Orig. Brit.* c. 1).

² So Dr. Baur explains the expression in hand : "Paul came to the limit fixed for him in the West, which, while lying in the West, was also the natural boundary of his *occidere*" (*Paulus*, p. 231; and in several articles). Schenkel, in the "*Studien und Kritiken*," 1841, p. 71, offers the same explanation, and endeavors also to show, that Clement wrote his first epistle to the *Corinthians* as early as 64–65, as an eye-witness of Paul's martyrdom, from the midst of the scenes of terror, himself beset with perils; and could thus have spoken of no other than the first imprisonment in Rome. This hypothesis, however, has a very precarious foundation. From c. 40 and 41, which seem to presuppose the temple and temple-worship as still existing in Jerusalem, the most that can be inferred is, that the epistle was written before the year 70. Comp. Hefele : *Patrum Apostolic. Opera*, prolegg. p. xxxvi. But there are indications in the letter which favor a still later date towards the end of the *first* century.

Rome, closes his narrative of the founding of the church with the preaching of Paul in *Rome*; though this, it is true, at once secured the victory of Christianity in all the West. The same Luke says, Acts 2 : 5, that, on the day of Pentecost, "Jews out of every nation under heaven" were in Jerusalem; and yet immediately after, in enumerating them (v. 10), he mentions the Romans as the westernmost nation,—showing, that, according to the usage of those times, Rome might, in fact, very well be called, in hyperbole, the limit of the West.¹

But is not the local sense of *τέρμα*, in the passage from Clement, to be altogether given up? Considering that not one of the church fathers has appealed to this passage in proof of Paul's having been in Spain; and that the preposition *ἐπί*, which first suggested the geographical interpretation, is purely a conjecture of the editor, Junius, to fill a chasm here in the original *cod. Alex.*;—we are inclined to adopt the explanation recently proposed by Wieseler, who supplies *ὑπό* instead of *ἐπί*, and takes *τέρμα* in the familiar sense of "supreme power," "highest tribunal."² Accordingly we translate the passage in question thus: "After having been a herald (of the gospel) in the East and in the West, he (Paul) obtained the noble renown of his faith; having taught the whole world righteousness, and having appeared *before the highest tribunal of the West*, and having borne witness (of Christ) before the rulers, he departed from the world and went to the holy place, having furnished the sublimest model of patience." This interpretation alone brings out the beautiful climax in Clement's language; and this alone clears him of the tautology of which the other would make him guilty; the preceding words from *κῆρυξ* to *κόσμον* having already sufficiently described the great extent of Paul's preaching.

(b) Of the fragment from Dionysius, bishop of Corinth (about A.D. 170), in Eusebius (II, 25), we shall speak more particularly in the section on Peter's residence in Rome. We here pass it by, as it makes Peter and Paul, indeed, joint founders of the Corinthian church (which is manifestly incorrect), and speaks of their simultaneous martyrdom, but not of their going together from Corinth to Italy, as they certainly could

Had Neander's interpretation of Clement's *τέρμα* been so natural for that day, one could not but wonder, that Eusebius, who so unequivocally asserts a second imprisonment of Paul, and was very well acquainted with the then almost canonical epistle of Clement, did not at once appeal to it, instead of contenting himself with a mere indefinite: "It is reported."

² We remind the reader of the phrases: *θεοὶ πάντων τερμ' ἔχοντες*, the gods, who hold the supreme power or jurisdiction of all; *τέρμα σωτηρίας ἔχειν*, to have power to save; *τέρμα Κορίνθοι ἔχειν*, to hold the supreme government of Corinth &c. Compare also the examples in the lexicons.

have done only after the first imprisonment.¹ So with a fragment on the Canon, written about A.D. 170, and published by Muratori. This, indeed, makes the first explicit mention of a “*profectio Pauli ab urbe ad Spaniam proficiscentis*,” but in a passage so defaced and obscure, that the most we can gather from it is, that there was then current a report of such a journey. This rumor, however, not a single ecclesia Paulina in that land can substantiate, and it may be very easily accounted for, according to Neander’s own concession, as a premature conclusion from the apostle’s purpose (Rom. 15 : 24 sqq.) to his execution of it.²

(c) The first clear and unequivocal statement of Paul’s release from his first confinement and of a subsequent second imprisonment in Rome, is that of Eusebius (†340), in the second book of his Church History, ch. 22. The force of his testimony, however, is materially weakened by the fact, that he bases it, not on any historical foundation (simply saying in the most indefinite way : *λόγος ἔχει*), but rather on his own interpretation of 2 Tim. 4 : 16, 17, as noticed above. And this is now given up as erroneous even by most of the advocates of a second imprisonment. Besides, the whole chronological system of Eusebius required this hypothesis to support it. For he made Paul’s first imprisonment begin with the spring of the year 55, which is at any rate decidedly incorrect ; and put his death in the thirteenth year of Nero’s reign, the year 67. Unless, therefore, he had assumed a liberation of the apostle, he would have had to suppose a continuous confinement of *twelve* years.

To sum up in few words the result of this discussion ; we must say, that the hypothesis of a second imprisonment of Paul in Rome rests on a very poor foundation, and has been suggested, not so much by reliable historical tradition, as by the effort, on the one hand, to extend as far as possible the sphere of the apostle’s labor, and, on the other, to remove certain exegetical difficulties, which the Pastoral Epistles, particularly the second epistle to Timothy, present,—difficulties, however, which may be more satisfactorily solved without this hypothesis and the vague combinations connected with it.

§ 88. *The Martyrdom of Paul, and the Neronian Persecution.* A.D. 64.

Respecting the formal trial of the apostle we know nothing, but what may be gathered from a general knowledge of the usages of the Roman tribunal, and from some hints in the second epistle to Timothy. At all

¹ Comp. the details in Wieseler, p. 534 sq.

² Comp. also on this point, Wieseler, p. 536 sqq. This scholar, who, in the fragment above referred to, supplies the verb “omittit,” thinks, that Muratori’s Canon *would deny* Paul’s journey to Spain, and for the reason, that Luke makes no mention of it in Acts.

events, the fact, that at least two years passed away, according to Acts 28 : 30, 31, before his case came up for decision, can give us no surprise. For we have to consider, in the first place, that, by reason of its connection with a religious controversy, this case was very complicated ; secondly, that the defendant had remained two years also in Cæsarea without being tried ; thirdly, that despotic emperors, among whom Nero, after his *quinquennium*, most emphatically belonged, often purposely delayed judicial investigations ; and finally, that the Jews would have good reason to prolong the suit, whether to have time to secure patrons at court, or to make the apostle harmless, at least as long as possible, by keeping the issue in uncertainty. In cases like that before us, where the witnesses, who were commonly required to appear in person (comp. Acts 24 : 19), had to come from a great distance, the prosecutor was allowed considerable time. The principal parts of a formal process were, successive speeches from the prosecutor and his colleagues, speeches in defense (*ἀπολογίαί*) from the accused and his friends, the hearing of witnesses, and the examination of other sources of evidence. Then followed immediately the decision of the judge. Where the evidence of guilt or innocence was clear, he either condemned or acquitted, but in doubtful cases adjourned the court, i. e. pronounced a *non liquet* ; and then after an appointed interval the above named process must be repeated in an *actio secunda*, till a definite judgment could be given. From 2 Tim. 4 : 15, according to the true interpretation, it appears, that in Paul's case such an adjournment took place, as also formerly in Cæsarea (Acts 24 : 22). In his first defense he was deserted, indeed, by his own friends, through their fear of death, but, in the strength of the Lord, made a fearless confession of his faith before the highest tribunal of the heathen world. But though he was not this time condemned, his condition seems to have become somewhat worse. Whether he came to a second hearing, as he expected according to 2 Tim. 4 : 16, 18, or whether the persecution, which soon broke out, interrupted the course of the law by violence, we do not know.

The second epistle to Timothy, however, which bears plain marks of being, at all events, the last letter of the great Apostle of the Gentiles, allows us at least a glimpse of his state of mind shortly before his martyrdom. For nearly thirty years had he now served his heavenly Lord and Master with unexampled fidelity and self-denial. Innumerable perils, conflicts, and persecutions, on land and sea, in city and desert, among Jews, heathens, and false brethren, he had borne with a heroism possible only by help from above, and mightier than any arguments of reason to prove the divinity of the Christian religion. And now as he nears the goal of his noble career, he leaves behind him a most beautiful me-

morial of his paternal love for his disciple, Timothy ; of his unwearied care for the church and for the purity of saving doctrine ; of his exalted tranquillity of soul ; and of his unshaken trust in the almighty and faithful God, and in the final triumph of His gospel over all its foes. He could not have retired more worthily from the field of his warfare, than with those sublime words, 2 Tim. 4 : 7, 8 : "I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith : henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous judge, shall give me at that day ; and not to me only, but unto all them also that love his appearing."

According to tradition, Paul, being a Roman citizen, was put to death with the sword,¹ either shortly before, or during, the persecution of the Christians under Nero, which began in the year 64.²

The immediate outward occasion of this first³ imperial persecution of the Christians was the fearful conflagration, which broke out on the 19th of July (XIV Kalend. Sextil.), A.D. 64, lasted six days and seven nights, and, of the fourteen wards, into which Rome was then divided, laid three entirely, and seven half, in ruins. The heathen authors unanimously attribute the incendiarism to Nero himself, who, for the first five years of his reign (54–59), under the guidance of Seneca and Burrus, was a model prince, but afterwards abandoned himself to such arbitrary despotism and unnatural cruelty, that he must be counted one of the most horrible of tyrants. During the conflagration, the greatest known to history, he staid in Antium, not far from the city ; regaled himself

¹ On the Ostian way, outside the city, near the present church of St. Paul. So says the Roman presbyter, Caius, at the end of the second century, in Eusebius : *Hist. Eccl.* II, 25 (ἐπὶ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν Ὠστίαν). His being beheaded is mentioned first by Tertullian : *De præsceptis hæc.* c. 36 : "Habes Romam. . . ubi . . . Paulus Johannis (the Baptist's) exitu coronatur." Then Eusebius : *H. E.* II, 25 : Παῦλος δὲ οὖν ἐπ' αὐτῆς Ῥώμης τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτμηθῆναι . . . ἱστορεῖται, cf. III, 1. Jerome (*De script. eccl.*, c. 5) says of Paul : "Decimo quarto Neronis anno eodem die, quo Petrus, Romæ pro Christo capite truncatus sepultusque est in via Ostiensi."

² Wieseler, p. 531, puts the execution of Paul in the beginning of the year 64, and the crucifixion of Peter in the Neronian persecution, therefore some months later. Tradition places the death of both apostles in the Neronian persecution, and some witnesses, as Jerome and Gelasius, put both martyrdoms on the same day ; while others, as Arator, Cedrenus, Augustine, separate them by an interval of one year or less. That Paul suffered first, before the outbreak of the persecution properly so called, seems to be indicated by the easier mode and the locality of his death. For in the persecution itself his Roman citizenship would hardly have been respected ; and the scene of that persecution was not the Ostian way, but the Vatican across the Tiber, where Nero's gardens and the circus lay (comp. Tacitus : *Annal.* XIV, 14, and Bunsen : *Beschreibung der Stadt Rom.* II, 1. p. 13 sqq.).

³ For in Claudius' edict of banishment the Christians were not yet distinguished from the Jews.

from the tower of Maecenas with the magnificent sight of the flames ; recited, in his favorite theatrical dress, the destruction of Troy ; and hurried back to Rome only when the raging element approached his own palace. To divert from himself the general suspicion of the incendiarism, and at the same time to furnish new entertainment for his diabolical cruelty, he cast the blame upon the hated Christians, who, meanwhile, especially since the public trial of Paul and his successful labors in Rome, had come to be distinguished from the Jews as a *genus tertium*, and of whom not only the rude multitude, but even earnest and cultivated heathens—as the example of Tacitus shows—were inclined to believe the most shameful things. On this suspicion and the equally groundless charge of misanthropy and unnatural vice, Nero caused a vast multitude (*ingens multitudo*, as Tacitus says) to be put to death in the most shocking manner. This was the answer of the powers of hell to the mighty preaching of the two chief apostles, which had shaken Heathenism to its centre. Some of the Christians were crucified ; some sewed up in the skins of wild animals and thrown out to be torn to pieces by dogs ; some smeared with combustible material, and burned at night for torches in the imperial gardens. The whole wound up with a theatrical exhibition, in which Nero appeared as charioteer.¹ This event in the

¹ Suetonius : *Nero*, 16 : “Afflicti supplicii Christiani, genus hominum superstitionis novae ac maleficae.” The conflagration he describes in another connection, c. 38. Much more accurate is the famous narrative of Tacitus in his *Annales*, XV. 44. He holds the Christians, indeed, innocent of the incendiarism, but yet, in his ignorance of the Christian religion, gives an altogether unjust description of them, and still quite confounds them with the Jews in their notorious *odium generis humani* (comp. *Hist.* V. 5, where he says of the Jews : “Apud ipsos fides obstinata, misericordia in promptu, sed *adversus omnes alios hostile odium*”). The passage, *Annal.* XV. 44, in many respects remarkable, we give in the original : “Sed non ope humana, non largitionibus principis aut deum placamentis decedebat infamia, quin jussum incendium crederetur. Ergo abolendo rumori Nero subdidit reos, et quaesitissimis poenis affecit, quos per flagitia invisos vulgus Christianos appellabat. Auctor nominis ejus Christus Tiberio imperitante per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum supplicio affectus erat ; repressa quoque in praesens exitiabilis superstitio rursus erumpebat, non modo per Judaeam, originem ejus mali, sed per urbem etiam, quo cuncta undique atrocita aut pudenda confluent celebranturque. (This ‘rursus erumpebat’ refers no doubt to the extraordinary success which must have crowned the labors of Paul and Peter in Rome, and which the more readily accounts for the diabolical cruelty of the Neronian persecution.) Igitur primo correpti qui fatebantur (what? the incendiarism, or the Christian faith?), deinde indiciorum multitudo ingens, haud perinde in crimine incendii quam odio humani generis convicti sunt. Et pereuntibus addita ludibria, ut ferarum tergis contexti laniati canum interirent, aut crucibus affixis, aut flammandi, atque ubi defecisset dies, in usum nocturni luminis urerentur. (Juvenal says, that the Christians, standing with their throats pinned to posts, burned like torches!) Hortos suos ei spectaculo Nero obtulerat, et circense ludicrum edebat, habitu aurigae permixtus plebi vel curriculo insistens. Unde

metropolis could, of course, only make the condition of the Christians in the provinces worse, and perhaps drew after it several other persecutions. Unfortunately no account has come down to us of the tremendous impression, which this tragical scene and the almost simultaneous martyrdoms of the two leading apostles must have made on the Jewish as well as the Gentile Christians.

It is no accident, that the line of persecuting emperors began with the man, who represents the ripest product of heathen depravity; stands branded in history as one of the most wicked of men, a real moral monster; and was made by common rumor the forerunner of Antichrist.¹ History delights to place in immediate contrast the greatest moral opposites, as here the apostles Paul and Peter, and the monster Nero, and to illustrate at once the destiny of virtue, forever victorious in seeming defeat, and the fate of vice, whose triumph is the eternal monument of its shame.

quamquam adversus fontes et novissima exempla meritis, miseratio oriebatur, tanquam non utilitate publica, sed in saevitiam unius absumerentur.”

¹ The report arose first among the heathen, that Nero was not really dead, and would come forth again from his concealment; according to Tacitus (*Hist.* II. 8): “Sub idem tempus Achaëja atque Asia falso exterritæ, velut Nero adventaret, vario super exitu ejus rumore, eoque pluribus vivere eum fingentibus credentibusque.” Among the Christians this rumor took the form, that Nero would return as Antichrist, or (according to Lactantius) as the forerunner of Antichrist. That such an expectation arose, at least afterwards, in the church, though merely as the private opinion of individuals, is plain from Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, lib. xx. cap. 19. where he says, that, by the “mystery of iniquity,” 2 Thess. 2 : 7, some understood Nero, and then proceeds: “Unde nonnulli ipsum (Neronem) resurrecturum et futurum Antichristum suspicantur. Alii vero nec eum occisum putant, sed subtractum potius, ut putaretur occisus; et vivum occultari in vigore ipsius ætatis, in qua fuit, quum crederetur extinctus, donec suo tempore reveletur et restituatur in regnum. Sed multum mihi mira est hæc opinantium tanta præsumptio.” Lactantius mentions a similar opinion, *De mort. persec.* c. 2, with a reference to a passage in the *Sibylline Oracles* (lib. iv. p. 525, ed. Ser. Gallæus), which, however, refer not at all to Antichrist, but probably to the appearance of the pseudo-Nero in the time of Titus (comp Tacitus : *Hist.* I. 2), as to a past fact; as Thiersch has shown (*Kritik der N. Tlichen Schriften*, 1845, p. 410 sqq.) against Bleek. Altogether erroneous is the view of Ewald, Lücke, and others, who charge this superstition respecting Nero as the future Antichrist upon the author of the Apocalypse; taking the beast, which “was, and is not, and yet is” (17 : 8, 11) to be Nero. This betrays an exceedingly low, unworthy view of this holy book.

CHAPTER IV.

LABORS OF THE OTHER APOSTLES DOWN TO THE DESTRUCTION
OF JERUSALEM.§ 89. *Character of Peter*

SIMON, as he was originally called, or, as he was afterwards named, PETER, was the son of the fisherman Jonas.¹ He was a native of Bethsaida in Galilee,² and a resident of Capernaum,³ where he followed his father's occupation. His brother Andrew, a disciple of John the Baptist, first brought him to Jesus, by whom he was called to be a fisher of men.⁴ After that miraculous draught of fishes, from which he received an overwhelming impression of power and majesty of the Lord, and by which he was awakened to a sense of his own weakness and sinfulness (Luke 5 : 3 sqq.), he surrendered himself wholly to the service of Christ, and became, with John and the elder James, a confidant of his Master, and a witness of the transfiguration on Mt. Tabor and the agony in Gethsemane. And in this triad itself he is plainly the most prominent personage. He is, in fact, the "organ of the whole college of apostles,"⁵ speaking and acting in their name. While the contemplative, reflecting John lay in mysterious silence on the Saviour's bosom, the more practical and energetic Peter could never conceal his inmost nature, but everywhere involuntarily exposed it. Hence the gospels reveal him to us both in his virtues and his failings, more fully than they do any other apostle. With the most honest enthusiasm he gives himself up to Jesus, confessing, for all his colleagues, that He is the Messiah, the Son of the living God (Matth 16 : 16). Soon after, with

¹ Matth 4 : 18. 16 : 17. Jno. 1 : 42. 21 : 16.

² Jno. 1 : 44.

³ Matth. 8 : 14. Luke 4 : 38

⁴ Matth. 4 : 18 sqq. Mk. 1 : 16 sqq. Jno. 1 : 41 sq.

⁵ So Chrysostom styles him, *In Joann. homil.* 88, where he says of Peter: *Εκκρίτε ἡν τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ στόμα τῶν μαθητῶν καὶ κορυφὴ τοῦ χοροῦ.*

unbecoming familiarity and unconscious presumption, he undertakes to rebuke his Lord, and to dissuade him from the course of suffering, which was necessary for the redemption of the world (Matth. 16 : 22). On the mount of transfiguration he proposes, under the impulse of the moment, to build tabernacles, and make sensuous provision for retaining the happiness he felt (Matth. 17 : 4). When Jesus was washing the disciples' feet, Simon, in high-minded modesty, presumed to know better than his Master : "Lord, dost thou wash my feet?" "Thou shalt never wash my feet" (John 13 : 6, 8). What a remarkable mixture of glowing love to Christ and rash self-reliance expresses itself in his vow shortly before the arrest in the garden : "Though all men shall be offended because of thee, yet will I never be offended!" . . . "Though I should die with thee, yet will I not deny thee!" (Matth. 26 : 33, 35.) How stormy and inconsiderate his carnal zeal in the garden of Gethsemane, where, instead of meekly suffering, he draws the sword! (Jno. 18 : 10.) And then ere long came his deep and grievous fall ; fear of man and love of life making him unfaithful to his Master. But, in the hands of God, all this was the means of showing him his own weakness by bitter experience, humbling his heart, and teaching him to place his strength in the grace of God alone. The Lord did not forsake him. He prayed that his faith might not fail (Luke 22 : 31, 32) ;¹ restored him, after His resurrection, to the pastoral office, of which he had rendered himself unworthy by his apostasy ; and gave him charge of His sheep and lambs. The apostle had first, however, to be thoroughly tested by the thrice repeated question : "Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me,—lovest thou me more than these?" The Lord would here humble and shame him, by reminding him of his thrice repeated denial of his Master, and of his self-exaltation above his fellow-disciples. Now his pride is broken, his ardor purified. He ventures no more to place himself above the rest, but submits the measure of his love to the Searcher of hearts ; conscious that he loves his Lord, and recognizing in this love the element of his life ; but at the same time painfully sensible, that he does not love him as he ought, and as he gladly would (Jno. 21 : 15 sqq.). That he allowed himself, even after this, to be hurried by momentary impulse into inconsistencies, is shown by the well-known occurrence at Antioch.² But he was doubtless enabled to

¹ It is worthy of remark, that in this passage, according to the original, the faith of the other apostles seems to be made dependent on that of Peter. "And the Lord said, Simon, Simon, behold, Satan hath desired to have *you* (*ὑμᾶς*, which includes all the disciples), that he may sift you as wheat ; but I have prayed for *thee* (*περὶ σοῦ*, referring to Peter), that thy faith fail not ; and when *thou* art converted, strengthen *thy brethren*."

² Com. § 70 above.

improve this repeated disclosure of his weakness to his own humiliation, and ever kept in view the Lord's last, prophetic words, that he should walk in the path of self-denial, and should finally complete his obedience and faithfulness by suffering a violent death (Jno 21 : 18 sq.). For we elsewhere find him fearlessly confessing his faith before the people, before the council, and in the face of the greatest danger ; steadfast, in love to the Lord under toil and tribulation, even to the most excruciating martyrdom ; and thus, after all, proving himself eminently worthy of his new name.¹

This sketch of the life of Simon Peter gives us a picture of a remarkable combination of great natural talents and virtues with peculiar weaknesses. This apostle was distinguished from the other eleven by an ardent, impulsive, choleric, sanguine temperament, an open, shrewd, practical nature, bold self-confidence, prompt energy, and an eminent talent for representing and governing the church. He was always ready to speak out his mind and heart, to resolve, and to act. But these natural endowments brought with them a peculiarly strong temptation to vanity, self-conceit and ambition. His excitable, impulsive disposition might very easily lead him to over-estimate his powers, to trust too much to himself, and, in the hour of danger, to yield with equal readiness to entirely opposite impressions. This explains his denial of his Lord, in spite of his usual firmness and joy in confessing his faith. In *depth* of knowledge and love he doubtless fell short of a Paul and a John, and hence was not so well fitted, as they, for the work of perfecting the church. His strength lay in the fire of immediate inspiration, in promptness of speech and action, and in an imposing mien, which at once commanded respect and obedience. He was born to be a church leader, and his powers, after proper purification by the Spirit of Christ, admirably fitted him for the work of beginning, for the task of founding and organizing the church.

§ 90. *Position of Peter in Church History.*

What has now been said already indicates the place and significance of this apostle in the history of the church. His position was determined by his natural qualifications, so far as they were under the guidance of the Holy Ghost and enlisted for the truth. The Lord knew, at once, what was in him, and named him, at the outset, with reference to his future activity, *Cephas*, in the Aramaic language, or, as translated into Greek, *Peter*, signifying Rock.² A year afterwards the Saviour confirmed and explained to him this title of honor, and connected with

¹ Acts 3 : 1-4 : 22. 5 : 17-41. 12 : 3-17.

² John 1 : 42. Mark 3 : 16.

it that remarkable promise, which has been such an apple of discord in the history of the church. While others regarded Jesus as, at best, a forerunner of the Messiah, and therefore a mere man, however distinguished, Simon was the first to recognize and acknowledge, with his whole soul, and with the energy of living faith, the great central mystery, the fundamental article of Christianity, the Messiahship of his Master; the absolute union of the divine and the human, and the all-sufficient fullness of life, in the person of Jesus of Nazareth. In a critical, sifting hour, when many were apostatizing, Simon declared, in the name of all his colleagues, from the depths of his inmost experience, and with the emphasis of the most assured and sacred conviction: "Thou art the Christ" (the Anointed of God, the long promised and anxiously expected Messiah), "the Son of the living God!" Or, according to the somewhat more extended account of John: "Lord, to whom shall we go? thou hast the words of eternal life; and we believe and are sure that thou art that Christ, the Son of the living God" (Jno. 6 : 66-69). On the ground of this first Christian creed, this joyful confession of saving faith, revealed to him not by flesh and blood (i. e., neither by his own nature, nor by another man, as formerly by his brother Andrew, Jno. 1 : 40, 41), but by the Father in heaven, the Lord pronounced him blessed, and added: "*Thou art Peter*" (rock, man of rock); "*and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven*" (Matth. 16 : 18, 19). We have here an uncommonly significant play upon words, which we cannot feel the full force of without referring to the Greek, or, what is still better, the Hebrew original. Without doubt our Lord, used in both clauses, the Aramaic word כִּפְּיָא, (hence the Greek κηφᾶς applied to Simon, Jno. 1 : 42).² In the Greek: σὺ εἶ Πέτρος, καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρῃ, as also in the Latin: tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram,—the play on words is somewhat obscured by the necessary change of gender.³ In the German and English it is

¹ Matth 16 : 16 Comp. Mk. 8 : 29. Luke 9 : 20.

² Hence the old Syriac translation, the Peshito, renders the passage in question thus: Anath *chípha*, vehall hada *chípha*. The Arabic translation has *alsachra* in both places

³ The Cephias in the first clause must be translated Πέτρος, Petrus, because it denotes a man; and the masculine form, too, was already in use as the name of a person (comp. Leont. *Schol.* 18; Fabric. *biblioth. gr.* xi. 334). In the classics πέτρος signifies properly a stone, and πέτρα the whole rock. But this distinction is not always observed; and in the passage before us it is entirely disregarded, as the Greek word must in both places correspond to the Aramaic, Cephias, which always means

wholly lost, since *Fels* and *rock* are never used as proper names. But in the French : Tu es *Pierre*, et sur cette *Pierre* je bâtirai mon église,—it is brought out as clearly as in the Semitic dialects.

In the interpretation of this passage two errors are to be avoided. On the one hand, the promise must not be sundered from the confession, and attached to the mere person of Peter, as such.¹ For, in the first place, the name, "Peter," v. 18, is antithetic to the original name, "Simon Bar-Jona," v. 17, and thus denotes the new, spiritual man, into which the old Simon either already was, or was gradually to be transformed by the Spirit of Christ. Then again, the Lord immediately afterwards (Matth. 16 : 23) says to the same apostle, when indulging his natural spirit : "Get thee behind me, *Satan*" (evil counsellor, adversary) ; "thou art an offence unto me ; for thou savorest not the things that be of God, but those that be of men." His fault was, that he had undertaken, with the best intentions, indeed, yet with the short-sightedness, fear of suffering, and presumption, of the natural man, to dissuade his Master from submitting to the suffering of the cross, which was indispensable for the salvation of the world.

Equally unreasonable is it, on the other hand, to disjoin, as many Protestant theologians do, the "petra" from the preceding "Petros," and refer it solely to the confession in v. 16. For this plainly destroys the beautiful, vivacious play upon words and the significance of the ταύτη, which evidently refers to the nearest antecedent, "Petros." Besides, the church of Christ is built, not upon abstract doctrines and confessions, but upon living persons, as the bearers of the truth.²

Rather must we, with all the fathers and the best modern Protestant interpreters, refer the words : "Thou art a rock," &c., by all means to Peter, indeed, but only to him as he appears in the immediate context ; that is, to the renewed Peter, to whom God had revealed the mystery

rock, and is used both as a proper and a common noun. The most we can say is, that πέτρα, in the second clause, more plainly includes Peter's confession also, as well as his person, and so far points us at once to the true interpretation. In figurative language, πέτρα denotes, in the classics, as in this passage, firmness, stability ; as in Homer : *Odys.* XVII. 463 ; but very often, also, hardness of heart, want of feeling. The corresponding words in the modern languages admit of the same twofold application.

¹ Then we should rather have in the Greek : ἐπὶ σοί, τῷ πέτρῳ.

² Hardly worth mentioning is the reference of the "petra" to Christ. Christ is, indeed, the rock of the church, and the immovable Rock of Ages, in the highest sense of the term. But in this passage he evidently appears as the *architect* of the building and cannot, without violating all rules of sound taste, present himself in one breath under two different images. Besides, this interpretation would make the preceding : "Thou art a rock," utterly unmeaning, and destroy the natural significancy of the demonstrative particle, "this."

of the Incarnation (v. 16, 17); to Peter, the fearless confessor of the Saviour's divinity; in a word, to *Peter in Christ*. Thus the sense is: "I appoint thee, as the living witness of this fundamental truth, which thou hast just confessed, to be the chief instrument in the founding of my indestructible church; and endow thee with all the powers of its government, under me, the builder and supreme ruler of the same." In these words, therefore, our Lord describes the *official character* of this apostle, and foretells to him his *future place in the history of the church*. Peter, with his faith and the bold profession of it, here appears as the foundation, and Christ himself as the master builder, of that wonderful spiritual edifice, which no hostile power can destroy. Absolutely, Christ, of course, is called the foundation (θεμέλιον) of the church, besides which no other can be laid (1 Cor. 3 : 11); but, in a secondary or relative sense, so are the apostles also, whom Christ uses as his instruments. Hence, in Eph. 2 : 20, it is said of the saints, that they "are built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets (ἐπὶ τῷ θεμελίῳ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ προφητῶν), Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone;" and hence the twelve foundations (θεμελιοὶ) of the New Jerusalem bear the names of the twelve apostles, of the Lamb (Rev. 21 : 14). If now the apostles, in general, under the guidance, of course, of the Holy Ghost, are the human founders of the church, as ministers of Christ, and "laborers together with God" (1 Cor. 3 : 9), the proper Builder;—this is true in an altogether peculiar sense of Peter, their representative and leader.

The Acts of the Apostles, accordingly, testify to this;—the first twelve chapters forming a continuous commentary on the prophecy of Christ, Matt. 16 : 18. If, even before the resurrection, Peter stands at the head of the apostolic college,¹ he is plainly, after that event until the appearance of Paul, the leading spirit, the organ of the whole Christian body in word and deed. He is chief actor in the election of Matthias as successor of Judas; in the scenes of Pentecost; in the healing of the lame man; in the punishment of Ananias. It was he, more than any other, who extended the church by word and work in Judea and Samaria, and fearlessly defended the cause of Christ before the council, in the face of imprisonment and chains. And, while thus standing at the head of the Jewish mission, he also laid the foundation for the Gentile mission, by baptizing the uncircumcised Cornelius. In short, down to the apostolic council at Jerusalem, A.D. 50 (Acts 15), Peter is un-

¹ As appears from the lists of the apostles, in all of which Peter is mentioned first; and from many other passages: Matt. 10 : 2 sqq. 14 : 28. 16 : 16–19. 17 : 4, 24, 25. 18 : 21. 19 : 27. Mk. 3 : 16 sqq. 8 : 29. 11 : 21. Luke 6 : 14 sqq. 12 : 41. 22 : 31 sqq. Jno. 6 : 68. 21 : 15 sqq., etc.

questionably the most important personage in the church. He maintains a superiority so clearly assigned him by his natural capacities, as well as by the prophecy of Christ, and so fully confirmed by the facts of the apostolic history, that nothing but blind party spirit can explain, without, however, by any means justifying, the denial of it.

But it is to be observed, in the first place, that, in the history of Peter, we find no trace of any thing like spiritual tyranny or hierarchical presumption in this superiority. On the contrary, that apostle describes himself, with the greatest modesty, as "also an elder, and a witness of the sufferings of Christ," and exhorts the elders to "feed the flock of God," not in the spirit of covetousness and ambition, as lords over God's heritage, but by a holy example (1 Pet. 5 : 1-3). Then again, this primacy never interfered with the independence of the other apostles in their own spheres of labor ; nor did it keep pace with the spread of the church, nor extend itself, at least with equal force, to all parts of the same. After the apostolic council we see no longer Peter, but James, at the head of the church at Jerusalem and of the strict Jewish Christian party. On the field of the missionary operations among the Gentiles, and in the first literature of Christianity, Peter was quite eclipsed by the later called Paul (comp. 1 Cor. 15 : 10). The same book of Acts, which gives Peter so prominent a position in the first part of its history, but loses sight of him altogether after c. 15, places Paul in a relation to Peter, like that, so to speak, of the rising sun to the setting moon. At all events, the relation was one of perfect independence, as is at once conclusively proved by the first two chapters of the Epistle to the Galatians. For Paul does not derive his authority in any way whatever from Peter, but directly from Jesus Christ, and was so far from considering Peter his superior, that he boldly resisted him to the face at Antioch and charged him openly with inconsistency. In the last stadium of its development, after the death of Peter and Paul, John alone was fitted to lead the apostolic church, and by his genius to complete its organization. But who can for a moment entertain the idea, which necessarily flows from the Roman doctrine of the *perpetual jure divino* force of Peter's primacy over the church *universal*, that the beloved disciple, who leaned on the bosom of the Godman, was subject to the bishop of Rome, a Linus or a Clement, as the successor of Peter and heir to his authority ; or even that Peter himself exercised a papal authority over John ? The peculiar office assigned to Peter, therefore, refers plainly to the work of *laying the foundation* of the apostolic church ; and it can be regarded as transmissible and of universal force, only in the sense in which the gifts of all the other apostles may be said to perpetuate themselves in the Christian world, and in which the apostles themselves

may be viewed as determining, by their personal acts, as well as the continued influence of their word and spirit, every step in the history of the church.

§ 90 *Later Labors of Peter. His First Epistle.*

As we have already given an ample share of attention to Peter's labors down to his collision with Paul at Antioch,¹ it only remains to speak of his subsequent activity, which, however, is involved in mysterious darkness. We here have to leave the authentic accounts of Holy Scripture, and enter upon the uncertain ground of tradition. The Acts, after the apostolic council (c. 15), make no further mention of this apostle, and seem thus to intimate, that he again left Jerusalem in the year 50, or soon after, and resigned this field of labor to James, who thenceforth appears at the head of the mother church (comp. Acts 21 : 18 sqq.). It is altogether consistent with his position of mediation between James, the strict apostle of the Jews, and Paul, the liberal apostle of the Gentiles, that he should extend the sphere of his activity beyond Palestine, and even preach the gospel to the Gentiles; though he continued to be, on the whole, the most distinguished leader of the Jewish Christian portion of the church. Even after the council at Jerusalem, Paul calls him pre-eminently the Apostle of the *circumcision* (Gal. 2 : 8); and from the epistles to the Corinthians it appears, that the Jewish Christians appealed with special predilection to Cephas.

Soon after the year 50, we find him at Antioch in company with Paul and Barnabas (Gal. 2 : 11 sqq.); but how long he staid there, we are not told.² From an incidental remark in the first epistle to the Corinthians, which was written in the year 57, it would appear, that Peter never settled permanently in any place, but, as the very idea of an apostle implies, made missionary journeys, in which, too, he took his wife with him;³ though of these journeys the New Testament gives us no further account. According to Origen and Eusebius,⁴ he preached to the Jews

¹ Comp. above, § 56, 57, 59, 60, 69, and 70.

² The tradition of Eusebius and Jerome makes Peter the founder and first bishop of the church at Antioch; but this is irreconcilable with the account in Acts 11 : 19 sqq. Far sooner might this be said of Barnabas and Paul, who had previously labored there. The work of founding, however, is not always necessarily limited to first beginnings; and that Peter had an essential agency in the organization and strengthening of the church at Antioch, is in itself very probable, even though he might have resided there but a short time.

³ 1 Cor. 9 : 5. Comp. Matt. 8 : 14. Luke 4 : 38; where Peter's mother-in-law is mentioned.

⁴ Euseb. : *H. Eccl.* III. 1 and 3; also Epiphanius : *Haeres.* XXVII. p. 107, and Jerome : *Script. eccl. sub Petro.* Origen himself says, Eus. III. 1 : *κεκηρυχέναι*, . .

scattered in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia. There is no sufficient reason for pronouncing this old tradition a false inference from the superscription of his first epistle. The epistle certainly contains no distinct intimation that the author had previously visited those countries ; but we must consider, that it is a circular letter, and therefore general in its contents, like the epistle to the Ephesians. Furthermore, the second epistle of Peter, addressed to the same churches as the first (2 Pet. 3 : 1), pre-supposes a personal acquaintance with the readers (1 : 16). On the other hand, many modern scholars, taking the literal interpretation of Babylon (1 Pet. 5 : 13), have based on it the opinion, that Peter at one time labored in the Parthian empire ; while the ancients rather understood Rome to be here meant. The only certain memorials of his later activity are his two epistles in our canon. With these we must now acquaint ourselves more minutely, before proceeding to discuss the point of his reputed residence in Rome.

A. The First Epistle of Peter.

1. The readers of this epistle are to be sought, according to the salutation (1 : 1), in Asia Minor, in the provinces of Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Proconsular Asia, and Bithynia,—countries, in which Christianity was planted mainly by Paul and his disciples. The address : “ Elect strangers (pilgrims) of the *dispersion* ” (ἐκλεκτοὶ παρεπίδημοι διασποράς Ἰούδων etc.), might seem to confine the epistle to the *Jewish* Christians, who were scattered through those provinces. But the contents of the letter itself are specially addressed to *Gentile* Christians ; and, in fact, we know from the Acts and Paul’s epistles, that the churches in Asia Minor were a mixture of both Jews and Gentiles. The terms applied to the readers are, therefore, to be taken as figurative ; Peter conceiving all believers as pilgrims to a heavenly home, an incorruptible inheritance,² and transferring the notion of the Diaspora to the Christians, as the true spiritual Israel, dispersed in the unbelieving world (2 : 9. Comp. Jno. 11 : 52).

2. Scope and contents. The object of this hortatory circular seems to have been twofold : first, by awakening lively hope, and pointing to the example of Christ, to exhort the readers to a life corresponding to their faith, especially to patience and steadfastness under existing or impending persecutions (2 : 11–5 : 11) ; and secondly, at the same time, to establish and confirm them in the doctrine and the grace, which had been communicated to them from the first (5 : 12. comp. 2 Pet. 3 : 15) ;

τοίκεν, and certainly seems here to express his view as a *mere supposition*, rounded on 1 Pet. 1 : 1.

¹ C. 1 : 14, 18. 2 : 9, 10. 3 : 6. 4 : 3.

² 1 : 4, 5, 7, 9, 13, 17. 2 : 11. Comp. Heb. 11 : 13, 14, 16.

and therefore, as Paul and his followers had founded those churches, to testify Peter's essential agreement in faith with the Apostle of the Gentiles. The occasion may have been given by Judaizing teachers, who, as we see especially from the epistles to the Galatians and Corinthians, took all pains to undermine the influence of Paul, and for this purpose made a false use particularly of the name and authority of Peter, as the oldest and most distinguished Apostle of the Jews. Hence Peter assures those churches, that those who first preached the gospel to them were filled with the Holy Ghost (1 : 12), and that the doctrine delivered to them was the eternal, unchangeable word of the Lord (1 : 25). Hence, too, the letter was sent by Silvanus (5 : 12), who, having been a disciple and companion of Paul and his co-laborer in the planting of those churches, was eminently qualified for such a mission. In fact, the letter itself, in its doctrinal contents and even its forms of expression, bears a very close affinity to the epistles of Paul, particularly those to the Ephesians and Colossians, which are addressed to people in the same regions, are aimed, directly or indirectly, against similar errors, and thus show the essential unanimity of the two apostles in the fundamental doctrines of salvation.¹ Perhaps the coincidences of Peter's epistle with these, which were written at least two years before, as well as with that of James, are intentional, to make surer of the object in view.² Moreover, the letter is characterized by a certain fire altogether suiting Peter's temperament, but purified by experience ; a blooming freshness ;

¹ Eph. 2 : 20. 3 : 5. 4 : 3 sqq.

² This affinity is, with Schwegler (*Das nachapost. Zeitalter*, II. p. 2 sqq.), the main argument against the genuineness of the first epistle of Peter. In spite of all external evidence, he makes this letter a production of the Pauline school in the time of the persecution under Trajan. But such a hypothesis can commend itself only to those, who draw their knowledge of Peter's way of thinking from the pseudo-Clementine writings and other apocryphal and heretical productions of the second century, instead of taking it from the hitherto generally acknowledged and only reliable source, viz. the Acts of the Apostles, which, especially in the 15th ch., place beyond doubt the essential fellowship of Peter and Paul in doctrine, that *κοινωνία*, of which Paul also speaks in Gal. 2 : 9. Then again, it must be considered, that Peter's gifts lay not in the line of developing doctrines and of authorship, but in the practical sphere of the planting, training, and governing of the church. Besides, the epistles of Peter, after all, have also many peculiarities in perfect keeping with what we otherwise know of that apostle's character. To the subjective taste of the skeptical De Wette, who looks in vain for a "literary peculiarity" in it, we may boldly oppose the opinions of equally profound scholars, who judge quite otherwise. Erasmus calls the first epistle "epistolam profecto dignam apostolorum principe, plenam auctoritatis et majestatis apostolicæ, verbis parcam, sententiis dissertam." Grotius says : "Habet hæc ep. τὸ σφοδρὸν, conveniens ingenio principis apostolorum ;" and Bengel : "Mirabilis est gravitas et acris Petri sermonis, lectorem suavissime retinens." Comp. Steiger's *Commentar* p. 5 sqq.

and a meekness and mildness strongly contrasting with the haughty arrogance of so many of the bishops of Rome; c. 5 being directly aimed against an overbearing, hierarchical spirit. It is full of joyful hope and precious consolation, especially for the suffering,—a true fulfillment of the Saviour's injunction: "When thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren" (Luke 22 : 32).

3. As to the date of its composition; we have at once a hint in the fact of its being sent by Silvanus (5 : 12). This person is undoubtedly the same as the Silvanus mentioned in 1 Thess. 1 : 1. 2 Thess. 1 : 1. 2 Cor. 1 : 19, and by the abbreviated form, Silas, in Acts 15 : 22-40. 16 : 19-17 : 10, 14, 15. 18 : 5. He sprang from the church of Jerusalem, and had long been acquainted with Peter, but appears as a companion of Paul until the latter made his fourth journey to Jerusalem, A. D. 54 (Acts 18 : 18-22). It was not till after this, therefore, that he could have come into Peter's neighborhood. We are pointed to a still later date by the probable relation of the first epistle of Peter to the epistles which Paul wrote during his imprisonment at Rome, especially that to the Ephesians (written A. D. 62);¹ and (if the "Babylon" at the close mean, according to the oldest interpretation, Rome), by Paul's not mentioning Peter in those epistles, even in the second to Timothy (A. D. 63). This justifies the inference, that Peter was not then in Rome, and consequently could not then have written a letter from there. With this agrees the fact, that Mark was in Peter's vicinity at the time this epistle was written; for he had probably complied with Paul's invitation to come to Rome (2 Tim. 4 : 11). Hence the year 63 would be the earliest, and the year 67, beyond which Peter certainly cannot have lived, the latest date for the composition of his first epistle. The most probable time is the year 64, shortly before the outbreak of the persecution under Nero. Hug, Neander, and others think, indeed, that such passages as 2 : 12. 3 : 13 sqq. 4 : 4, already presuppose the existence of this persecution: the Christians having been previously persecuted not as Christians, as they now were (4 : 14, 16, where this term occurs as a nickname, of which the believers were not to be ashamed), nor even as "evil-doers" (*κακοποιοί*, malefici, 3 : 16), but simply as a Jewish sect. They were first persecuted as Christians by order of Nero. But we cannot regard this evidence as at all conclusive. For, in the first place, the name "Christians," which was first brought into vogue undoubtedly by the heathens, existed long before (Acts 11 : 26); and the passage of Tacitus, which is appealed to, implies, that the

¹ Comp. 1 Pet. 1 : 1 sq. with Eph. 1 : 4-7; 1 : 3 with 1 : 3; 2 : 18 with 6 : 5; 3 : 1 with 5 : 22; 5 : 5 with 5 : 21. See the tables of comparison in the Introductions of Hug, Credner, and De Wette.

Christians, as such, were, even before the year 64, objects of the most bitter suspicion and hatred; otherwise even Nero could not well have accused them of setting the city on fire. Then again, isolated, temporary persecutions arose in various places after the death of Stephen; and that the Neronian persecution extended to the provinces of Asia Minor, is at least not told us by the pagan historians, though it is certainly, in itself, very probable, that the example of the chief city operated unfavorably to the Christians in the whole empire.³ The expression "evil-doers," 1 Pet. 3 : 16, has a parallel in 2 Tim. 2 : 9, where Paul says of himself, that he is bound as a *κακῶν*. Furthermore, the term does not necessarily mean "state criminals," so as to presuppose already an imperial prohibition of Christianity as a "religio illicita" (such a decree, by the way, was never issued by Nero, but first by Trajan); but is rather shown by the context to be the simple antithesis of "well-doing," "a good conversation in Christ." Finally, the hypothesis, that Peter wrote in the midst of the Neronian persecution, which broke out in July, A. D. 64, cannot well be reconciled with the genuineness of the second epistle, which was composed afterwards, and with the familiar tradition of his being crucified in this persecution. If he were in Rome, he would hardly have sat down to write under such circumstances, or at least he would have painted the sufferings of the Christians in much stronger colors, and would not have failed to speak of the danger to his own life. But if, as Hug and Neander suppose, he wrote from Babylon in Asia, it must have been a long time, by reason of the great distance and little communication between the Roman and the Parthian empires, before he heard of that persecution; and it is not very probable, that he then went immediately to Rome, as we should have to assume, to die as a martyr there in the same persecution. Thus much, however, is certain from the epistle itself, that the Christians, at the time of its composition, were already in a depressed condition throughout the Roman empire, and had to expect the worst; and this points to the later years of Nero's reign. The heavy storm of persecution, raised by

³ *Ann* XV. 44 : "Quos per flagitia invidios, vulgus Christianos appellabat." Comp. the epithet "malefica," which Suetonius, *Ner.* 16, applies to the "superstitio" of the Christians.

² Comp. Acts 12 : 1 sqq. 1 Cor. 4 : 9 sqq. 15 : 31 sqq. Acts 19 : 23 sqq. 2 Cor. 11 : 23 sqq. 1 Thess. 1 : 6, 7. 2 : 14-16. 2 Thess. 1 : 5. Phil. 1 : 28-30. Heb. 10 : 32 sqq.

³ It is first mentioned by Orosius, who, however, being a contemporary of Augustine (†430), cannot be taken as authority on this point. He says, *Histor* VII. 7 : "Nam primus Romæ Christianos suppliciiis et mortibus adfecit (Nero) ac per omnes provincias pari persecutione excruciarî imperavit," etc.

⁴ 1 Pet. 3 : 12, 17. 4 : 15. 2 : 19, 20.

this tyrant, was approaching, and, from what Tacitus says of the very bitter hatred on the part of the heathens towards the new sect, might be regarded as nigh at hand. Perhaps, also, this fact contains the reason of the allegorical designation of Rome as Babylon (5 : 13).

4. Respecting the place where this epistle was written, we have no other hint, than the mention of Babylon at the close (5 : 13). But this is differently interpreted, and is closely connected with the question of Peter's residence in Rome, of which we shall speak at large in a following section.

§ 92. *The Second Epistle of Peter.*

B. The Second Epistle is addressed to the same churches as the first (2 Pet. 3 : 1), but was written somewhat later, shortly before the death of the apostle, the approach of which the Lord had revealed to him (1 : 14). It contains an exhortation to grow in grace and in the knowledge of Jesus Christ, and to prepare for the last advent of the Lord ; a renewed assurance of the unity of faith between the author and the Apostle of the Gentiles, the first teacher and principal founder of those churches ; but above all, an earnest warning against dangerous errorists, of whom some are viewed as already present, others as still to come, and who strongly resemble those attacked by Paul in the Pastoral Epistles. While, thus, the first letter of Peter arms the Christians chiefly against outward danger from the heathen persecution, which was to proceed from Rome, the seat of the centralized despotism of the world ; the second letter has mainly in view the dangers from within, from pseudo-christian and antichristian errorists ; and in this respect it may be compared with Moses' farewell song, and Paul's parting address to the elders of Ephesus. It is an earnest prophecy of future conflicts, the germs of which were already beginning to unfold themselves.

But while the first epistle of Peter is attested as genuine, even by external evidence of the strongest kind,¹ and was universally regarded in the ancient church as apostolical and canonical ; the second epistle, on the contrary, does not distinctly appear under its proper name until it is mentioned by Origen in the third century,² and is enumerated by Eusebius among the *antilegomena*, as to the genuineness of which the church was then as yet divided. Besides this, there are internal marks

¹ Even the epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians contains seven quotations from it.

² He says, in Euseb. *H. E.* VI. 25 : " Peter, on whom the church of Christ is built, . . . has left only one generally acknowledged epistle ; perhaps also a second ; for this is disputed (*ἔστω δὲ καὶ δευτέραν ἀμφιβάλλεται γάρ*). " The old Syriac version, the Peshito, does not contain the second epistle of Peter.

fitted to awaken suspicion of its genuineness; first of all the mention of the writings of the "beloved brother Paul," in which many things are hard to be understood, and are wrested by false teachers (13 : 15, 16). But, strange as this allusion may at first sight appear, it is found, on closer examination, to be well grounded and deeply significant, as aimed against the old and new Gnostics and free-thinkers, who made Paul's doctrine of liberty a cloak for licentiousness and wickedness in theory and in practice. Then again, in the delineation of the heretics in the second chapter and first part of the third, the author has been thought to draw on the epistle of Jude, in a manner unworthy of the prince of the apostles; while some advocates of the genuineness of the epistle, as, most recently, Guericke, see in this an intentional coincidence, suited to Peter's purpose. But, on nearer inspection, the dependence appears rather on the part of Jude; the false teachers in 2 Peter being described for the most part prophetically, as yet to come, but in Jude, as already present. In Jude 17, 18, for instance, there is palpable reference to the apostolic warning in 2 Pet. 3 : 3.¹ The very fulfillment of Peter's prophecy in the congregations, with which Jude came in contact, seems to have been the chief occasion of Jude's epistle. The other sections of the epistle in view, the first and third chapters, are confessedly full of spirit and fire, and every way worthy of an apostle.² Moreover, Peter, in c. 1 : 14, 16 sqq. 3 : 1, 15, so unequivocally presents himself as the author, that the epistle, at least in substance, in its essential thoughts, can only have come either from him or from a manifest impostor. But that the divine providence, which so carefully watched the composition and collection of the apostolic writings, has allowed the production of a forger to creep in amongst the sacred records of Christianity, may be believed by those, with whom what they call science and criticism stands above faith. We freely confess, that we cannot admit it without reasons, which absolutely compel us. We, therefore, hold the epistle in question to be an apostolical production, which rightly has its place in the canon, and contains exhortations most serious and important even for our day. The vacillation of tradition respecting it might perhaps be accounted for by the fact, that it was not designed for immediate general circulation, but was, as it were, a testament of Peter, not to be opened till after his

¹ Comp. Heydenreich's *Vertheidigung der Aechtheit des zw. Briefs Petri*, p. 97 sqq. and Thiersch's *Versuch zur Herstellung des histor. Standpunkts für die Kritik der N. Tlichen Schriften* (1845). p. 239 and 275.

² Hence some critics have taken a middle course, against which, however, strong objections may be raised. Bertholdt, for instance, holds the first and third chapters to be genuine; and Ullmann only the first.

death (comp. 2 Pet. 1 : 14, 15), as, in fact, its contents relate more to the future, than to the present, and for this reason were first received into the later collections of the canon.

§ 93. *Peter in Rome.*

It is the universal testimony of tradition, that Peter labored last in Rome, and there suffered martyrdom under Nero. This testimony, indeed, was soon loaded with all sorts of unhistorical and in some cases self-contradictory additions ; has been abused by the Roman hierarchy in support of its extravagant claims ; and is, therefore, sometimes, either from polemic zeal against the papacy,¹ or from historical skepticism,² called in question. But by the great majority of Protestant historians the main fact has always been admitted.³ We shall first hear the most important evidence of tradition on this point ; next, attempt to determine the probable duration of Peter's residence in Rome ; and lastly, examine the accounts of the mode of his death.

1. *The testimony of tradition respecting Peter's residence in Rome.*

(a) The earliest information is given us by Peter himself in the mention of his residence at the close of his first epistle, as most anciently interpreted, c. 5 : 13 : "The (church, that is) at *Babylon*, elected together with (you), saluteth you ; and (so doth) Marcus my son." The meaning of Babylon is, indeed, disputed. Neander, Steiger, De Wette, Wieseler, and others (also the distinguished Roman Catholic theologian, Hug), understand by it the famous Babylon or Babel on the Euphrates

¹ Especially by the Dutch Theologian, Frederic Spanheim, who, in his famous *Dissertatio de ficta professione Petri Apostoli in urbem Romam, deque non una traditionis origine*, 1679, first subjected the matter to a thorough investigation and sought to establish by a critical examination of witnesses the doubt, which had already been raised respecting Peter's residence in Rome by the Waldenses, and such declared enemies of the papacy as Marsilius of Padua, Michael of Cæsena, Matthias Flacius, and Claudius Salmasius. He attributed the story mainly to the ambition of the Roman church.

² By the modern hypercritics. Baur (in several articles in the "Tübinger theol. Zeitschrift," and in his *Paulus*, p. 212 sqq.) and Schwegler (*Nachapost. Zeitalter*, I. p. 301 sqq.). They derive the tradition from the supposed jealousy of the Jewish Christians in Rome towards Paul's Gentile Christians ; from the effort to set the Jewish apostle, Peter above Paul. So also De Wette : *Einl. in's N. T.* p. 314.

³ By almost all the older Reformed theologians, who devoted any special diligence and talent to the study of church antiquity, such as Scaliger, Casaubonus, Petit, Usher, Pearson, Cave ; and then by Schröckh, Mynster, Berthold, Gieseler, Neander (who, however, in the last edition of his *Apost. Gesch.*, seems to have been staggered by Baur's arguments, and declares himself not so decidedly, as before, in favor of the tradition), Credner, Bleek, Olshausen, and Wieseler (in the second *Excursus* of his *Chronologie*), and a host of others not to be mentioned, who have not entered into any minute investigation of the matter.

Upon this vast city the prediction of the Hebrew prophets had, in deed, been terribly fulfilled, and, in the time of the apostles, as Strabo, Pausanias, and Pliny, unanimously assure us, it presented nothing but a scene of ruins (*οὐδὲν εἰ μὴ τεῖχος*), a desolation (*solitudo*).² It may certainly be supposed, however, that some portion of it still remained habitable; and, since there were many thousands of Jews in the satrapy of Babylonia,³ it is not in itself improbable, that Peter laid the field of his labor in those regions. But in this case it might reasonably be expected, that some traces of his activity there should be preserved. Tradition, however, knows nothing at all of any residence of Peter in the Parthian empire, though it tells of a sojourn of the apostle Thomas there.⁴ Then again, this interpretation makes it hard to account for the acquaintance, which the epistle confessedly evinces, with the later epistles of Paul; as there was but little communication between Babylonia and the Roman empire. Equally unaccountable would be Peter's meeting with Mark (5 : 13); for he was in Rome in the years 61-63 (Col. 4 : 10. Philem. 23), and soon after would seem to have been in Asia, whence he was recalled by Paul to Rome, not long before that apostle's martyrdom (2 Tim. 4 : 11). If, as we have good reason to suppose, he obeyed this call, he could not so soon have reached the banks of the Euphrates. But the case is perfectly simple, if Peter himself, about that time or soon after, came to Rome, and there wrote his epistle.

These difficulties compel us to return to the earliest and, in antiquity, the only current interpretation of Babylon, which makes it *Rome*. This is well known to be its sense in the Apocalypse,⁵ as also Roman Catholic expositors admit. It has been objected, indeed, that this symbolical designation of the metropolis of Heathendom, however suitable in a poetical book of prophecy, like the Apocalypse, would be very strange in the simple prose of an epistle. But this objection is far more than met by the following positive arguments in favor of the figurative interpretation; viz., (1) the unanimous testimony of the ancient church,⁶

¹ Is. 13 : 19 sqq. 14 : 4, 12. 46 : 1 sq.

² See the passages in Meyerhoff: *Einleit. in die petrin. Schriften* (1835), p. 129.

³ Josephus: *Antiqu.* XV. 3, 1. Philo: *De legat. ad Caj.* p. 587. It is true, Josephus tells us also, XVIII. 9, 8, that under the emperor Caligula many Jews migrated from Babylon to Seleucia for fear of persecution, and that, five years afterwards, a pestilence drove away the rest. But they might very well have returned before the epistle of Peter was written, as Caligula died in the year 41.

⁴ Origen, in Eusebius: *Hist. Eccl.* III. 1.

⁵ Chap. 14 : 8. 16 : 19. 17 : 5. 18 : 2, 10, 21. Comp. the allusions, 17 : 9, to the seven hills, and, 17 : 18, to the universal dominion, of Rome. So in a fragment of the Sibylline Books (V. 143, 159), supposed to belong to the first century, Rome is styled Babylon.

⁶ So Papias or Clement of Alexandria, in *Euseb.* II. 15; the subscription of the epis-

and (2') the analogy of other terms in the salutation, which would likewise have to be regarded as out of place. Neander, indeed, would take "the co-elect" to be the wife, and the "son Marcus," an actual son of Peter.¹ But, although Peter, as we learn from 1 Cor. 9 : 5, took his wife with him on his missionary tours, yet his mentioning her in an official circular, especially to churches, with which, in Neander's (erroneous) view, he was not personally acquainted, were most certainly unbecoming and unexampled in Christian antiquity. It is impossible, also, to see how *συνεκλεκτῇ* should of itself express the idea of a wife, or why, in this case, the phrase *ἐν Βαβυλῶνι* is placed in this particular grammatical relation. These difficulties all vanish, if we supply *ἐκκλησία*, making it the Christian congregation, as is done in the Peshito and the Vulgate. As to Marcus; tradition knows nothing of a proper son of Peter by that name.² On the contrary, it is altogether natural to understand here the evangelist, the well known missionary assistant of Paul and Peter, a native of Jerusalem, and probably converted by Peter (Acts 12 : 12 sqq.), but at the same time, like the bearer of the letter, Silvanus, a connecting link between him and the Apostle of the Gentiles. If, therefore, in agreement with all the older commentators, we must take the *νῖός*, according to the familiar usage of the New Testament,³ as a trope, and refer *συνεκλεκτῇ* to the church, these are arguments in favor of the symbolical interpretation of Babylon. Nay, in this very juxtaposition of the two names we find a significant contrast, especially under the depressed circumstances of the Christians, which the epistle presupposes. The apostle styles the churches, to which he writes, "elect pilgrims" (*ἐκλεκτοὶ παρεπίδημοι διασπορᾶς Πόντου*, etc. 1 : 1); and so also the church, from the midst of which he writes, an "elect" of God to eternal life in the seat of the deepest heathen corruption, such as must have made an author, especially so conformed as Peter to the thought and style of the prophets, involuntarily recur to the Old Testament representations of Babylon; Jerome in his *Catal. s. Petr.*; Oecumenius, &c. We know not of a single voice from antiquity in favor of referring this passage to Babylon in Asia. For referring it to Rome, though in some cases from different premises, are Grotius, Lardner, Cave, Semler, Hitzig (*Ueber Johannes Marcus*, etc. p. 186), Baur, Schwegler, Thiersch (*Versuch zur Herstellung*, etc. p. 110, and *Die Kirche im apostol. Zeitalter*, p. 208).

¹ *Apostelgesch.* II. p. 590. Note 4. So Mill, Bengel, Meyerhoff, l. c. p. 126 sq — Steiger, De Wette, and Wieseler, on the contrary, though they make the place Babylon proper, yet refer *συνεκλεκτῇ* to the church (of Assyrian Babylon), and *Μάρκος* to the evangelist.

² Clement of Alexandria speaks, indeed, in general terms, of children of Peter (*Strom.* III. f. 448 : Πέτρος μὲν γὰρ καὶ Φίλιππος ἐπαιδοποιήσαντο), and tradition mentions a daughter, Petronilla (comp. *Acta Sanct.* 30th May). But nowhere is a Mark named among his children.

³ Comp. 1 Cor. 4 : 16–18. Gal. 4 : 19. 1 Tim. 1 : 2, 18. 2 Tim. 1 : 2. 2 : 1.

lon. Add to this, that the epistle was written in the later years of Nero, when cruelty and tyranny had full sway, and shortly before the bloody scenes of the Neronian persecution; therefore at a time, when the Christians, as the letter itself and the above quoted passage of Tacitus prove, had already become objects of the foulest suspicion and the most shameful calumny. In view of all this it must be admitted, that the symbolical designation of Rome, which Sylvanus could more particularly explain to the readers, in case they did not at once understand it, was in perfect keeping with the whole contents and the historical circumstances of the epistle. The proper name of Rome in this connection would evidently have been far less significant. This city soon after became, in fact, the centre of persecution, and the same to the Christians, that the old Babylon had been to the Israelites.

(b) We go now to the church fathers. The Roman bishop, Clement, a disciple of Paul, tells us, indeed, that Peter, after suffering many trials, died a martyr; but states neither the manner nor the place of his death; probably because he might presume they were well known.¹ For wherever the place of Peter's martyrdom is named, it is always Rome; and no other church claimed this distinction, though it was a great point with churches at that time to have had celebrated martyrs. To say nothing of the testimony of Papias in a somewhat obscure passage in Eusebius (II. 15), referring Babylon, 1 Peter 5 : 13, to Rome, the letter of his contemporary, Ignatius, to the Romans takes for granted, that Peter had preached to them;² as does also a fragment from the *praedicatio Petri*, which belongs to the beginning of the second century.³—More distinct is the deposition of Dionysius, bishop of Corinth (about 170), who, in his epistle to the Romans, calls the *Roman* and Corinthian churches the joint planting of *Peter* and Paul, and adds,

¹ In his first epistle to the Corinthians, which belongs to the last half of the first century, c. 5 : Πέτρος διὰ ζήλον ἁδικον οὐχ ἓνα, οὐδὲ δύο, ἀλλὰ πλείονας ὑπέμεινεν (according to others ὑπήνεγκεν) πόνους καὶ οὕτω μαρτυρήσας ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὸν ὀφειλόμενον τόπον τῆς δόξης. Then follows the more full and distinct testimony above quoted respecting Paul's end. The μαρτυρήσας is here probably to be taken in its primary sense of witnessing by word, as in the passage immediately following, and not, as it is commonly taken, as denoting martyrdom. The latter, however, is to be inferred from the whole context, particularly from the clause immediately preceding, which Clement goes on to illustrate by examples : διὰ ζήλον καὶ φθόνον οἱ μέγιστοι καὶ δικαιοτάτοι στύλοι ἐδιώθησαν, καὶ ἔως θανάτου ἤλθον.

² c. 4 : Οὐχ ὥς Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος διατάσσονται ὑμῖν.

³ In *Cypriani opera*, ed. Rigaltius, p. 139 : "Liber, qui inscribitur Pauli praedicatio (which was probably the last part of the *praedicatio Petri*, comp. Credner's *Beiträg. zur Einl.* I. 360), in quo libro invenies, post tanta tempora Petrum et Paulum, post conationem evangelii in Hierusalem et in tuam altercationem et rerum agendarum dispositionem postremo in urbe, quasi tunc primum, invicem sibi esse cognitos."

"For both taught alike in our Corinth, when they planted us, and both alike also in Italy in the same place (*δμούσε*, by which, in accordance with what precedes, we can only understand Rome), after having taught there, at the same time suffered martyrdom." This making Peter one of the *founders* of the Corinthian church is certainly at all events very inaccurate, and might possibly have arisen merely from a misunderstanding of what Paul says, 1 Cor. 1 : 12, of the party of Cephas, the existence of which, however, in the Corinthian church does not necessarily imply any personal or direct influence of Peter upon it. We have no right, however, for this error to reject the whole account ; and it is in fact very possible, that Peter, either before, or after the arrest of Paul, perhaps on his way to Rome, also visited Corinth, and thus, though he could not be said in the strict sense of the term to have founded that church, which was already of long-standing, yet he might have strengthened it and confirmed it in the faith, just as Paul confirmed the church of Rome, and was hence called one of its founders. Irenaeus, who was connected through Polycarp with the apostle John, says of Peter and Paul, that they preached the gospel and founded the church at Rome.²—Somewhat later, about the year 200, the Roman presbyter Caius, in his work against the Montanist, Proclus of Asia Minor,³ says : "I can, however, show the monuments (*τρόπαια*) of the apostles (Peter and Paul). For if thou wilt go to the Vatican or out on the Ostian Way, thou wilt find the monuments of the men who founded this church." At about the same time Clement of Alexandria affirms distinctly that Peter preached the gospel at Rome ; and so does his distinguished disciple Origen.⁴ Tertullian congratulates the church at Rome, because *there Peter had been made conformable to the sufferings of the Lord* (i. e. had been crucified), Paul had been crowned with the same death as the Baptist (i. e. had been beheaded), and John, having been plunged into boiling oil without hurt (a fabulous addition, no doubt), had been banished to Patmos.⁵

These are the oldest and most important testimonies. They are drawn from the most different parts of the church, and cannot be reasonably accounted for except on the ground of some historical reality. True, the statements we meet with in the apocryphal writings and the later church fathers, as Eusebius and Jerome and even Clement of Alexan-

¹ In Eusebius : *H. E.* I. II. c. 25.

² *Adv. haer.* III. 1, comp. 3, where the Roman church is called an "*a gloriosissimie robustus apostolis, Petro et Paulo fundata et constituta ecclesia.*"

³ In Eusebius : *H. E.* II. 25.

⁴ In Euseb. *H. E.* II. 15. VI. 14. II. 25. III. 1.

⁵ *De praescr. haer.* c. 36.

dria, are laden with fabulous embellishments, particularly respecting Peter's meeting with Simon Magus at Rome,—a story, which rests probably on false inferences from the narrative in Acts 8 : 18 sqq., and on a mistake of Justin Martyr in supposing he had seen a statue of Simon Magus in that city. But such accretions gathered by an old tradition by no means warrant us to discard its primary substance. This certainly cannot be accounted for here by the rivalry between the Jewish Christians and the Gentile converts of Paul in Rome.² For it would then have been early and decidedly contradicted by the latter ; whereas the oldest witnesses for it are mostly from this very school of Paul and John. As little can it be attributed to the hierarchical ambition of the Roman bishops ; though this, it is true, soon laid hold of the story, and used it for its own ends. The tradition itself, it may easily be shown, is older than the use or abuse of it for hierarchical purposes ; and had there been sufficient ground, it would certainly have been called in question in the first centuries by the opponents of the pretensions of Rome in the Greek and African churches. But no such contradiction was raised in any quarter, either by Catholics or by heretics and schismatics. On the contrary, Cyprian of Africa and Firmilian of Cappadocia, in their controversy with Stephen, bishop of Rome, on the validity of heretical baptism, in the middle of the third century, always take for granted, that the Roman bishop is the successor of Peter, and reproach him as acting inconsistently with this very position, and as leaving the foundation laid by Peter, whom he ought faithfully to represent.³ The gigantic

¹ In Euseb. *H. E.* II. 15. It is not clear, however, whether Eusebius quotes the authority of Clement's *ὁποτιπώσεις* merely for what he says concerning the origin of the gospel of Mark (comp. VI. 14), or also concerning the meeting of Peter with Simon Magus in the beginning of this and in the 14th chapter.

² As Baur, Schwegler, and De Wette vainly suppose.

³ Says the bishop Firmilian in his letter to Cyprian : "Atque ego in hac parte juste indignor ad hanc tam apertam et manifestam Stephani stultitiam, quod, qui sic de episcopatus sui loco gloriatur et se successionem Petri tenere contendit, super quem fundamenta ecclesiæ collocata sunt, multas alias petras inducat et ecclesiarum multarum nova ædificia constituat, dum esse illic baptismum sua auctoritate defendit." And immediately after : "Stephanus, qui per successionem cathedram Petri habere se prædicat, nullo adversus hæreticos zelo excitatur" as he ought to be, being the successor of Peter). See *Cypr. Epist.* 75, cap. 17 (al. 15). This controversy, which is mistaken and used for the opposite purpose by many Protestant church historians, Dr. Neander among the rest, has been presented in its true light by Dr. Rothe (*Anfänge der Christlichen Kirche und ihrer Verfassung*, I. p. 676) : "Firmilian does not here deny Stephen's claims to the succession on the *cathedra Petri*, but recognizes and uses them to place the conduct of Stephen in a still more unfavorable light. He says : "Stephen, as successor of Peter, is called to be the peculiar organ for main aining and promoting the unity of the church ; it is the harder to conceive how he can have adopted a course which goes directly to obscure, nay, to destroy this unity."

structure of the papacy could never have arisen without any historical foundation, out of a *pure lie*. Rather has this very fact of the presence and martyrdom of Peter and Paul in Rome, in connection with the political position of this metropolis of the world, been the indispensable condition of its growth and its long influence over Christendom.

2. *The length of Peter's residence in Rome.*

The questions, when Peter came to Rome, how long and in what capacity he labored there, the oldest accounts leave undecided. When Dionysius of Corinth, Irenæus, and Caius ascribe to Peter and Paul the joint founding of the Roman church, they are not necessarily to be understood as referring to time, and meaning that these apostles had brought the first tidings of the gospel to that city. For in this sense, even Paul was not its founder, any more than Peter was the founder of the Corinthian church, as this same Dionysius nevertheless affirms. In fact, however, that expression, which in itself may denote simply Peter's important agency in molding a church of long standing, but still imperfectly instructed and organized,¹ soon came to be taken exclusively in the chronological sense, and thus gave rise to a confusion in the tradition favored by the silence of the New Testament in regard to the later labors of Peter. Eusebius, in his *Chronicon*, is the first to make our apostle come to Rome under Claudius, A. D. 42, preside over the church there twenty years (according to the Armenian text, of which the Greek original is now lost), or twenty-five (according to Jerome's translation), and suffer martyrdom in the last year of Nero, A. D. 67 or 68. Jerome also, on the authority of Eusebius, informs us, that Peter was first (for seven years according to a later view) bishop of Antioch, and then for twenty-five years from the second year of Claudius, or A. D. 42, bishop of Rome;² and this statement is followed by the older Roman Catholic historians.³

¹ So Barnabas and Paul may be styled with perfect correctness the proper founders of the church of Antioch, though Christians from Jerusalem and Hellenists from Cyprus and Cyrene had already preceded them thither with the seed of the gospel (Acts 11 : 19-25). So, as an example in later time, Calvin passes for the founder of the Genevan church, though the Reformation was introduced there several years before him by Farel.

² *De script. eccles.* c. 1. "Simon Petrus—post episcopatum Antiochensis ecclesiæ et prædicationem dispersionis eorum, qui de circumcisione crediderant in Ponto Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia et Bithynia, secundo Claudii imperatoris anno ad expugnandum Simonem magum Romam pergit ibique *viginti quinque annis cathedram sacerdotalem tenuit*, usque ad ultimum annum Neronis, id est decimum quartum."

³ Yet even the most zealous friends of the papacy are forced at least to modify the Eusebian tradition. Baronius in his *Annals* (ad ann. 39, No. 25), makes Peter, indeed, for seven years bishop of Antioch, and then for twenty-five years bishop of Rome; but at the same time assumes, that the apostle was often absent, as when, for instance,

But this view contradicts the plainest facts of the New Testament, and cannot stand a moment before the bar of criticism. The Acts of the Apostles, which so fully describe the earlier labors of Peter, in no case allow the supposition of his departure from Palestine before his arrest by Agrippa, Acts 12 : 3-17 ; and as this falls in the year of the famine in Palestine (comp. Acts 11 : 28. 12 : 1), or A. D. 44 (not 42, as Eusebius wrongly assumes), it at any rate sets aside the seven years' bishopric in Antioch, and cuts off several years from the twenty-five assigned to the episcopate in Rome. After his escape from prison in the fourth year of Claudius, the apostle might possibly, indeed, have travelled to Rome ; as Luke remarks indefinitely (Acts 12 : 17) that he departed "to another place" (*εἰς ἕτερον τόπον*), and thenceforth loses sight of him till the apostolic council in the year 50 (c. 15).¹ This is, in itself, by no means improbable, as the attention of the apostle must have been directed at an early day to the centre of the Roman empire, where the Jews were very numerous. It would also most easily explain that ancient and universal tradition, which calls Peter the *founder* of the Roman church. But on the other hand, this possibility becomes at once, to say the least, highly improbable, when we consider, that the epistle to the Romans, written A. D. 58, contains not the slightest hint of Peter's having previously been in Rome. Nay, the very writing of it seems to imply the contrary. For Paul repeatedly declares it to have been his principle, not to build on another's foundation, nor to encroach

the facts of the New Testament imperatively demand it : and this he refers to his papal dignity, to his divine commission to oversee the whole church. "Sic videas," says he, "Petrum his temporibus numquam fere eodem loco consistere, sed ut opus esse videret, peragraré provincias, invisere ecclesias ac denique omnes quæ sunt universalis præfecturæ functiones, pastoralis sollicitudine exequi ac consumere." But the official duties of the pope do not require him *now* to travel all over the world. Why should it have been the case only at the time of Peter, and not at any subsequent period?

¹ This period is accordingly fixed upon by the acute and learned defender of the Roman tradition, Fr. Windischmann, in his *Vindiciæ Petrinæ*, Ratisb. 1836, p. 112-116, for the first journey of Peter to Rome. Rather too hastily the Protestant divine, Thiersch, agrees with him in this, saying in his work on the *N. T. Can.* p. 104 sq. : "It is certain, that before the banishment of the Jews from the city by Claudius, a Christian church, and that mainly, if not wholly, of Jewish converts, had been founded there. And we see not what objection of any force can be urged against the tradition, that Peter was its founder. It may well have been established between the years 44 and 50 or 51. that is, between Peter's flight from Jerusalem (Acts 12 : 17) and the apostolic council (c. 15) ; so that it may have been this very banishment of the Jews from Rome which forced Peter also to leave that city, and led him to return to Jerusalem, where we find him at the meeting of the council." The same view Thiersch defends in his later work on the *Apostolic Church*, p. 96 sqq.

on the sphere of another apostle's labors (Rom. 15 : 20, 21 2 Cor. 10 : 15, 16). To uphold the tradition, therefore, we must assume two churches at Rome ; one founded by Peter under Claudius, consisting exclusively of Jewish Christians, and dissolved by the aforesaid edict of the emperor ; another entirely new one, gathered after the year 52 from the Gentiles and mainly through the influence of Paul and his disciples. But this resort also becomes precarious, when we consider how easily the whole story of Peter's going to Rome under the emperor Claudius may be explained from mistakes and false inferences. Thus, Justin Martyr had reported,¹ that *under Claudius* Simon Magus went to Rome, and there won many followers and even divine honors, as was shown by a statue erected to him on an island in the Tiber. This statue was in fact found in the year 1574 in the place described ; but it turned out to be a statue, not of *Simo Sanctus*, but of the Sabine-Roman divinity, *Semo Sancus* or *Sangus*,² of whom the Oriental Justin had probably never heard.³ But tradition at once laid hold of this statement, and, in its zeal to glorify Peter as much as possible, sent him on the heels of the supposed Samaritan arch-heretic to Rome, to vanquish the sorcerer there as triumphantly as he had before done in Samaria (Acts 8).⁴ To this was added the report of Suetonius concerning the edict of Claudius, which expelled the Jews and probably also the Jewish Christians (on account of the "impulsore Chresto," comp. § 80) from Rome, and thus presupposes the existence of a Christian church there ; and since Peter was regarded as the proper founder of it, it followed of course, that he had already gone to Rome in this emperor's reign. The more readily the early date assigned by Eusebius and Jerome to Peter's presence in this city may be accounted for in this way, as having arisen from erroneous combinations, the less claim can it have to our credence.

It is far more difficult, however, to show, that Peter was in Rome all the time or even for any considerable period from the reign of Claudius onward. The Acts of the Apostles and Paul's epistles on to the year 63 or 64, that is, to the salutation in Peter's first epistle (5 : 13), give no hint of his presence in this city, but incontrovertible proof of his

¹ *Apol. maj.*, c. 26 and 56.

² Comp. Ovid's *Fast.* VI. 213.

³ See Baronius. *Annal.* ad. ann. 44 ; Otto's *Notes on Just. Apol. maj.*, c. 26 (*Opp. Just.* I. p. 66-68), also Hug's *Einl.* II. 69 sqq. ; Gieseler's *Kirch. Gesch.* I. 1, p. 64 ; Neander's *Kirch. Gesch.* II. p. 783 (2nd ed.).

⁴ This conflict is noticed already in the Pseudoclementine writings, particularly the *Recognitions*, written in the first quarter of the third century. That Eusebius was guided in his chronology by the above statement of Justin, to which he himself appeals, is plain from his *Hist. Eccl.* II. 13-15.

absence from it. For in the year 50 he was in Jerusalem at the apostolic council (Acts 15). He had thus far labored mainly, not among the Gentiles, of whom the majority of the Roman church consisted,¹ but among the Jews; and expected to do so still for the immediate future, according to his agreement then made with Paul and Barnabas (Gal. 2 : 7, 9). Soon after this we find him at Antioch (Gal. 2 : 11 sqq.). At the writing of the first epistle to the Corinthians, A.D. 57, he was yet without a fixed abode, travelling about as a missionary with his wife (1 Cor. 9 : 5). In 58 he cannot have been in Rome, or Paul would certainly have sent a salutation to him amongst the many others (Rom. 16). The whole epistle to the Romans knows nothing of Peter's laboring, either then or before, in the great metropolis, but rather, as already remarked, supposes the contrary. In the spring of 61 Paul came himself as a prisoner to Rome. The Acts inform us of his meeting with the Christians of that place (28 : 15 sqq.), but say not a syllable of Peter; which, were he there, would be utterly inexplicable. In the years 61–63 Paul wrote from Rome his last epistles, in which he introduces by name his companions and helpers, presents salutations from them, and complains at last of being left alone,² but is perfectly silent about Peter; and this surely not from jealousy or enmity, but because that apostle was not in the neighborhood.

Peter, therefore, must have come to Rome after the second epistle to Timothy was written, and not long before writing his own epistles; that is, in the last half of the year 63 or in the beginning of 64.³ And as he suffered martyrdom in the Neronian persecution, we can hardly extend his sojourn there beyond a year.⁴ Eusebius, indeed, and Jerome place

¹ Rom. 1 : 5–7, 13. 11 : 13, 25, 28. 14 : 1 sqq. 15 : 15, 16.

² Col. 4 : 10, 11. Philem. 23, 24. Phil. 4 : 21, 22. 2 Tim. 4 : 9–22. 1 : 15–18.

³ This is confirmed in substance by Lactantius (†330), who makes Peter come to Rome first during Nero's reign (*De mortibus persec.* c. 2: "Cumque jam Nero imperaret, Petrus Romam advenit," etc.); and by Origen (†254), who brings him there at the close of his life (*ἐπὶ τέλει*, in Euseb. *H. E.* III. 1).

⁴ As even an unprejudiced Roman Catholic writer, Herbst, grants in an article in the *Theol. quarterly* of Drey, Herbst, and Hirscher, Tübingen. 1820. No. 4. p. 567 sq. Other scholars of the Roman church also, as Valesius, Pagi, Baluz, Hug, Klee, limit the residence of Peter in Rome to the later years of Nero's reign, or speak of his being there before as at least not demonstrable. Windischmann (l. c.), on the contrary, would make Peter, indeed, reside in Rome also during the intervals of which we have no distinct notice in the New Testament as regards the point in question; viz., during the years 44–49, 52–58. 60–61, and 64–68. But in this case the apostle must have been there very furtively; he must have purposely kept out of the way of the epistle to the Romans and of Paul's arrival there; and, according to Paul's epistles, left no trace of his residence there before A.D. 63! In zeal for the honor of the prince of the apostles we must exclaim to such an advocate: *Non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus istis!*

his death in the year 67. But as they also affirm, with universal tradition, that he died at the same time with Paul in the Neronian persecution, which according to Tacitus broke out in July, 64; and as a second persecution under the same emperor cannot be proved; the date here given is clearly wrong, and the error is no doubt owing in part to the fact, that on this point the fathers, instead of following the full and reliable statement of Tacitus, made use of Suetonius, who separates the persecution from the conflagration, which occasioned it, and in general is not chronological in his narrative.¹

That Peter, as long as he was in Rome, was associated with Paul at the head of the church and exercised a leading influence, needs no proof. But he was not the first *bishop* of Rome in the later sense of the term, for the apostolic office was not confined to a particular diocese, but implies a commission to the whole world, nor was he *pope* in the Roman sense, for this contradicts the independent dignity of Paul, as we learn it from all his epistles as well as from the Acts of the Apostles. This erroneous view meets us first in the Ebionistic Clementine Homilies, from which, as afterwards wrought into the more orthodox Recognitions, it passed into the Catholic church. Clement himself, the third bishop of Rome, knows nothing of it, and from his glowing description of Paul in the fifth chapter of his first epistle to the Corinthians it is pretty evident, that he ascribes greater importance for the Roman church to this apostle, than to Peter, of whom he has much less to say. Irenaeus and Eusebius rather name Linus (other fathers, Clement) as *first* bishop of Rome; and even Epiphanius plainly makes a distinction between the apostolic and the episcopal offices.²

§ 94. *Martyrdom of Peter. (Note on the Claims of the Papacy.)*

It is the voice of all antiquity, that Peter was crucified in the persecution under Nero. His death, therefore, as already remarked, cannot be placed in the year 67, as it is even by most of the later historians on the authority of Eusebius and Jerome. It must have occurred in the year 64, in which, according to the reliable testimony of Tacitus, that persecution broke out, immediately after the conflagration in July, and in which also, though perhaps somewhat earlier and by the less ignominious

¹ On this defect in the chronology of Eusebius comp. Wieseler, l. c. p. 544 sqq. The influence of Suetonius is very clear on Orosius, *Histor.* VII. 7. Only Sulpicius Severus, *Hist. Sacr.* II. 29, seems to have used the statement of Tacitus. Perhaps the condemnatory judgment, which the Stoical historian pronounces on the Christians (*Annal.* XV. 44), was the cause of his being neglected by the church fathers.

² See Schliemann's *Clementinen* (1844), p. 115 and Gieseler's *Kirch. Gesch.* I. 1. p. 103, 281, and 362, note 9.

process of decapitation, the earthly labors of Paul were brought to an end. The place of his death, according to the above quoted testimony of Caius, was pointed out at the end of the second century as the Vatican hill beyond the Tiber, where lay the Circus and Nero's Gardens, and where according to Tacitus the persecution of the Christians actually took place. There also was built to his memory the church of St. Peter; as over Paul's grave on the Ostian way outside the city was erected the church of St. Paul. It is very easy to see, that the successful activity of these great apostles in Rome must have drawn the attention of the heathen and excited their hatred against the new sect. And the danger to the state religion from the numerous conversions the more readily explains the horrible cruelties of the Neronian persecution.¹

The first testimony of the crucifixion of Peter we find in the appendix to the Gospel of John, c. 21 : 18, 19, where our Lord himself in that memorable dialogue foretells to him that, when he should be old, he should stretch forth his hands and another should gird him, and carry him whither he (naturally) would not. Tertullian expressly remarks, that Peter was made *like* the Lord in his passion.² The statement, that he was crucified with his head downwards, first appears in Origen;³ and this was afterwards taken as evidence of his peculiar humility in counting himself unworthy to die in the same way as the Saviour. When we read in Tacitus of the unnatural tortures inflicted on the Christians by Nero, the fact of such a mode of death is not improbable, though the motive here brought in to explain it betrays a somewhat morbid conception of the nature of humility, belonging to a later time. The apostles rather held it their highest honor and joy to be like their Lord and

¹ Lactantius also gives prominence to this connection of things in his work : *De mortibus persec.* c. 2 : "Quumque jam Nero imperaret, Petrus Romam advenit et, editis quibusdam miraculis, quae virtute ipsius Dei data sibi ab eo potestate faciebat, convertit multos ad justitiam, Deoque templum fidele ac stabile collocavit. Qua re ad Neronem delata, quum animadverteret, non modo Romae, sed ubique quotidie magnam multitudinem deficere a cultu idolorum, et ad religionem novam damnata vetustate transire, ut erat execrabilis ac nocens tyrannus, prosilivit ad excidendum coeleste templum delendamque justitiam, et primus omnium persecutus Dei servos, Petrum cruci affixit et Paulum (gladio) interfecit."

² *De praescr. haeret.* c. 36 : . . . "Romam. . . . ubi Petrus passiori Dominicae adaequatur."

³ In Euseb. : *H. E.* III. 1 : Πέτρος δς καὶ ἐπὶ τέλει ἐν Ῥώμῃ γενόμενος ἀνεσκολοπίσθη κατὰ κεφαλῆς, οὕτως αὐτὸς ἀξιῶσας παθεῖν. This is then thus paraphrased, in the spirit of monkish piety, by *Rufinus* : "Crucifixus est deorsum capite demerso, quod ipse ita fieri deprecatus est, ne exaequari Domino videretur." So *Jerome*, who had a special relish for such traits, *De vir. illustr.* c. 1 : "A quo (Nerone) et affixus cruci, martyrio coronatus est, capite ad terram verso e. in sublime pedibus elevatis; asserens se indignum, qui sic crucifigeretur, ut Dominus suus."

Master in every particular. It is related, first by Ambrose, we believe, that Peter shortly before his death, overpowered by his former love of life, made his escape from prison, but was arrested and confounded in his flight by the appearance of the Saviour bearing his cross. To the recreant's question : "Lord, whither art thou going?" the Lord replied : "I am going to Rome, to be crucified again!" Peter hastily returned and met his death with joy. This tradition still lives in the mouth of the people of Rome, and is embodied in a church edifice called *Domine quo vadis*, in front of the Sebastian gate on the Appian way. It is one of those significant stories, which rest not, indeed, on any historical fact, yet on a right apprehension of the character in question, and to which we may apply the Italian proverb, *Se non è vero, è ben trovato*. To shrink from suffering was, it is true, a characteristic of the natural Simon.¹ But at so great an age he had no doubt long ago overcome it, and welcomed the hour, when he was counted worthy to seal his love to the Saviour with his blood, and permitted to put off his earthly tabernacle (2 Pet. 1 : 14), and enter upon the "inheritance incorruptible, and undefiled, and that fadeth not away" (1 Pet. 1 : 4), which he knew to be reserved for him in heaven.

NOTE.—The vast importance of the subject calls upon us, before taking leave of Peter, to add a few remarks on the *claims of the papacy*, which are well known to centre here. These claims, however, by no means rest entirely on the memorable words of Matt. 16 : 18, which are now admitted by the best Protestant commentators to refer to Peter, and upon the actual superiority of this apostle, as it appears clear as the sun in the gospels and the first part of the Acts. They are built also upon two other assumptions, which cannot be proved, at least directly, from the New Testament, and must, therefore, maintain themselves on historical and dogmatic ground.

1. The first assumption is, that this primacy of Peter is *transferable*. This is based by Roman Catholic theologians partly on the general ground of the nature and wants of the church, partly on the special promise of her indestructibleness immediately added by the Lord to his words respecting Peter, Matt. 16 : 18 ; whereas the older Protestant controversialists commonly regard the pre-eminence in question as simply affecting Peter *personally*, as in the case of the surnames given to other apostles and referring to corresponding personal gifts and relations,—“sons of thunder,” for example, applied to the sons of Zebedee (Mark 3 : 17) ; “Zelotes,” to Simon (Luke 6 : 15. Acts 1 : 13) ; “traitor,” to Judas Iscariot (Luke 6 : 16).

2. The second assumption is, that Peter *did actually transfer* his primacy ; and that, not to the bishop of Jerusalem, nor of Antioch, where he resided at any rate a considerable time, but to the bishop of *Rome*. The truth of this

¹ Comp. Matt. 16 : 22, 23 ; his denial of his Lord ; and the Saviour's language to him, Jno. 21 : 18.

turns primarily on historical inquiry respecting Peter's residence and martyrdom in Rome. These two points we have conceded in this section and the preceding, with almost all the leading Protestant historians, as strongly attested and well grounded facts; admitting, that without such historical foundation the eighteen hundred years' history of the papacy would be to us absolutely unaccountable. This concession, however, is not enough to establish a continued primacy of the Roman See, much less an actual supremacy of jurisdiction. For Paul was likewise in Rome and suffered martyrdom there; nor are we any where informed, that he was at all subject to the authority of Peter. Besides, there is no document whatever to be found respecting any actual transfer of the primacy to Linus or Clement; and it is not even certain which of these two was the first bishop of Rome, as the statements of the church fathers differ here.

For the point in hand, therefore, no proper historical or diplomatic evidence can be brought, and the only resort is the general philosophical argument, that the successor in office is in the nature of the case by regular ordination heir to the prerogatives of his predecessor. This is undoubtedly perfectly true with the limitation: so far as these prerogatives are inseparable from the office itself. Thus we are thrown back upon the first proposition, and all turns at last on the question, whether the Lord in that prophetic passage instituted a permanent or only a temporary primacy for the superintendence of the Christian Church.

The ultra-Protestant view decidedly repudiates the idea of the permanent primacy, and denies the papacy the least Scriptural ground or divine right. It accordingly denounces this system as the most colossal and barefaced lie known to history, and applies to it in fact the predictions of the New Testament concerning Antichrist and the "Man of Sin," who "opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God or that is worshiped." To this extreme view, however, we cannot at all agree. It not only turns all history before the Reformation into an inextricable labyrinth, but gives the lie to the Lord's precious promise to be and rule in his church continually—for it is an absolute impossibility to make out an unbroken perpetuity of Christianity without the Catholic church,—nay, plays mightily in its results, without willing or knowing it, into the hands of skepticism and infidelity. No! In the face of a history of eighteen hundred years, during which the papacy has really evinced something of a rock-like character; in the face of the clear testimonies of almost all the important church fathers, both Greek and Latin, in favor of a peculiar pre-eminence of the Roman See as the continuation of the *cathedra Petri* in some form; in view of the consistency and tenacity with which the Catholic church has at all times held fast all the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, the Trinity, the true divinity and humanity of Christ, the inspiration and divine authority of the Bible (all of which antichristianity denies); in view of the great merits of the popes in maintaining orthodoxy, asserting the unity, freedom, and independence of the church against the assaults of the secular power, upholding the sanctity of marriage, and especially spreading Christianity and civilization among all the Romanic, Germanic, and Scandinavian nations:—in view of all these facts, which are coming more and more to be conceded by unprejudiced Protestant historians, we cannot possibly question, that the Roman church, however corrupt

in many doctrines and practices, belongs to the historical development of Christianity itself, and that it must accordingly have also some ground even in the Holy Scriptures. Nay, we believe, that even since the Reformation the pope as such, that is, in his official character, is not Antichrist, but the legitimate head of the *Roman* church, which, however, is certainly not, as she herself arrogantly asserts, identical with the *Catholic or universal* church, but simply like Greek and Protestant Christendom, a part of it.

But, on the other hand, in opposition to the exclusive Romish or papistical view of history, we must contend : (1) There is a difference between a primacy of honor and influence (*primus inter pares*), and a supremacy of jurisdiction. The first, which presupposes equal rights in the other apostles, to whom the same authority and commission was given as to Peter, directly by Christ (Matt. 18 : 18. John 20 : 23), was undoubtedly conceded to the bishop of Rome by the ancient church, both of the East and of the West, also by the ecumenical councils of Nice (325), Constantinople (381), and Chalcedon (451) ; the latter was early claimed by the popes, but resisted in several instances, by Irenæus, Firmilianus, Cyprianus, by the whole Greek church, and was fully established only in the Middle Ages.—(2) But there are other differences equally important as to the nature of this primacy and the mode of its exercise. From the purely spiritual superiority of Peter, a fisherman of Galilee, who, even when an apostle, had no silver nor gold (Acts 3 : 6), who travelled from land to land preaching the gospel without the least ostentation, accompanied by his wife (1 Cor. 9 : 5), who humbly called himself a “co-presbyter,” and emphatically warned his brethren against all tyranny over conscience and love of filthy lucre (1 Peter 5 : 1—3), it is a vast stride to the temporal as well as spiritual dominion which the later medieval popes exercised over all the churches and states of western Christendom, distributing crowns and kingdoms, deposing princes, absolving the subjects from the oath of allegiance, persecuting all dissenters, good and bad, ruling the conscience with the iron rod of despotism, and even frequently perverting their unlimited power to their own selfish ends.—(3) If Peter himself, after having received the glorious promise, Matt. 16, thought *humanly* and not *divinely* ; if he in carnal zeal cut off Malchus’ ear ; nay, thrice denied his Lord and Master from fear of men ; and even after the outpouring of the Holy Ghost committed at Antioch a scandalous inconsistency ; much less can we expect of his successors, who are not endowed, as he was, with the same supernatural gifts, that they should have always lived and acted consistently with their high calling, any more than the kings and high-priests of the Jewish theocracy. Just in proportion, however, as the popes have abused their power, followed their own thoughts and plans instead of the word of God, and degraded the pastoral office by a wicked life, as in the disgraceful tenth century, again at the time of the reformatory councils of Pisa, Constance, and Basel, and at the end of the fifteenth century and beginning of the sixteenth (for an example we have but to remember that moral monster, Alexander VI.), in that degree is an earnest protest not only allowed, but even authorized and demanded. It is sanctioned by the example of the Old Testament prophets, who came out in condemnation of the ungodly priests and kings of Israel ; by the example of Christ, who called

Peter, for his horror of suffering, an offense and an adversary (Matt. 16 : 23 John 18 : 11), rebuked his carnal zeal with the exclamation : " Put up again thy sword into his place ; for all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword " (Matt. 26 : 52), warned him of his presumptuousness and self-confidence (Mark 14 : 30, 37), and deeply humbled him for his denial, though he afterwards restored him (John 21 : 15—18) ; and finally by the example of Paul, who sharply reprov'd his senior colleague, nay, even in presence of the congregation of Antioch charged him with hypocrisy (Gal. 2 : 11, sqq.). If the church of Rome has inherited the prerogatives and gifts of Peter, she has also frequently, and on a larger scale, repeated his weaknesses and unfaithfulness.—(4) Finally, we must take account of what has already been remarked at the close of § 90, that the independence of Paul on the field of the Gentile missions in the second stadium of the apostolic period is, according to the distinct testimony of Luke in Acts and of Paul in his epistles, a fact as incontrovertible as the primacy of Peter in the province of the Jewish mission and through the whole first stadium of this period down to the council at Jerusalem ; and further, that the first century shows no trace of any dependence of John or the church of Asia Minor on Rome and its bishops. If, therefore, the primacy of Peter perpetuates itself in any sense in the history of the church, we may as reasonably expect, that the independent position of the other two leading apostles also, so far as it is compatible with the essential unity of the church, has a typical significance for after times ; and if the Roman church has chosen to found itself on Peter, and has thus far withstood every storm, we claim Paul, the free apostle of the Gentiles, as the forerunner and representative of evangelical Protestantism ; while in John, the beloved disciple, who lay on Jesus' bosom, enjoyed the profoundest view of the central mystery of the incarnation, and outlived all the other apostles, the disciple who " tarries till the Lord comes " (John 21 : 22), we see the type and the pledge of the ideal church of the future, the higher unity of the Jewish Christianity of Peter in the Catholic church, and the Gentile Christianity of Paul in the Protestant.

We have thus suggested a middle course between the two extreme Roman and Protestant views of history. In this way alone, we are convinced, can all church history, whether before or after the Reformation, be properly understood and duly appreciated as a continuous proof of the uninterrupted presence and manifold working of Christ in the church, against which even the gates of hell shall never prevail.

§ 95. *James the Just—Church of Jerusalem.*

Next to Peter, JAMES held the most prominent position among the Jewish Christians, and from the time of the apostolic council, A. D. 50, or in fact from the flight of Peter, A. D. 44 (Acts 12 : 17), he appears as the head of the church of Jerusalem. This cannot have been the *elder* James, the brother of John and one of the three favorite disciples of Jesus ; for he had already been beheaded in the year 44, at the order of Herod Agrippa (Acts 12 : 2). We must, therefore, under

stand here either, as Jerome is first to do, the *younger* apostle of this name, son of Alpheus and Mary (Mark 16 : 1), who, according to the usual interpretation of John 19 : 25, was a cousin of Jesus,¹ and might in this case be called also, after the Hebrew usage, the “brother of Jesus ;” or a *third* James, a literal brother of the Lord according to the flesh.² The latter view, again, admits of two hypotheses. These so-called “brothers of Jesus,” our James among the rest, may have been either younger sons of Joseph and Mary (comp. Matt. 1 : 25), as several Protestant scholars suppose, or sons of Joseph by a previous marriage, and thus only half-brothers of the Lord, as most of the Greek fathers on the authority of old traditions maintain. In the last two cases this James would have been, not indeed one of the twelve disciples, but still a man of apostolic standing, like Barnabas.³ In the second part of the Acts, he is styled simply James without any epithet, c. 12 : 17. 15 : 13. 21 : 18. So several times by Paul, Gal. 2 : 9, 12 sq. 1 Cor. 15 : 7. On the contrary, Paul once names James along with Peter, adding, “the brother of the Lord,” Gal. 1 : 19.⁴ The same

¹ Comp. Matt. 27 : 56. Mk. 15 : 40. 16 : 1.

² Comp. Matt. 13 : 55. Mk. 6 : 3. Matt. 12 : 46 sqq. Mk. 3 : 31 sqq. Lu. 8 : 19 sqq. Jno. 2 : 12. 7 : 5. Acts 1 : 14. 1 Cor. 9 : 5.

³ On this very complicated question, as well as on the whole subject of this section, I refer, to save space, to my work : *Das Verhältniss des Jakobus, Bruders des Herrn, zu Jakobus Alphäi, auf's Neue exegetisch und historisch untersucht*. Berlin, 1842 ; where the exegetical and patristic testimonies for and against the identity of these two persons are collected and tested at length. Subsequent examination, however, has led me to find two faults with this treatise : (1) Rather too little is made (p. 29) of the dogmatical argument against supposing Mary to have had other children ; viz., the assumption of the perpetual virginity of the bride of the Holy Ghost, the mother of the Saviour of the world. This primitive church view, which by no means necessarily conflicts with the *πρωτότοκος*, Matt. 1 : 25, must have had a true religious feeling at the bottom of it, or it would not have been so generally prevalent so early even as the second and third century. It was still held fast also by the Reformers : comp. *Artic. Smalculd.* Pars I. Art. IV. (p. 303, ed. Hase : “Ex Maria pura, sancta, semper virgine”); *Form. Concord.* p. 767 (“Unde et vere *θεοτόκος*, Dei genetrix est, et tamen *virgo mansit*”); and Zwingli’s Commentary on Matt. 1 : 18 and 25 ; comp. also Ols-hausen on Matt. 1 : 25.—(2) That the view which makes the brothers of Jesus sons of Joseph by a *former* marriage, therefore only half-brothers of the Lord, receives too little stress. For this view seems to be the oldest, and is found not only in apocryphal writings, and the Apostolical Constitutions, but in the most distinguished Greek and Latin church fathers, as Origen, Gregory of Nyssa, Cyrill of Alexandria, Epiphanius, Hilary, and Ambrose. See the passages in the work above quoted, p. 80 sqq. Eusebius also should probably be enumerated here, as he calls James, *H. E.* II. 1, 2 “son of Joseph,” but nowhere a son of Mary. For the identity of this James with the younger apostle of the same name, on the contrary, there is no older authority than Jerome.

⁴ With this must be compared the passages just cited from the Gospels, which mention a James among the “brothers of the Lord.”

surname is applied to the president of the church at Jerusalem by the old ecclesiastical writers. Besides this, he is also called by them "James the Just," and "bishop of Jerusalem."

According to Hegesippus, a Jewish Christian historian, probably a native of Palestine, who wrote about the middle of the second century, this James led from his youth a life of strict, Nazarite asceticism, and represented the ideal of a Jewish saint. "In common with the apostles," says this writer,² "James, the brother of the Lord, who from the days of the Lord down to our own time has been universally called *the Just*, undertook the direction of the community. For there were many who were called James. But this one was holy from his mother's womb. No razor came upon his head, he anointed himself not with oil, and took no bath. He alone—(among the Christians)—was allowed to enter the sanctuary (the holy of holies)."³ For he also wore no woollen, but linen garments.⁴ But he went also into the temple, and he was so often found there upon his knees, praying for the forgiveness of the people, that his knees became callous like a camel's, because he always knelt down when he prayed to God and implored forgiveness for the people. On account of his extraordinary righteousness he was called the Just, and Oblias (which should doubtless more properly be read Obliam, from עֲבִי and עָר), —i. e., being interpreted, the bulwark of the people and righteousness ($\delta\ \epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\nu\ \text{'Ελληνιστὶ περιοχὴ τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ δικαιοσύνη}$)."

We have no sufficient reason at all for questioning the substance of this description, and pronouncing it a legendary exaggeration, after the style of the heretical Ebionism; as is done by those, to whose own taste the Jewish elements in the ancient church are so offensive. On the contrary, from all we otherwise know of James, thus much at any rate is incontrovertible, that he was by far the most conservative of all the more

¹ By Hegesippus, Clemens Alex., the Apostolical Constitutions, Eusebius, &c. See the passages given in full in Rothe: *Die Anfänge der Christl. Kirche und ihrer Verfassung*, vol. I. p. 264 sqq.

² In Eusebius: *Hist. Eccl.* II. 23. Comp. my tract above mentioned, p. 61 sqq.

³ Εἰς τὰ ἅγια , which sometimes stands for τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων , Num. 4: 19 1 Ki. 8: 6. 2 Chron. 4: 22. 5: 7. Epiphanius, *Haer.* XXIX. 4, and LXXXIII. 13 sq. relates of James, that once a year he could enter the most holy place like the high-priest $\text{διὰ τὸ Ναζωραῖον αὐτὸν εἶναι}$, and that he wore the diadem of the high-priest ($\text{τὸ πέταλον} = \text{כִּתְרֹן} \quad \text{עֲרֵב}$, the golden plate on the forehead with the inscription: Holiness to the Lord). Tradition, however, ascribes the latter also to St. John, as Polycrates says in Euseb. *H. E.* V. 24: $\text{'Εγενήθη ἱερεὺς τὸ πέταλον πεφορηκώς}$. But perhaps this is merely a symbolical description of John's oversight of the church of Asia Minor: for, literally understood, this act would surely be altogether unhistorical, and far more incomprehensible than in James.

⁴ The clothing of the priests when engaged in the temple service. Out of the temple they wore common woollen garments (Lev. 16: 4. Ez. 44: 17). Hegesippus evidently seeks to depict James as the perfect ideal of a Jewish priest.

prominent apostles, and the least removed from legal Judaism. His piety lived altogether in the hallowed forms of the old covenant, and in all probability to the day of his death he kept not only the Sabbath, but the whole ceremonial law. Hence he was the head and supreme authority of the stricter party among the Jewish Christians; while Peter after the conversion of Cornelius held middle ground between him and Paul. In Gal. 2 : 9, according to the true reading, Paul names him at the head of the Jewish apostles, who were distinguished as "pillars." In the apostolic council it was James, who spoke the decisive word, when, in common with Peter and Paul, and against the pharisaically disposed and heretical Jewish Christians, who made circumcision necessary to salvation, he sided with the Gentile Christians, and declared them to be even without circumcision citizens of the Messiah's kingdom, and yet at the same time laid upon them certain restrictions, and as for the rest wished to have nothing changed in the piety of the Jewish Christians. His disciples (*οἱ τοῦ Ἰακώβου*), who induced even Peter and Barnabas at Antioch to withdraw for a while from intercourse with the uncircumcised brethren (Gal. 2 : 12, 13), no doubt, indeed, pushed his principles too far (comp. Acts 15 : 13 sqq. Gal. 2 : 9), as the Pauline party in Corinth went beyond Paul, and the Petrine beyond Peter. But still their conduct shows, that the strict Judaizers, the antagonists of Paul, would fain appeal to the authority of James, and even place him above Peter.¹ At the last visit of the apostle of the Gentiles to Jerusalem James rejoiced with his elders in the great success of that Apostle's preaching among the heathen, and praised the Lord for it. But for the sake of the Jewish Christian zealots, who regarded Paul with suspicion, he advised him to accommodate himself to their ascetic piety, and to engage in the exercises connected with the Nazarite vow (Acts 21 : 20 sqq.). In short, James stood as mediator between Jews and Christians, in almost equal esteem with both, and for this reason eminently fitted to maintain peace between the two economies so far as the principles of Christianity at all allowed. It is in perfect keeping with his character and calling, that we find him not itinerating like the other apostles, but more like the later bishops, continuing till his death in Jerusalem, the centre of the theocracy.

Had not the influence of James been modified and completed by that

¹ In the Pseudoclementine Homilies and especially in the Epistles, which precede them, this James figures as the supreme bishop of all Christendom, to whom even the apostle Peter and the Roman bishop are subject. The historical writings of the Ebionites in general are full of glorifications of James. According to Epiphanius, (*Haer.* XXX. *Ebion.* § 16), there were among them also ἀναβαθμοὶ Ἰακώβου, descriptions of his pretended ascension to heaven.

of a Peter and especially a Paul, Christianity would perhaps never have cast off entirely the envelope of Judaism and risen to independence. Yet the influence of James, too, was altogether necessary. He, if any could gain the ancient chosen nation in a body. God placed such a representative of the purest form of Old Testament piety in the midst of the Jews, to make their transition to the faith of the Messiah as easy as possible, even at the eleventh hour. But when they refused to hear this last messenger of peace, the divine forbearance was exhausted, and the fearful, long threatened judgment broke upon them. And with this the mission of James was fulfilled. He was not to outlive the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple. Shortly before it, according to Hegesippus, in the year 69, after having borne powerful testimony to the Messiahship of Jesus and pointed to his second coming in the clouds of heaven, he was thrown down from the pinnacle of the temple and stoned by the Pharisees. His last words were: "I beg of thee, Lord, God, Father, forgive them! for they know not what they do." He was buried by the temple, and his tombstone was still pointed out there in the time of Hegesippus. "He was"—as this writer concludes his account—"a true witness to Jews and Greeks, that Jesus is the Christ. Soon afterwards (*εὐθύς*) Vespasian besieged them."¹ Eusebius adds, that James stood so high and was so celebrated on all hands for his righteousness, that even the more intelligent of the Jews considered his martyrdom the cause of the siege of Jerusalem, which soon followed; and in agreement with this Josephus expressly says: "This fell upon the Jews in punishment for what they had done to James the Just, a brother of Jesus, who was called Christ. For him had the Jews slain, though he was the most upright of men."²

¹ In Eusebius: *H. E.* II. 23.

² No such passage, however, in this form is to be found anywhere in Josephus, but simply the statement, *Archæol.* XX. 9, 1, that the violent high-priest Ananias, in the interval between the death of the Roman governor, Festus, and the arrival of Albinus, therefore in the year 62, accused "the brother of Jesus, called Christ, James by name, and some others," before the Sanhedrim as transgressors of the law *ὡς παρανομήσαντων*, and sentenced them to be stoned; with which procedure, however, the better part of the Jews themselves were dissatisfied. The words relative to James: *τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰησοῦ, τοῦ λεγομένου Χριστοῦ, ἰάκωβος ὄνομα αὐτῷ, καὶ*—and the *ἐτέρους* after *τινός*, have been suspected by Clericus and Lardner, and latterly by Credner (*Einleitung in's N. T.*, I. p. 581), and Rothe (*Anfänge der chr. Kirche*, I. p. 275), as an interpolation (like the well known "testimonium de Christo" in the *Arch.* XVIII. 3, 3, on which comp. Gieseler: *Kirchengesch.* I. 1, § 24, p. 81 sqq.); so that this passage would say nothing at all of a persecution of the Christians. But even admitting the words to be genuine, we still cannot give the statement of Josephus so unqualified a preference over that of Hegesippus, as Neander does, I. p. 580 sqq. For in the first place as to the discrepancy respecting the fact; Josephus, being a Jew, might have good reason to

When after the destruction of Jerusalem the Jewish system of religion, as well as the Christian, was in a measure re-organized in Palestine, the surviving apostles and kinsmen of the Lord, according to a tradition preserved by Eusebius, at a meeting in Jerusalem appointed Symeon, a cousin of Jesus (a son of Clopas, who according to Hegesippus was a brother of Joseph), successor to James. This Symeon presided over the church of Jerusalem as bishop till the time of the emperor Trajan, and at the age of a hundred and twenty years suffered martyrdom.¹ He had thirteen successors, all of Hebrew descent, who ruled, however, but a short time, and are known to us only by name.² Throughout this period the church of Jerusalem maintained its strictly Israelitish character, but united with it "the genuine knowledge of Christ,"³ and stood in communion with the Catholic church. Nay, even in the fourth century, in the sect of the Nazarenes (not to be confounded with the heretical Ebionites, who denied the divinity of Christ), we find the same combination of Judaism and Christianity as in James. The mass of the Jewish Christians, however, towards the close of Hadrian's reign, after the second destruction of Jerusalem, and the extinction of the line of the fifteen circumcised bishops, gradually merged in the Greek church.

§ 96. *The Epistle of James.*

From James the Just we have preserved in the canon an epistle, which is, indeed, one of the doubted books (the *antilegomena* of Eusebius), but has strong external and still stronger internal evidence in its favor, and was perhaps written before or soon after the apostolic council.⁴ It was written no doubt from Jerusalem, the theocratic metropolis

pass over in silence the cruel scenes which accompanied the execution of James, and, being a Pharisee, might feel inclined to put the blame of the murder on the Sadducee, Ananias. Then as to the chronology; the date given by Hegesippus is supported from other quarters. According to the *Epist. Clementis Rom. ad Jacobum*, c. 1 (*Patres Apost.* ed. Cotelier, tom. I. p. 611), and the *Clementina Epitome de gestis S. Petri*, c. 147 (*ib.* p. 798), and according to the whole Pseudoclementine literature, James survived the apostle Peter, who did not die before the year 64 at the earliest. So the *Chronicon paschale*, vol. I. p. 460 (ed. Bonnens.), places the martyrdom of James in the first year of Vespasian's reign. Eusebius varies. In his *H. E.* (II. 23. III. 11), following Hegesippus, he gives the year 69; while in his *Chronicon* (p. 205, ed. Scalig.), he puts the martyrdom of James in the year 63, no doubt on the authority of the above passage from Josephus.

¹ Euseb. *H. E.* III. 11, 32.

² Justus, Zacchaeus, Tobias, Benjamin, John, Matthias, Philip, Seneca, Justus, Levi, Ephres, Joseph, and Juda; comp. Euseb. IV. 5.

³ Eus., l. c. Sulpicius Severus, *Hist. Sacra*, II. 31, says of these Jewish Christians: "They believed in Christ as God, while yet observing the law."

⁴ On this, see the modern investigations of Schneckenburger, Neander, Credner of

and James' permanent field of labor. Its readers were the "twelve tribes which are scattered abroad" (1 : 1) ; that is, the Jews, who lived in and out of Palestine, dispersed among the Gentiles ; or rather Jewish Christians ; for to these, as the true spiritual Israel, he applies the Old Testament designation,¹ yet without drawing the line between the two economies, between the disciples of Moses and the disciples of Christ, so clearly as is done in the system of Paul, and as it was afterwards drawn in fact by the destruction of Jerusalem. The communities styled themselves yet, not churches, but synagogues (2 : 2), consisted mostly of poor people, and were oppressed and persecuted by the rich and powerful Jews.² Of Gentile Christians among them we have no trace. If there were any so early in Palestine and the surrounding regions, they had not yet become incorporated with the Jewish converts, and were not regarded by James as belonging to his charge.

The design of the letter is not doctrinal, but ethical and altogether practical. It aims to inculcate a living, active piety, and to combat a dead Jewish orthodoxy, an unproductive intellectual belief, which contents itself with theoretical knowledge and the mere reception of the Mosaic and Christian doctrine as true, instead of acting it out in the life (2 : 14 sqq.). Paul has a similar tendency in view in Rom. 2 : 17-24 (comp. also Jno. 5 : 39),³ while he elsewhere commonly contends against the opposite error of a righteousness of works without faith. Besides this there prevailed in the churches, to which the epistle is addressed, other evils, all more or less connected with a carnal Jewish way of thinking ;—want of charity, censoriousness, pride and arrogance in the rich, quarrelsomeness, worldly-mindedness, &c. While James rebukes all these sins, and threatens them with the impending judgment, he comforts and cheers the poor, who are oppressed by the hard-hearted rich, and the brethren, who are persecuted by their unbelieving kinsmen.

This of itself indicates the contents of the letter, which perfectly correspond with all we otherwise know of the legal character and conservative position of its author. There is confessedly no other book in the New Testament, which leaves the peculiarly Christian element, the

Kern in his Commentary (where he has retracted his former doubts of its genuineness), and of Thiersch (*Die Kirche im apost. Zeitalter*, p. 106 sqq.). Comp. also my tract on James, above quoted, p. 83 sq.

¹ Comp. Matt. 19 : 28. Rom. 2 : 28 sq. Gal. 6 : 16. 1 Pet. 1 : 1.

² Jas. 2 : 6, 7. 5 : 1 sqq. Comp. Heb. 10 : 34.

³ As late as the second century Justin (*Dial. c. Tryph. Jud.* p. 370, ed. Col.) speaks of Jews, who imagined, that in consideration of their monotheism God would not lay their sins to their charge.

person and work of the Redeemer, so much in the background as this epistle. And so far does it differ from Paul's type of doctrine, that even a Luther in one-sided zeal for his doctrine of justification considered the two as irreconcilably opposed, and did not hesitate to call James' a "chaffy epistle;" while others suppose, that James (c. 2 : 14 sqq.) intends to combat, not, indeed, Paul's doctrine of justification itself as rightly understood, yet at least the practical abuse of it (comp. 2 Peter 3 : 16). But this is a wrong opinion. James has his eye, not upon Gnostic and Antinomian tendencies,—for these did not develope themselves till after his time,—but upon the dead intellectual orthodoxy of Judaism, a self-righteous, stiffened Pharisaism; and he meets it with the same weapons used by Christ in the Sermon on the Mount. The epistle of James, therefore, holds as important and necessary a place among the canonical epistles of the apostles, as that Sermon among the discourses of Christ. For, closely as it conforms, not only in thought but in its figurative, sententious style, to the prophetic and proverbial books of the Old Testament, yet the earnest, impressive moral admonitions, of which it consists,—its exhortations to patience under suffering, to prayer, to humility, to true wisdom, to meekness, to peace, to the observance of the royal law of love, to a life corresponding to the confession of the mouth; its warnings against vain self-reliance, against sins of the tongue, against fickleness, envy, hatred, and uncharitableness in general,—all are thoroughly pervaded by the spirit of *Christian* morality, especially as presented in the Saviour's Sermon on the Mount. The name of Christ, indeed, appears only, as it were, in the distance, but is always mentioned with a holy reserve, which leaves us with the impression, that far more is thought than is said, and that the cause of this comparative silence is perhaps the wish to gain the more readily

' In the preface to his edition of the New Testament of 1524, p. 105 : "Therefore the epistle of St. James is a real chaffy epistle compared with them (the writings of John, Paul, and Peter); for it has no evangelical cast at all." He expresses himself more fully in his remarkable preface to the epistles of St. James and St. Jude, 1522 (*Werke*, ed. Walch. XIV. p. 148 sq.), at the close of which he thus sums up his opinion : "In a word, he (James) has aimed to refute those who relied on faith without works, and is too weak for his task in mind, understanding, and words, mutilates the Scriptures, and thus contradicts Paul and all Scripture, seeking to accomplish by enforcing the law, what the apostles successfully effect by love. Therefore I will not place his epistle in my Bible among the proper leading books, but will leave it to very one to receive or reject it as he likes; for there are many good sentences in it." That Luther afterwards retracted this unfavorable judgment, which reveals itself also in his version of the Bible in the removal of the epistle of James from its original place at the beginning of the Catholic epistles to their end, where it still stands in all the German Protestant editions, is not at all demonstrable, though it is often asserted (even by Guericke : *Eint. in's N. T.* p. 499, without any proof)

some of the Jewish readers to the faith. James calls Christ "the Lord of glory" (2 : 1), and humbly styles himself "a servant of God and of the Lord Jesus Christ" (1 : 1) ; and he addresses his readers as born again and the first fruits of a new creation (1 : 18), thus placing Christianity far above Judaism, and representing it as the creative beginning of a new life. It is the *law* undeniably, but the law spiritualized and glorified by the *gospel*, the "*perfect law of liberty*" (1 : 25), which every where meets us in this letter. The genial Herder has characterized the epistle in these striking words :¹ "What a noble man speaks in this epistle ! Deep, unbroken patience in suffering ! Greatness in poverty ! Joy in sorrow ! Simplicity, sincerity, firm, direct confidence in prayer ! To nothing is he more opposed, than to unbelief, to pusillanimous, destructive subtlety, to double-mindedness. But what a way he has of drawing nigh to God ! He speaks of power, the miraculous power of prayer, as of the most certain, unfailing thing, heartily, from experience, with particular instances and proofs—verily a man full of the Holy Ghost, a praying man, a disciple of Jesus !—How well he knows wisdom, and the origin of true and false wisdom in the minds of men ! He puts restraint on the tongue, even in its most specious workings, the tongue, which murders by lusts and passions—silent saint ! Nazarite ! Disciple of heavenly wisdom ! How he wants action ! Action ! Not words, not (dead intellectual) faith, but free action, perfect, noble action according to the royal law of the Spirit, the free—the purified Pharisee, or Essene—the Christian !"

§ 97. *Traditions respecting the other Apostles.*

Peter, Paul, and John were plainly the most influential and efficient of the apostles. Of their labors accordingly we have the most full and reliable accounts, though their end is veiled in mysterious darkness. Besides these none appear in Acts, but James the Elder, who soon passed off the stage (A. D. 44) as the first apostolic martyr, and that other James, who from the year 50, or perhaps even 44, to his death labored as head of the church in Jerusalem. Of the activity of the other apostles, on the contrary, the New Testament itself contains no trace ; and the many reports respecting them in the writings of the church fathers, and in the pseudo-apostolic acts, are in some cases so strange and so full of contradictions, that they can lay very little claim to credit, and that even the acutest criticism would be unable thoroughly to separate the truth from the error.

This silence of Holy Writ and of authentic history respecting the life and work of the majority of the apostles is an enigma, which

¹ *Brief zweener Brüder Jesu in unserem Kanon.* Lemgo. 1775

historians have made various attempts to solve. It may be accounted for first, by the humility of the disciples of Jesus, whose object was not to build for themselves monuments of their fame, but only to labor as instruments of their Master, in whatever way and place he might appoint. Then again, by the fact, that they appeared not with the creative originality and imposing personal character of James, Peter, Paul, and John, who fully represent the four ground forms of life and doctrine in the primitive church; but more as simple helpers, quite as necessary, however, and as useful in their sphere as the leaders, whose banner they followed. Finally, by the consideration, that the destruction of Jerusalem and the persecutions of the Christian church from the time of Nero onward seriously impeded the recording of their acts and fortunes, or destroyed many documents already written. That these apostles actually labored, however, with great effect, is certain from the early propagation of Christianity in all parts of the Roman empire, even where we have no sure and special information respecting the mode of its introduction; as in Egypt, North Africa, Spain, Gaul, and Italy out of Rome. Eternity will assuredly disclose many hidden flowers and fruits of Christian life and labor, which are either not at all, or at best very imperfectly, recorded in books of history.¹

Down to the apostolic council (A. D. 50) the twelve disciples seem still to have looked on Jerusalem as the centre of their activity, and, with the exception of Paul, not to have gone far beyond Palestine. Thenceforth we find none but James in the Jewish capital (Acts 21 : 18), the rest having scattered to different lands. The story (first found in Rufinus) runs, that they distributed the countries among themselves by lot, and before they separated composed the Apostles' Creed. But this literally understood is a manifest error. More plausible is the tradition, that they all except John suffered martyrdom,² most of them before the destruction of Jerusalem; while the beloved disciple lived down to the threshold of the second century. Most of them seem to have labored in the different countries of the East, and more in the

¹ We cannot agree, therefore, with Dr. Thiersch (*Vorlesungen über Katholic und Protest.* I. p. 203, note, 2nd ed.), in explaining the silence of history respecting the majority of the apostles from the *small results* of their labors, especially outside the Roman empire. This would be derogatory to the wisdom and discernment of the Lord in the choice of his instruments.

² Yet according to Heracleon, in Clemens Alex. (*Strom.* IV. p. 502), the apostles Matthew, Philip, Thomas, and Levi (Thaddeus) died a natural death. The whole story above is not found earlier than the fourth century, and may have arisen too from the exaggerated notions of the worth of martyrdom and from the ambiguity of the word *μάρτυρ*, which denotes primarily any confessor of the Christian faith, but commonly in later usage a witness by blood.

spirit of James and Peter, than on the principles of the Apostle of the Gentiles. For the Christian churches in Syria, Persia, and India, in Egypt and Ethiopia, exhibit in early antiquity, and even to this day, so remarkable a mixture of Jewish practices with Christian orthodoxy (which, however, in those countries has now become almost a perfect petrification), that we may infer from it with tolerable certainty their Jewish-Christian origin.

Respecting these apostles individually we collect the following statements :

1. **ANDREW**, the brother of Simon Peter,¹ preached (according to Origen in Eusebius) in Scythia ; according to later accounts, also in Asia Minor, Thrace, and Achaia. After working many miracles he is supposed to have suffered martyrdom at Patrae (Patras) in Achaia, at the order of the Roman proconsul, Aegeas, whose wife and brother he had converted ; and to have been crucified on a *cruz decussata* (✠), which thence came to be called " Andrew's Cross."

2. **PHILIP** of Bethsaida,² not to be confounded with the deacon and evangelist of the same name,³ according to a pretty unanimous tradition performed his last labor in Asia Minor in the province of Phrygia, and died, some say a natural death, others a violent one, at Hierapolis (between Colosse and Laodicea) in a good old age. He survived, it would seem, the destruction of Jerusalem, and according to ancient credible tradition was married and the father of several pious daughters.⁴

3. **THOMAS**, called Didymus (Twin), probably also from Galilee (comp. Jno. 21 : 2), is presented to us in the Gospel of John⁵ as a man of a melancholy, skeptical, and willful turn, who would believe only on the palpable testimony of the understanding and of experience, but held fast what he had once come to believe with great decision and fidelity. " My Lord and my God !" cried he in joyful adoration, the moment he put his finger into the wounds of the risen Saviour. He might be taken as the representative of the better class of Rationalists,—those, who are honestly seeking truth, and who, therefore, ultimately find it. The oldest tradition (Origen in Euseb.) says, he preached the gospel in the Parthian empire, and was buried in Edessa ; but later accounts (Gregory of Nazianzen, Ambrose, Jerome, and others) place the scene of his labors and martyrdom in East India,⁶ and the Syrian Christians, who

¹ Matt. 4 : 18. 10 : 2. 13 : 3. Jno. 1 : 35 sqq. 6 : 8. 12 : 22.

² Matt. 10 : 3 and parall. Jno. 1 : 44 sqq. 6 : 5 sqq. 12 : 21 sqq. 14 : 8 sq.

³ Acts 6 : 5. 8 : 5 sqq. 21 : 8.

⁴ Eusebius : *H. E.* III. 31. V. 24.

⁵ C. 11 : 16. 14 : 5. 20 : 24-29.

⁶ But perhaps there is confusion here. At any rate Theodoret (*Haer. fab.* I. 26)

have been found there from time immemorial, regard him as the founder of their church and hence are called Thomas-Christians.

4. BARTHOLOMEW, or "son of Ptolemaeus," is unquestionably the same, who appears in the fourth Gospel under his proper name, NATHANAEAL (Gift of God, Jno. 1 : 45 sqq. 21 : 2) ; the first name being a surname taken from his father, like Simon's surname, Barjona. He sprang from Cana in Galilee (Jno. 21 : 2), and was introduced to the Saviour by Philip. As soon as the Lord saw him, He said of him : "Behold an Israelite indeed, in whom is no guile."² He is said to have preached represents the Thomas, who was sent to the Indians, as a disciple of Manes, and the *Acta Thomae* published by Thilo betray a Manichean origin.

¹ Matt. 10 : 3. Mk. 3 : 18. Luke 6 : 14. Acts 1 : 13.

² Jno. 1 : 47. This expression of Christ is commonly taken as a general description of the moral and religious character of Nathanael, and explained thus : "Thou art in truth one of the people of God ; an Israelite, who answers the idea ; such as all should be, all uprightness and ingenuousness." This interpretation, however, we cannot adopt ; (1) because it is altogether contrary to the Saviour's custom thus to praise a man to his face. (2) Because in that case Nathanael's modesty must have compelled him to decline the compliment ; whereas, on the contrary, he accepts it without hesitation by asking : "Whence knowest thou me ?" v. 48. (3) Because ingenuousness and uprightness were never particularly prominent traits in the character of the Jews as a nation, or at any rate of Jacob, in whom at least in early life the subtlety of the serpent predominated, as his conduct with Esau and Laban sufficiently shows. "German fidelity" is proverbial, but not "Jewish honesty." The prophets very often rebuke this people for their treachery and hypocrisy, (Is. 29 : 13, 15. Zeph. 1 : 11. Ps. 50 : 19, &c.). (4) Because this explanation does not suit the connection at all, especially the immediately following words of the Lord, v. 48, which are evidently to be taken as more particularly defining the former. The sense of this passage, as well as of the whole paragraph Jno 1 : 45-51, can be fully explained only from the history of Jacob, to which Jesus here makes an exceedingly significant allusion. That v. 51 refers to the heavenly ladder (Gen. 28 : 12), is conceded by all commentators. The living intercourse of divine and human powers, which appeared to the patriarch under this figure in his dream at Bethel, was perfectly realized in the manifestation of the incarnate Son of God, the Mediator between heaven and earth. Why should not the ἀληθὺς Ἰσραηλῆτης, v. 47, refer likewise to a scene in Jacob's life, to his victorious wrestling with his covenant God, when he received the honorary title of *Israel*, Wrestler with God (Gen. 32 : 28. Comp. Hos. 12 : 4), in place of his former name, and in token of his having put off the old man ? We conceive the matter thus : Nathanael, a disciple of John, and by him directed to the Messiah, was engaged under the shade of a fig-tree, perhaps in the place which tradition assigns for Jacob's wrestling, in the study of the law and the prophets, and absorbed in fervent prayer for the coming of the long-promised Saviour, when Philip approached him with the joyful tidings of the Messiah, whom he had found. The Lord had looked into his heart ; had read there his hopes and prayers for the Messiah (v. 48) ; and this surprising insight into the secrets of his soul, in connection with what preceded, led Nathanael to faith. The sense of the words in question will, therefore, be simply : "Behold a man, who has just wrestled with God with unfeigned earnestness in prayer for the manifestation of the Messiah, and has prevailed ;"—or to keep closer to the Old Testament passage here in mind, Gen. 32 : 28

Christianity in India (probably Yemen), where, according to Eusebius, he left the Gospel of Matthew in Hebrew ; to have labored also in Lycaonia and Armenia Major ; and to have been beheaded, or according to another tradition crucified with his head downwards.

(5) MATTHEW, no doubt the same with LEVI,¹ formerly a tax-gatherer in Galilee (Matt. 9 : 9 sq.), author of the first Gospel, is said to have extended the kingdom of God into Ethiopia (Meroe), and according to some accounts into the countries of Asia. Respecting the manner and place of his death the reports vary.

(6) SIMON ZELOTES appears in the New Testament only in the lists of the apostles (Matt. 10 : 4, and parall.), and there are different stories about his labors. Some church fathers identify him with Simeon, son of Clopas, who according to Eusebius succeeded James as bishop of Jerusalem, and was crucified under Trajan in the hundred and twentieth year of his age. According to Nicephorus, on the contrary, Simon preached in Egypt, Cyrene, Mauritania, Lybia, and at last in the British isles, where he was crucified. Finally, Abdias tells us, that he with Judas Thaddeus was taken to Persia and Babylon, and murdered at Sunir.

(7) JUDAS, also called LEBBAEUS and THADDAEUS (Matt. 10 : 3, &c.), preached, as the western tradition has it, in Persia, and there through the instigation of the magicians met a cruel death. Nicephorus, on the contrary, makes him preach in Palestine, Syria, and Arabia, and die a natural death at Edessa.

(8) MATTHIAS, one of the seventy disciples (according to Eusebius), who on the motion of Peter was chosen by lot to fill the place of Judas Iscariot (Acts 1 : 15–26), is said to have labored and suffered martyrdom in Ethiopia ; while other accounts say, he was stoned by the Jews in Judea.

(9) JAMES THE LESS, or JAMES *the son of Alphaeus*,² labored, according to the tradition of the Greek church, which distinguishes him from James the brother of the Lord, the bishop of Jerusalem and author of the catholic epistle (comp. § 95), first in the south-western part of Palestine, afterwards in Egypt, and was crucified at Ostracine in lower Egypt.³

“Thou art no deceiver (Jacob), but an honest wrestler with God (Israel) ; for thou hast wrestled with God, that he would send the Saviour of the world and show him to thee ; and thy prayer is heard. The Messiah stands before thee.” That all the ensuing circumstances, the question of the astonished Nathanael, the Lord’s reply, the confession of faith, and the reference to the new ladder from heaven, of which Jacob’s was but a faint type—that all these come along very naturally in this view, is plain enough.

¹ Mk. 2 : 14. Luke 5 : 27. Matt. 10 : 3. &c.

² Mark 15 : 40. Matt. 10 : 3. 27 : 56. Acts. 1 : 13

Nicephor. II. 40.

§ 98. *Destruction of Jerusalem.* A. D. 70.

The forbearance of God with his covenant people, who had crucified their own Saviour, at last reached its limit. As many as could be saved in the usual way, were rescued. The mass of the people had obstinately set themselves against all improvement. James the Just, the man who was fitted, if any could be, to reconcile the Jews to the Christian religion, had been stoned by his hardened brethren, for whom he daily interceded in the temple; and with him the Christian community in Jerusalem had lost its importance for that city. The hour of fearful judgment drew near. The prophecy of the Lord¹ approached its literal fulfillment.

Not long before the outbreak of the Jewish war, seven years before the siege of Jerusalem, a man by the name of Jesus came to the city at the feast of tabernacles, and in a fit of absent-mindedness constantly cried among the people: "Woe to the city! Woe to the temple! A voice from the morning, a voice from the evening! A voice from the four winds! A voice against Jerusalem and the temple! A voice against bridegroom and bride! A voice against the whole people!" Some magistrates, terrified by this, had the man taken up and scourged. He offered no resistance, and continued to cry his "Woe." Being brought before the procurator, Albinus, he was scourged till his bones could be seen, but interposed not a word for himself; uttered no curse on his enemies; simply exclaimed at every blow in a mournful tone: "Woe, woe to Jerusalem!" To the governor's question, who and whence he was, he answered nothing. Finally they let him go, as a madman. But he continued till the outbreak of the war, especially at the three great feasts, to proclaim the approaching fall of Jerusalem. During the siege he was singing his dirge for the last time from the wall. Suddenly he added: "Woe, woe also to me!"—and a missile put an end to his prophetic lamentation.

Under the last governors, Felix, Festus, Albinus and Florus, moral corruption and the dissolution of all social ties, but at the same time the oppressiveness of the Roman yoke, increased every year. After the accession of Felix, assassins, the "Sicarians" (from *sica*, a dagger) armed with daggers and purchasable for any crime, endangering safety in city and country, roamed over Palestine. Besides this, the party spirit amongst the Jews themselves and their hatred of their heathen oppressors rose to the most insolent political and religious fanaticism, and was continually inflamed by false prophets and Messiahs, one of whom, for example, according to Josephus, drew after him thirty thousand men

¹ Matt. 24 : 1, 2. Luke 19 : 43, 44.

(comp. Acts 21 : 38). At last in the year 66, under the last procurator, Gessius Florus (from 65 onward), a wicked and cruel tyrant, who, as Josephus says, was placed as a hangman over evil-doers, there began an organized rebellion against the Romans, but at the same time a terrible civil war also between the zealots and the conservatives, as well as between different parties of the revoltors themselves. The Christians, remembering the Lord's admonition (Matt. 24 : 15 sqq.), forsook Jerusalem and fled to the town of Pella beyond the Jordan, in the north of Perea, where king Herod Agrippa II. before whom Paul once stood, opened to them a safe asylum. An old tradition¹ says, that a divine voice reminded their most prominent members once more of the flight. The emperor Nero, informed of this rebellion, sent the famous general, Vespasian, with a large force to Palestine. Vespasian opened the campaign in the year 67 from the Syrian port-town, Ptolemais (Acco), and against a stout resistance overran Galilee with an army of sixty thousand men. But events in Rome hindered him from completing the tragedy, and required him to return thither. Nero had killed himself. The emperors, Galba, Otho, and Vitellius followed one another in rapid succession. The latter was taken out of a dog's kennel in Rome drunk, dragged through the streets, and shamefully put to death, and Vespasian, in the year 69, was universally proclaimed emperor.

His son, Titus, who himself ten years after became emperor, and highly distinguished himself by his mildness and philanthropy, then undertook the prosecution of the Jewish war, and became the instrument in the hand of God of destroying the holy city and the temple. In April, A. D. 70, immediately after Easter, when Jerusalem was filled with strangers, the siege began. The zealots rejected with sneering defiance the repeated proposals of Titus and the prayers of Josephus, who accompanied him as interpreter and mediator ; and they struck down every one who spoke of surrender. Even the famine, which now began to rage and sweep away thousands daily, the cries of mothers and babes, the most pitiable and continually increasing misery around them, could not move the crazy fanatics. History records no other instance of such obstinate resistance, such desperate bravery and contempt of death. For the Jews fought, not only for civil liberty, life, and their native land, but for that which constituted their national pride and glory, and gave their whole history its significance,—for their religion, which even in this state of horrible degeneracy infused into them an almost superhuman power of endurance and a fearful inspiration. At last in July the castle of Antonia was surprised and taken by night. The Roman general proposed to keep that magnificent work of art, the temple, to grace his

¹ In Eusebius : *H. E.* III. 5.

triumph ; but he was again insultingly repulsed. The famine was so severe, that many swallowed their jewels ; a mother even roasted her own child ; but the wretches would hear nothing of mercy. When Titus finally ordered the temple halls to be set on fire, he still wished to save the venerable sanctuary. But its destruction was determined by a higher decree. In a fresh assault, a soldier unbidden hurled a firebrand through the golden door. When the flame arose, the Jews raised a hideous yell and tried to put out the fire ; while others, clinging with a last, convulsive grasp to their Messianic hopes, rested in the declaration of a false prophet, that God in the midst of the conflagration of the temple would give the signal for the deliverance of his people. Titus himself gave repeated orders to have the fire extinguished. But in vain. His legions vied with each other in feeding the flame, and made the unhappy people feel the whole weight of their unchained rage. At first the vast stream of blood from the bodies heaped up before the altar of burnt-offering restrained the fire ; but soon the whole prodigious structure was in flames. It was burnt on the tenth of August, A. D. 70, the same day of the year on which according to tradition the first temple was destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar. "No one," says Josephus, "can conceive of a louder, more terrible shriek, than arose from all sides during the burning of the temple. The shout of victory and the jubilee of the legions sounded through the wailings of the people upon the mountain and throughout the city. The echo from all the mountains around, even to Perea, increased the deafening roar. Yet the *sight* was equally terrible. The mountain seemed as if enveloped to its base in one sheet of flame. On the top the earth was nowhere visible. All was covered with corpses ; over these heaps the soldiers pursued the fugitives." The same author gives the number of Jews slain at the siege of Jerusalem as one million one hundred thousand ; and the number sold into slavery during the war, ninety thousand !

Even the heathen Titus publicly exclaimed, that *God* aided the Romans and drove the Jews from their impregnable strongholds. The Jew, Josephus, a learned priest and Pharisee, who has described the whole Jewish war at length in seven books, and who went through it himself from beginning to end, at first as governor of Galilee, then as a prisoner of Vespasian, finally as a companion of Titus and mediator between the Romans and Jews, recognized in this tragical event a divine judgment and admitted of his degenerate countrymen, to whom he was otherwise attached in sincere love : "I will not hesitate to say what gives me pain : I believe, that, had the Romans delayed their punishment of that ungodly people, the city would have been swallowed up by the earth, or overwhelmed with a flood, or, like Sodom, consumed

with fire from heaven. For the generation which was in it, was far more ungodly than the men on whom those punishments had in former times fallen. "By their madness, the whole nation is ruined." Thus, therefore, must one of the best Roman emperors execute the long threatened judgment of God, and the most learned Jew of his time describe it, and thereby, without willing or knowing it, bear testimony to the truth of the word, and the divinity of the mission, of Jesus Christ, the rejection of whom brought all this and the subsequent misfortune upon the apostate "royal priesthood."

This awful catastrophe, which prefigured in miniature the final judgment, must have given the Christian churches a shock, of which we now, especially in the absence of all particular information respecting it, can hardly form a true conception. This actual refutation of stiff-necked Judaism, this divine ratification and sealing of Christianity, the confessors of which were all rescued from the ruin, not only gave a mighty impulse to faith, but at the same time formed a proper epoch in the history of the relation between the two religious bodies. It separated them forever. It is true, the apostle Paul had before now inwardly completed this separation by the Christian universality of his whole system of doctrine; but outwardly he had in various ways accommodated himself to Judaism, and had more than once religiously visited the temple. He wished not to appear as a revolutionist, nor to anticipate the natural course of history, the ways of Providence (1 Cor. 7 : 18 sqq.). But now the rupture was also outwardly consummated by the thunderbolt of divine omnipotence. God himself destroyed the house, in which he had thus far dwelt; rejected his peculiar people for their obstinate rejection of the Messiah; demolished the whole fabric of the Mosaic theocracy, whose system of worship was, in its very nature, associated exclusively with the tabernacle at first and afterwards with the temple; but in so doing cut the cords which had hitherto bound, and according to the law of organic development necessarily bound, the infant church, especially the Jewish portion of it, to the outward economy of the old covenant, and to Jerusalem as its centre. Henceforth the heathen could no longer look upon Christianity as a mere sect of Judaism, but must regard and treat it as a new, peculiar religion. The destruction of Jerusalem, therefore, marks that momentous crisis, at which the Christian church as a whole burst forth forever from the chrysalis of legalism, awoke to a sense of its maturity, and in government and worship at once took its independent stand before the world.¹ This break

¹ Comp. the excellent remarks of Dr. Richard Rothe (*Die Anfänge der Christl. Kirche und ihrer Verfassung*, Vol. I. p. 341 sqq.), which Schwegler (*Nachapost. Zeitalter* II. p. 190), endeavors in vain to refute.

ing away from hardened Judaism and its religious forms, however, involved no departure from the spirit of the Old Testament revelation. The church, on the contrary, entered into the inheritance of Israel. The Christians appeared as genuine Jews, who, following the inward current of the Mosaic religion, had found Him, who was the fulfillment of the law and the prophets ; the perfect fruit of the old covenant and the living germ of the new ; the beginning and the all-sufficient principle of a new moral creation.

It now only remained to complete the organization of the church in this altered state of things ; to combine the premises in their results ; to take up the conservative tendency of Peter, and the progressive tendency of Paul, as embodied respectively in the Jewish-Christian and the Gentile-Christian churches, and fuse them into a third and higher tendency in a permanent organism ; to set forth alike the unity of the two Testaments in diversity, and their diversity in unity ; and in this way to wind up the history of the apostolic church. This was the work of John, the apostle of completion.

CHAPTER V.

LIFE AND WORK OF JOHN.

§ 99. *Parentage and Education of John.*

THE close of the apostolic age and the transition to the succeeding period is formed by the activity of the beloved disciple and bosom friend of Jesus. Him the Lord had appointed to give the finishing stroke to the internal and external organization of His church.

The apostle and evangelist, JOHN,¹ was the son of Zebedee, a Galilean fisherman, and Salome, and a brother of the elder James. His birth-place was probably that of Peter, Andrew, and Philip, the fishing town of Bethsaida.² His parents seem to have been not altogether without means. His father kept hired servants (Mk. 1 : 20). His mother was one of the women who supported Jesus with their property³ and purchased spices to embalm him.⁴ John himself owned a house in Jerusalem, into which he received the mother of the Lord after the crucifixion (Jno. 19 : 27). The seeds of piety were no doubt planted in his youthful heart by his pious mother. Salome shared, indeed, at that time still in the carnal Messianic hopes of the Jews and had somewhat of vanity withal ; as appears from her asking of the Lord in behalf of her two sons the highest places in his kingdom (Matt. 20 : 20 sqq.). Yet she was a faithful follower of Jesus, not forsaking him even when he hung on the cross (Mk. 15 : 40).⁵ Like all the other apostles,

¹ From the Heb. יְהוֹנָתָן, i. e. Grace of Jehovah (Gotthold).

² Matt. 4 : 21. 10 : 2. Mk. 1 : 19. 3 : 17. 10 : 35. Lu. 5 : 10. Acts 12 : 2.

³ Matt. 27 : 56. Mk. 15 : 40 sq. Lu. 8 : 3.

⁴ Mk. 16 : 1. Lu. 23 : 55, 56.

⁵ According to the new interpretation of Jno. 19 : 25, presented with acuteness and learning by Wieseler in the "Studien und Kritiken," 1840, No. 3, p. 643 sqq., Salome would be the sister of the mother of Jesus, and thus John a cousin of the Lord. By "his mother's sister" Wieseler understands, not, as the common interpretation makes it, Mary the wife of Cleophas (since it is altogether improbable, that two sisters would

except Paul, John grew up without a learned or scientific education (comp. Acts 4 : 13). All this deficiency was destined to be amply supplied by a three years' personal intercourse with the Master of all masters and by the supernatural illumination of the Holy Ghost. But he was no doubt early made familiar with the Holy Scriptures of the Old Testament, which gave his natural turn for profound reflection and his fine, tender feeling far more wholesome exercise, than the learning of the Pharisaic schools, corrupted as it was with all sorts of dangerous maxims.

In his youth he became a disciple of John the Baptist. For he is undoubtedly the one not named of the two disciples of John, of whom he himself speaks in his Gospel, 1 : 35 sqq. His susceptible soul, longing for the Hope of Israel, must soon have discerned a messenger of God in the earnest preacher of repentance, who preceded Christ like the dawn before the sun. By this herald, on the banks of the Jordan in Perea, he together with Andrew was directed to Jesus as the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world. From his first interview with the Saviour, he received so deep an impression, that he remembered even in his old age this hour of meeting (Jno. 1 : 39). After one day's intercourse with the Son of God he returned with Peter and Andrew to his home and trade. There the good seed, which had fallen into his heart, had opportunity to germinate and unfold itself freely. It was part of the Lord's great wisdom as a teacher to do no violence to the course of nature in drawing his disciples to him. Soon after this John, with James, Peter, and Andrew, was called away from his occupation by Jesus to be one of his constant followers and apostles.¹ Thus John is the representative of those disciples, who are gradually drawn into fellowship with the Redeemer without any violent inward struggles or unusual outward changes ; while the apostle Paul furnishes the most striking example of a sudden conversion. The first mode of conversion is especially suited to mild, contemplative, modest characters, such as Thomas à Kempis, Melancthon, Spener, Bengel, Zinzendorf ; the other, to such strong, impetuous, resolute, independent natures, as Tertullian, Augustine, Luther, Farel, and Calvin.

we have the same name), but John's own mother, who is known from the parallel passages, Matt. 27 : 56. Mk. 15 : 40, to have been present in fact at the crucifixion, and could hardly have been passed over by her son ; and who is here thus designated in a way exactly corresponding to John's manner of indicating himself ("the disciple whom Jesus loved"). There are considerable difficulties, however, in the way of this explanation. Comp. Neander's *Apostelgesch.* II. 609 ; my tract on James, p. 22 sq., and the article on John by W. Grimm in *Ersch and Gruber's Encyclop.*, Sect. II. Part 42, p. 1 sqq.

¹ Matt. 4 : 18 sqq. Mk. 1 : 16 sqq. Lu. 4 : 1-11.

John, whose soul was formed for deep friendship and ardent love, was one of the most confidential disciples of the Lord. He, his brother James, and Simon Peter, were the chosen from among the chosen; the holy triad, upon whom the Saviour bestowed special favor. They alone were admitted to witness the raising of Jairus' daughter (Mk. 5 : 37), the transfiguration of Christ on Mount Tabor (Matt. 17 : 1), and his agony in Gethsemane (Matt. 26 : 37. Mk. 14 : 33). The ground of this preference must be looked for, partly in the Lord's sovereign choice, partly in the peculiar character of the three disciples. Of James we know very little. He seems to have been of a quiet, earnest, meditative turn, and in the year 44, as before noticed, he headed the band of apostolic martyrs. His place was filled in a measure, as regards prominence and influence, by the apostle Paul. Peter we have already seen to be an ardent, impetuous man, of great energy, made for the practical superintendence of the church. John makes not so much outward show; but the flame of love burned the brighter and warmer within. His deep, affectionate nature, which gave him his peculiar religious genius, placed him above the two others, and made him the dearest of the Saviour's three chosen friends. His was the great privilege of leaning on Jesus' bosom,¹ and listening to the heart-beatings of eternal mercy (Jno. 13 : 23). In his Gospel, therefore, in modest self-concealment, and at the same time under a sense of the deepest gratitude, he designates himself as "the disciple whom Jesus loved."² This is probably a significant paraphrase and interpretation of his proper name, in which he saw a prophecy of this perfect friendship, of his enjoyment of the special favor of Christ, the incarnate Jehovah.³

John showed his fidelity to the Lord in the hour of his suffering, following him with Peter into the palace of the high-priest (Jno. 18 : 19). He was the only one of all the disciples, who attended the crucifixion; and to him, as best fitted to take the place of her child, Jesus committed His mother (19 : 26). He took Mary to his house (v. 27), and according to tradition kept her till her death, which is said by Nicephorus to have taken place at Jerusalem (according to other accounts at Ephesus) in the year 48. On the morning of the resur-

¹ Hence he is styled by the Greek church fathers, *ὁ ἐπιστήθιος*, the leaner on the bosom, or as we would say the bosom friend of Jesus. Very beautifully says Augustine of the evangelist, John: "He only poured forth the water of life, which he had drunk. For not without reason is it related of him in his own Gospel, that he lay on the bosom of the Lord at the supper also. From this bosom he quietly drank; and what he thus enjoyed in secret, he has given to the world to partake of" (*Tract. 36, in Joann.*).

² 13 : 23. 19 : 26. 20 : 2. 21 : 7, 20.

³ Comp. Jno. 12 : 41 with Is. 6 : 1.

rection, accompanied again by Peter, he hastened to the sepulchre and found it empty (20 : 3 sqq.). The last time he meets us in the Gospels he is on the sea of Gennesaret with six other disciples engaged in fishing the whole night ; but their labor was all in vain, when their risen Master appeared to them and helped them out of their strait by a miracle ; thus hinting to them, that, in the apostolic career before them, in the great work of catching men, nothing could be accomplished by mere human power, but all depended on the word of their Lord. The difference between John and Peter in their conduct on this occasion is remarkable. The former at once recognizes the Lord with the keen glance of love, but remains quietly in the ship, certain of his possession and all-absorbed in thinking of it ; while the impulsive Peter, now particularly restless under the consciousness of his denial and his anxiety for explicit pardon, plunges into the waves and swims to the feet of Jesus on the shore, to reach him first (Jno. 21 : 2 sqq.). So the contemplative Mary in calm hope waited for the Lord at home, while her busy sister, Martha, ran to meet him and tell him her grief (11 : 20).

§ 100. *His Apostolic Labors.*

In the Acts of the Apostles John appears, next to Peter, as the most important personage in the first or Jewish-Christian stage of the apostolic church. By reason of his peculiar temperament, however, he does not come out so prominently as Peter either by speech or action, but keeps by the side of the senior apostle in silent contemplation. With Peter he heals the cripple (Acts 3 : 1 sqq.) ; is sent with him to Samaria, to confirm by the impartation of the Holy Ghost the Christians there baptized by the deacon, Philip (8 : 14 sqq.) ; and thence returns to Jerusalem. Here, in the year 50, he meets Paul, who had come to consult with the elder apostles on the authority of the law of Moses. Paul speaks of him and James and Peter as apostles of the circumcision, and as pillars of the church (Gal. 2 : 1-9). Thus far, then, John seems to have confined his labors to the Jews and to Palestine. Yet he undoubtedly already had in him the germs of a reconciliation of Jewish and Gentile Christianity. For we never find the Judaizers appealing to him, as the Cephass party to Peter (1 Cor. 1 : 12), or the still stricter Jewish Christians to James (Gal. 2 : 12) ; nor have we any hint of a proper Johannean party. He stood above strife and division. When Paul made his last visit to Jerusalem in 58, the favorite disciple was no longer there, or Luke would certainly have mentioned him (Acts 21 : 18) ; and for his subsequent history we are left to his own writings and the tradition of the church.

John afterwards fixed the permanent seat of his labor in the renowned

commercial city of Ephesus, thus in one of the most important of Paul's congregations. This fact is placed beyond question by the unanimous testimony of Christian antiquity ;¹ and from the epistles of the Revelation (1 : 11. c. 2 & 3) it would appear, that he had supervision of the churches of Asia Minor in general. The time of his removal to Grecian soil cannot be precisely determined. The most we can say is, that it was not till after, or at all events not long before, the death of Paul. For in Paul's valedictory to the officers of the Ephesian churches at Miletus there is not a syllable about John, nor in his epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians and the second to Timothy, written during his confinement in Rome. In all these Paul evidently regards himself still as superintendent of the whole church of Asia Minor. It was probably the martyrdom of the Apostle of the Gentiles in 64, and the attendant dangers and distractions long anticipated by himself (Acts 20 : 29, 30), that led John to take this important post, and build his own structure on the foundation laid by Paul. Where he spent the interval between the years 50 and 64, cannot be ascertained.²

The vigorous life of the second century, which bears the impress of John's influence, clearly shows that Asia Minor was destined to be the main theatre of the church's action in the next stadium of her history. There were collected all the forces necessary to bring about a thorough purification,—the germs of the two grand fundamental heresies, which the church was to overcome. On the one hand the spirit of Pharisaical Judaism threatened a new bondage to the law, particularly in the Galatian churches. On the other there arose from a combination of heathen and Jewish elements a false Gnosis, a tendency to licentious speculation, which had been already opposed in the epistles to Timothy and the Colossians, as also in the second epistle of Peter and in Jude, and which afterwards took a more definite and tangible form in the hands of Cerinthus, a younger contemporary of John. But not only from heretics was the church in danger. The Jewish and Gentile believers had not yet

¹ Irenæus (the disciple of Polycarp, who was personally acquainted with John), *Adv. Hæc.* III. 1, 3, etc., and his letter to Florinus in Eusebius, *H. E.* V. 20 ; also Clemens Alex. in his homily : *quis dives salvetur*, c. 42 ; Apollonius and Polycrates of Ephesus at the close of the second century (in *Euseb.* V. 18, 24, and III. 31) ; Origen, Eusebius, &c. Nothing but the crazy skepticism of the deist, Lützelberger, could in the face of all this testimony pronounce John's residence at Ephesus a fiction.

² The later report of his having carried the gospel to the Parthians must have arisen from the inscription : " Ad Parthos," on some Latin manuscripts of the first epistle of John ; and this again from a misunderstanding of the epithet *παρθένος* anciently given to this apostle on account of his celibacy. Comp. Lücke *Comment. z. d. Br. Joh.* 2d ed. p. 28 sqq.

rightly grown together in firm, organic unity. The Jewish converts had not yet ceased to look with a certain suspicion on the liberal stand of Paul and his disciples towards the law ; so that Peter found it necessary in his epistles to the churches of that region to assert his essential agreement in faith with the Apostle of the Gentiles (comp. § 91). In this critical state of things John was the very person to check the progress of the dangerous errors, and fundamentally to refute them, not in a simply negative way, but positively also, by meeting with truth the real wants from which they sprang. As a native of Palestine and formerly one of the apostles of the Jews, he had the confidence of the Jewish Christians ; and his intellectual susceptibility and plasticity enabled him readily to appropriate the Hellenistic element and adapt himself to Paul's position. And by thus reconciling in himself these two ground-forms of apostolical Christianity, so far as they were but different aspects of one and the same truth, he secured to the whole church of Asia Minor that compact and well-fortified unity so needful to maintain her against the enemies within, as well as against bloody persecutions from without.

§ 101. *Persecution under Domitian. Banishment of John to Patmos.*

In this benign labor, the monuments of which stand before us in his Gospel and Epistles, John was interrupted by the persecution under Domitian, to work for the kingdom of God in another way by unveiling the mysteries of the future.

Domitian succeeded his brother Titus and reigned from A. D. 81 to his assassination in 96. He was totally unlike his predecessor. He made a happy beginning, but soon showed himself a consummate tyrant, not a whit behind Nero in cruelty, while he surpassed him in hypocrisy. Just when he seemed most friendly and condescending, was he most to be feared for his thirst for blood. He killed or banished the most upright and distinguished men, even senators and consuls, upon the idlest pretexts, when they fell under his dark suspicion, or stood in the way of his insatiable ambition. Self-deification he carried to the summit of blasphemy. He was the first Roman emperor after Caligula to arrogate the name of God. He began his letters with the words : " Our Lord and God commands," and required his subjects to address him so.' Nay, he put himself above the gods, and ordered gold and silver statues of himself to be placed in the holiest part of the temple, and whole herds of victims to be sacrificed to him." Such a man could not but look upon

¹ Suetonius : *Domit.* c. 13 : " Dominus et Deus noster hoc fieri jubet." Unde institutum posthac, ut ne scripto quidem ac sermone cujusquam appellaretur aliter."

² Pliny : *Panegy.* c. 52, cf. 33.

the confessing of Christ as a treasonable offense. Under his reign many Christians suffered martyrdom, among whom was his own cousin, the consul Flavius Clemens.¹ His jealousy led him also to destroy the surviving descendants of David, and to bring two kinsmen of Jesus from Palestine to Rome; fearing their aspirations, till he convinced himself, that they were poor, innocent persons, from whom he had nothing to apprehend.²

Under this emperor John, according to tradition, was banished to the solitary, barren, rocky island of Patmos (now Patmo or Palmosa) in the Ægean sea, near the coast of Asia, south-west of Ephesus. There he received the Revelation of the struggles and victories of the church.³ That he had the vision while an exile on this island, he himself informs us, Rev. 1 : 9 : "I John, who also am your brother, and companion in tribulation, and in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ, was in the isle that is called Patmos, for the word of God, and for the testimony of Jesus Christ." And that it was in the reign of Domitian is the almost unanimous testimony of Christian antiquity; with which also the con-

¹ The pagan historian, Dio Cassius (in the abridgment by Xiphilinus, 67, 14), says : "In the same year Domitian put to death, besides many others, Flavius Clemens, of consular dignity, though he was his cousin and married to Domitilla, who was likewise related to him. Both were charged with atheism. On this ground many others, who had strayed away to the customs of the Jews (i. e. converts to Christianity), were condemned. Some had to die; others were deprived of their property. Domitilla was only banished to the island of Pandateria" (in the bay of Puteoli, near Naples). By atheism here is no doubt to be understood the denial of the heathen deities, the Christian faith. Comp. the passages in Gieseler's *Kirchengesch.* I. 1, p. 135. Christian tradition places the martyrdom of Andrew, Mark, Onesimus, and Dionysius the Areopagite also in the time of Domitian's persecution.

² Hegesippus, in Euseb. *H. E.* III. 19, 20. According to Tertullian (*De praeser. her.* c. 36, John was brought to Rome (he does not say by what emperor), plunged into a caldron of boiling oil and, unhurt by this, was banished to the island of Patmos ("ubi—i. e. at Rome—apost. Joh., posteaquam in oleum igneum demersus nihil passus est, in insulam relegatur.") His being tortured in this way is, indeed, in itself by no means improbable, considering the unnatural cruelties said by Tacitus and Juvenal to have been inflicted on the Christians in the Neronian persecution. But as Tertullian is not very discriminating in historical matters, and as the statement in question is made by no one else save Jerome, and by him on the authority of Tertullian, we cannot place any reliance upon it, and are disposed, with many, to class it at least among exaggerated stories.

³ At the harbor de la Scala the grotto is still pointed out, where the beloved disciple beheld in ecstatic vision "on the Lord's day" the future of the church. Tischendorf thus describes the island (*Reise in's Morgenland*, II. p. 257 sq. : "Silent lay the little island before me in the morning twilight. Here and there an olive tree breaks the monotony of the rocky waste. The sea was still as the grave: Patmos reposed in it like a dead saint. . . . John—that is the thought of the island. The island belongs to him; it is his sanctuary. Its stones preach of him, and in every heart he lives.")

tents of the book itself, rightly understood, are by no means inconsistent. The oldest witness is Irenaeus, who merits special regard as a pupil of Polycarp, who was a personal friend of John. He says explicitly and with great confidence, that the revelation was received not long before, in fact almost within the limits of his generation; that is, towards the end of Domitian's reign.¹ With him agrees Eusebius, who, in several passages of his Church History, on the authority of ancient tradition, assigns the banishment of John to the reign of this emperor, in his Chronicle to the fourteenth year of it (i. e. A.D. 95); and places the apostle's return to Ephesus in the reign of Nerva.² So Jerome³ and others. Two earlier witnesses, Clement of Alexandria and Origen, who would come immediately after Irenaeus in time, do not, it is true, give the name of the emperor, who banished the apostle, but designate him, the former as a "tyrant,"⁴ the latter still more indefinitely, as "king of the Romans."⁵ Both phrases, however, suit Domitian as well as Nero; the expression "tyrant" better, since of all the Roman emperors Domitian was the most arrant despot. Tacitus says of him, that he "labored not only at intervals, by paroxysms, but systematically, to demolish the commonwealth as at one blow."⁶ To him Eusebius also referred the passage of Clement. The uncritical and credulous Epiphanius is the first

¹ *Adv. haer.* V. 30: Οὐδὲ γὰρ πρὸ πολλοῦ χρόνου ἐωράθη (ἢ ἀποκάλυψις), ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας γενεᾶς, πρὸς τῷ τέλει τῆς Δομετιανοῦ ἀρχῆς. Guericke's hypothesis, which contrary to all rules of grammar would make Δομετιανῶν an adjective, and refer it to Domitius Nero (*Einl. in's N. T.* p. 285), to reconcile the passage with his present opinion respecting the date of the Apocalypse (for formerly in his "Beiträgen zur Einl." p. 55 and his "Fortgesetzten Beiträgen." p. 30, he had advocated the true view), is utterly untenable in view even of the immediately preceding context, which does not at all suit the time of Nero, who lived a full century before Irenaeus wrote his work against the Gnostics. The absence of the article is not in the least against the word being a substantive; since Eusebius, where he confessedly uses it for Domitian, likewise leaves out the article, *H. E.* III. 23: Μετὰ τὴν Δομετιανῶν τελευτήν. So Philostratus: *Vita Apoll.* VII. 4: Τῆς Δομετιανῶν φορᾶς

² *H. E.* III. 18: "Under him (Domitian), according to tradition, the then surviving apostle and evangelist, John, on account of his testimony for the word of God, was condemned to dwell on the island of Patmos." Also III. 20, 23, and *Chron.* ad ann. 14 Domitiani.

³ *De viris illustr.* c. 9: "Johannes quarto decimo anno secundam post Neronem persecutionem movente Domitiano in Patmos insulam relegatus scripsit Apocalypsin."

⁴ *Quis dives salv.* c. 42, and in Euseb. *H. E.* III. 23: Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τοῦ τυράννου τελευτήσαντος ὑπὸ Πάτμου τῆς νήσου μετῴληθεν εἰς τὴν Ἑφῆσον.

⁵ *Orig. ad Matt.* 20: 22, 23. Opp. ed. de la Rue, III. 720. Respecting this testimony comp. the observations of Hengstenberg, *Commentar über die Offenbarung des heil. Joh.* I. p. 4 sq., who against the modern criticism ably defends the old view, that the book was composed in the time of Domitian.

⁶ *Agric.* c. 44. Comp. Pliny's portrait of this "inmanissima bellua," *Paneg.* c. 48

to deviate from this view. He puts the banishment of John in the reign of Claudius. But he has no support from any quarter, and has accordingly never been followed.¹

On the other hand, the authority of Ewald, Lücke, and Neander in modern times has given considerable popularity to the view, that the Apocalypse (which, however, is not regarded by these scholars as the work of the apostle John) was written in the reign of Galba, A.D. 68 or 69, soon after the death of Nero.² The only witness for this, of any account, is the Syriac translator of this book,³ who does not, however, appeal to tradition at all, and probably founds his statement merely on his own view of the contents. In either case his authority bears no comparison with that of the much older Irenaeus. And in fact the modern interpreters determine the date from evidence altogether *internal*. They seem to find in the Apocalypse itself plain indications, that it must have been written before the destruction of Jerusalem (c. 11), in lively remembrance of the persecution under Nero and the burning of Rome, and during the reign of the sixth Roman emperor (Galba), before the supposed return of Nero (to whom several moderns altogether errone-

¹ We cannot, therefore, justify Dr. Lücke and Dr. Davidson in speaking of a "*vacillation*" of the church tradition concerning the date of the exile and Apocalypse" (*Versuch einer vollständigen Einleitung in die Offenbar. Joh.* p. 409). On this point *tradition*, so far as it has any historical weight, is unanimous. The only deviations are individual opinions, which even contradict one another.

² This was the opinion already of Herder (*Maranatha*, p. 207), who held the Apocalypse to be genuine, but erroneously referred its contents to the destruction of Jerusalem. Of English theologians I see that Dr. Davidson, in his learned article on "*Revelation*" in *Kitto's Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature*, vol. II. p. 621 sq. (Amer. ed.), adopts the false view that the book was written during the reign of Nero, and is much too hasty, when he says: "The tradition of the early church in regard to the banishment of John is neither consistent nor valuable; it will not stand the test of modern criticism. Hence the view of those who think that it was manufactured solely from ch. 1: 9, is exceedingly probable."

³ In the title: "*Revelatio. quam Deus Joanni Evangelistae in Patmo insula dedit, in quam a Nerone Cæsare relegatus fuerat.*" The Syriac translation of the Apocalypse, however, is wanting in the original Peshito and belongs to the Philoxeniana, or rather to its recension by Thomas. It therefore dates only from the seventh century according to a Florentine MS. from the year 622 (comp. Hug's *Einleit. in's N. T.* I. p. 353 sqq., and De Wette's *Einl. in's N. T.* § 11. a.); and its isolated statement respecting the date of the Apocalypse has, therefore, in reality no critical value at all. Still less regard is due in this matter to Theophylact of the twelfth century. He evidently confounds two things entirely different. In his Commentary on John's Gospel, he takes the *Gospel* of John (not the Apocalypse) to have been composed in the island of Patmos thirty-two years after the ascension of Christ, therefore under Nero, whom however, he does not name;—an opinion universally rejected. How Guericke then, in this connection (*Einl.* p. 285), can speak of Theophylact as a "discriminating critic," I cannot conceive.

ously apply the number 666) in the character of Antichrist (c. 17) But this internal evidence is here the less decisive, because the interpretation of this mysterious book as a whole, and of this section in particular, is yet in dispute.¹ With fully as much, yea with more right we might infer from the state of the churches in Asia Minor, as described in the seven epistles, and especially from the existence of the Gnostic sect of the Nicolaitans, that the revelation could not have been written long before the close of the first century. Besides, Nero's persecution falls not in the year 67, as is so frequently assumed from the false reckoning of Eusebius, but according to the clear testimony of Tacitus in the year 64 (comp. § 88); was of short duration; and on account of its local occasion—the setting fire to the city falsely charged upon the Christians—was perhaps confined to Rome. At least there is not the slightest historical proof, that it extended to the provinces and in particular to Asia Minor, until we come to Orosius in the beginning of the fifth century; and his testimony is of no account, since he in other matters merely copies Suetonius. Finally, we know nothing of Nero's having punished the Christians with banishment; while Dio Cassius says expressly, that Domitian banished to Pandateria his relative, Flavia Domitilla, the wife of the above named Clemens (Eusebius says his niece—unless we suppose two women of this name), on account of atheism (*ἀθεότης*), that is, the Christian faith.²

In this state of the case we adhere to the oldest and most prevalent view of the date of John's banishment, and of the date of the Apocalypse therewith connected. Irenaeus had the best opportunity to collect authentic accounts of this fact from one, who, like Polycarp, was a personal friend and pupil of the apostle. Criticism of internal evidence only wrongs itself by thus slighting the clear testimony of history; especially in the interpretation of a book, the obscurity of which gives double occasion for modesty and caution.

§ 102. *John's Return to Ephesus, and the Close of his Life.*

With the death of the tyrant, A. D. 96, the apostle, after perhaps a year or more of exile, recovered his freedom. The successor of Domitian, the just and humane Nerva, the first of a series of good emperors, recalled the exiles, according to Dio Cassius, and put an end to the mean

¹ Against this comp. Dr. J. Chr. K. Hofmann's *Weissagung und Erfüllung* (1841) II. p. 301 sqq., and, for a detailed discussion, the Commentary of Hengstenberg and the introduction to it, I. p. 27 sqq.

² Dio, B. 67, 14. comp. 68, 1, and Euseb. : *H. E.* III. 18. Banishment was with Domitian a favorite punishment. Tacitus congratulates Agricola, that he did not live to see under this emperor "*tot consularium caedes, tot nobilissimarum feminarum exilia et fugas*" (*Vit. Agr.* c. 44).

business of informers and sycophants. John now returned to Ephesus, into his former field of labor, and presided over the church in Asia till his death.¹ To these closing years of his life belong two characteristic anecdotes, which bear the full impress of truth.²

One is given by Clement of Alexandria, who wrote at the end of the second century. It is an affecting testimony to the tender, devoted faithfulness of the aged pastor. Having returned from Patmos to Ephesus, as Clement relates,³ John visited the surrounding region to appoint bishops and organize churches. In a town not far from Ephesus he met with a youth, whose beauty and ardor at once so engaged his interest, that he handed him over to the bishop as an object of very special care. The bishop instructed him in the gospel, and connected him with the church by holy baptism. But the pastor now relaxing his vigilance, the youth, too soon deprived of parental care, fell into bad company, and even became leader of a band of robbers, surpassing all his associates in bloodthirsty violence. Some time afterwards John came again to that town, and anxiously inquired after the young man. "Come," said he to the bishop, "give us back the pledge, which I and the Saviour entrusted to thee before the congregation." With a sigh the bishop answered: "The youth has apostatized and become a robber. Instead of being in the church, he now dwells with his companions in a mountain." With a loud cry the apostle rent his clothes, smote on his head, and exclaimed: "O what a guardian I placed over the soul of my brother!" Taking a horse and a guide, he hurried to the retreat of the robbers. Seized by the guard he made no attempt to escape, but begged to be brought to the leader, who, on recognizing John, fled for shame. The apostle, forgetting his age, pursued him with might and main, crying: "Why fleest thou from me, O child! from me, thy father, an unarmed old man? Pity me, O child! Be not afraid! Thou still hast hope of life. I will account to Christ for thee. I will gladly, if need be, die for thee, as Christ has died for us. Stop! Believe that Christ has sent me."

¹ Clemens Alex. l. c., and Euseb. III. 20, 23. To his superintendence of the church of Asia Minor may no doubt refer the strange remark of Polycrates in Eusebius (v. 24), that John wore the petalon, the diadem of the Jewish high priest. Perhaps he was regarded as the Christian high priest, because in the Apocalypse he entered farther than any other into the mysteries of the heavenly sanctuary.

² Other stories, on the contrary, must be referred to the province of fable; as, for instance, that John destroyed the famous temple of Diana (*Nicephorus* *Ch. E.* II. 42); and that shortly before his death he drank a bowl of poison without harm first in Augustine's *Soliloquies*. This last act is ascribed by Papias (in Eus. III. 39) also to Joseph Barnabas: and this account may rest on Mk. 16: 18, and Matt. 20: 23.

³ *Quis dives salv.* c. 42, and in Eus. III. 23. This beautiful legend has been thrown into a poem by Herder, with the title: *Der gerettete Jüngling*.

These words were like swords to the soul of the unhappy man. He stopped, threw down his instruments of murder, and began to tremble and weep bitterly. When the aged apostle came up, the youth clasped his knees, prayed with strong lamentation for pardon, and with his tears of repentance, as it were, baptized himself a second time. The apostle assured him, that he had obtained forgiveness for him from the Saviour, fell upon his knees, and kissed his hand. He then led him back to the congregation, and there prayed earnestly with him and labored with him in fasting, and exhorted him, till he was able to return him to the church as an example of thorough conversion.

Another incident, equally touching, is related by Jerome in the course of his exposition of Galatians. In his extreme old age John was too weak to go into the assembly, and had to be carried. Unable to deliver long discourses, he simply said: "Little children, love one another." When asked why he continually repeated this one exhortation, he replied, "Because this is the command of the Lord, and enough is done if this one command be obeyed."—Assuredly so. For as God himself is love, love to Him and to the brethren is the essence and sum of religion and morality, the fulfilling of the law and the prophets, the bond of perfectness.

All the old accounts agree in the statement, that John lived down into the reign of the emperor Trajan, who ascended the throne A. D. 98; and that he died a natural death in Ephesus at the advanced age of ninety years or upwards.¹ While most of his colleagues were baptized with the bloody baptism of martyrdom, this aged youth passed along in heavenly peace through the tribulations of the primitive church and softly fell asleep on the bosom of love.² A misunderstanding of the enigmatical language of Jesus, Jno. 21:22: "If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?" gave rise to the rumor, that John was not really dead, but only asleep, moving the mound over his grave with his breathing, awaiting the final advent of the Lord.³ His writings

¹ So Irenaeus, Eusebius, Jerome, and others. The latter (*De vir. ill.* c. 9) says of John: "Sub Nerva principe redit Ephesum, ibique usque ad Trajanum principem perseverans totas Asiae fundavit rexitque ecclesias, et confectus senio anno sexagesimo octavo post passionem Domini (i. e. A. D. 100, as this father places Christ's death in 32) mortuus juxta eandem urbem sepultus est."

² When the Ephesian bishop, Polycrates, in Euseb. *H. E.* III. 31. V. 24, calls John a "martyr," he must refer either to his preaching of the gospel or (as διδάκαλος immediately follow), to his banishment to Patmos. To reconcile the above tradition with the Lord's prediction respecting the fate of the sons of Zebedee, Matt. 20:23, Jerome, on this passage, calls to his aid Tertullian's story of John's harmless immersion in boiling oil, in which the apostle showed the disposition of a martyr, and drank the calix confessionis.

³ Augustine mentions this story, but contradicts it in *Tract. 224 in Evang. Joann.*

certainly perpetuate his life and influence eternally, and the perfect understanding of them seems to have a special connection with the future completion of the church and her preparation to receive her heavenly bridegroom ; as they close, in fact, with the significant assurance and prayer (Rev. 22 : 20) ; “ Surely I come quickly ; Amen. Even so come, Lord Jesus.”

§ 103. *Character of John.*

Let us now endeavor to form, from the testimonies of history, and above all from the writings of John, a picture of his genius and religious character. The theoretical and practical talents, which the Creator gives man as his dowry, are not destroyed by the action of regenerating grace, but only purged of all admixture of sin, consecrated to the service of God, and thus first brought to full maturity. John is unquestionably one of the highly-gifted natures, endowed with a delicate, contemplative mind, lively feeling, glowing imagination, and a tender, lovely heart. Every talent and trait of character, however, is accompanied by its corresponding sinful tendency, and exposed to a particular abuse. The apostle's contemplative turn, in a bad school, might easily have led him off into the cloudy regions of a false mysticism, or a visionary, pantheistic speculation, which would confound God and the world. But, anointed by faith, which fixed his intuition on the Eternal Word incarnate, this gift became a holy wisdom, opening to our view the depths of God's heart, and his purposes of love towards mankind. In his intercourse with the personal Truth, John became the corypheus of Christian philosophers, a representative of divinely-inspired knowledge ; pre-eminentlly the “ Theologos.” He knew how to communicate in the most simple, childlike dress the profoundest truths, which furnish the maturest thinkers inexhaustible material for study. The symbol, by which the church has represented him, is the eagle, boldly and joyfully soaring into the highest regions ; and hence the genial Raphael has represented him as resting on eagle's wings and looking with intrepid gaze into the heights of heaven. By this significant emblem would the church set forth the keen discernment, the far-reaching prophetic power, the bold flight, and the noble, imposing strength of the mind of John.¹

According to another legend (in Photius, *Myriobibl. cod.* 229, and in Pseudo-Hippolytus : *De consummatione mundi*, comp. Lampe's *Comment. in Evang. Jo.* t. I. p. 98) John died, indeed, but was immediately raised again from the grave, translated like Enoch and Elias, and with these saints of the old Testament will appear as the herald of the visible return of Christ and the antagonist of Antichrist, as John the Baptist prepared the way for the first coming of the Lord.

¹ Jerome (*Comment. ad Matth. Proëm.*) observes : “ Quarta aquilae (facies, comp. Ezek. 1. 10), Joannem (significat), quia sumt's pennis aquilae et ad altiora festinans de

In his moral character John, like his colleagues, in spite of all his noble virtues, was of course not sinless. Such delicately-formed, loving souls are commonly inclined to sensitiveness, envy, refined self-love, and vanity. A certain jealousy reveals itself in his conduct recorded in Luke 9 : 49, 50, and Mk. 9 : 38-40 ; and his prayer to the Lord for the highest place, a minister's post as it were, in the Messianic kingdom (Mk. 10 : 35), betrays the workings of ambition. Particularly important is the incident related by Luke, c. 9 : 51-56. When the inhabitants of a Samaritan village refused to receive Jesus, the brothers, John and James, broke forth in the angry words : "Lord, wilt thou that we command fire to come down from heaven, and consume them, even as Elias did?" Here is plainly a precipitate, carnal zeal, an impure spirit of revenge, which confounded the New Testament position with the Old, and forgot that the Son of Man had come, not to destroy men's lives, but to save them. From this, however, we see, that John by no means had, as is often represented, a weak, sentimental nature. His love was always deep and strong, and might, therefore, easily turn into equally violent hatred ; for hatred is inverted love. Probably the surname "sons of thunder," which Jesus gave the sons of Zebedee (Mk. 3 : 17), has reference to this trait of character, and denotes that intensity of feeling, that vehemence of affection, which might easily vent itself in bursts of anger like that just noticed. An ardent nature passionately grasps the object of its love, but repels with equal violence whatever is hostile to it. So long as this temper was not purified and softened by the divine Spirit, it might, like the heavy, crashing thunder, work destruction. Jesus, therefore, in giving John that surname, rebuked his inconsiderate zeal and carnal passion, and gave him a significant hint to curb his natural disposition, and purge his ardor of all sinful admixtures. But subjected to the discipline and direction of the Holy Ghost, this temper might, like every sanctified natural talent, accomplish great and glorious things in the kingdom of God. In this view the title, "sons of thunder," implies something honorable. The same thunder, which at one time destroys, at another purifies the air, and with its accompanying showers fructifies the earth.¹ All that was true and good, therefore, in

verbo Dei disputat."—An old epigram says of John : "More volans aquilae verbo petiti astra Joannes ;" and a medieval hymn sings of him :

"Volat avis sine meta,
Quo nec vates nec propheta
Evolavit altius.
Tam implenda, quam impleta,
Numquam vidit tot secreta
Purus homo purius."

¹ The Greek fathers are incorrect in referring the appellation Βοαίεργες, or *bo-*

that zeal, remained in the regenerate John ; the moral energy, for instance, and decision, with which he loved good and hated evil. The natural disposition was cleansed from all sinful passion, softened, and made subservient to the will of God. In the Apccalypse the thunder rolls loud and mighty against the enemies of the Lord and his bride. In the Gospel and Epistles, it is true, the gentle, quiet breeze prevails but here also the storm lowers at least in the distance, in the description of the judgment of the Son of Man (Jno. 5 : 25-30). With what holy horror does the apostle speak of the traitor, and of the rising rage of the Pharisees against their Messiah ! He represents the Lord as calling the Jews, who had murderous designs upon him, children of the devil, without qualification (8 : 44). He himself terms every one who does not confirm his Christian profession by holy conduct, a liar (1 Jno. 1 : 6, 8, 10) ; every one who hates his brother, a murderer (3 : 15) ; every one who wilfully sins, a child of the devil (3 : 8). How earnestly and decidedly does he warn men of every denier of the incarnation of Christ, as of a liar and Antichrist (2 : 18 sqq. 4 : 1 sqq.). Nay, in his second epistle, v. 10 and 11, he forbids even the saluting an errorist or receiving him into the house. In view of these passages, there is nothing at all improbable in the narrative of Irenæus,¹ that when the aged apostle once met the Gnostic errorist, Cerinthus, in a public bath, he immediately left the place, saying, he feared the building might fall to pieces, because Cerinthus, the enemy of the truth, was in it.

If we only do not think of the character of John as unmanly and soft, after the fashion of sentimental romance-writers, we shall have no difficulty in reconciling these apparently conflicting traits of glowing love and consuming wrath, heavenly mildness and thundering zeal.² It was one and the same disposition which revealed itself in both cases, only in opposite directions ; at one time embracing the divine, at another repelling the ungodly and antichristian ; as the same sun gives light and warmth to the living, and hastens the decay of the dead. He who places Christian love in a good-natured indulgence towards sin, entirely

ῥοιότης (from בְּרִי and יֵשׁ) to the striking presentation of profound ideas, the convincing power of eloquence. Then the title would be *only* honorable, involve no censure, and stand in no sort of connection with the fact, Lu. 9 : 51-56.

¹ *Adv. Haer.* III. 3. Comp. Euseb. III. 28, and IV. 14.

² We have an interesting psychological parallel in the church historian, Neander, who has been frequently, and not without reason, compared with John. This divine is well known to have been uncommonly mild, and often to have gone too far in his liberality and lenity towards different and even decidedly erroneous views of Christianity. And yet, against certain phenomena of our age, particularly the philosophy of Hegel and his followers, he showed a repulsive severity and bitterness, and in his private intercourse with his pupils took every opportunity to warn them against the "Moloch of modern pantheism."

mistakes its true spirit, and only ruins the moral character of him towards whom he shows this false forbearance. The more ardently a mother loves her child, the more carefully will she watch and punish his faults, that he may grow more and more lovely. The more glowing and unreserved a man's love to God, the more decided and inflexible will be his hatred of the devil and of all wickedness.

If we compare John with Peter, we find, that with all their unity of faith and love they exhibit the glorified image of God in very different aspects. Peter is made for outward, practical activity, for organizing and superintending the church ; John, with his pensive, profoundly meditative turn, is fitted for promoting the inward life of knowledge and love in congregations already established. In the Acts of the Apostles we find both at the head of the infant church ; but Peter towers far above John in commanding energy. It is Peter who comes forth as the awakening preacher, the mighty wonder-worker, the pioneer and prince of the apostles. The disciple of love, in mysterious silence, stands modestly at his side, yet imposingly ; for one feels that he bears in his silent soul a whole world of thought, which he will yet in proper time and place reveal. While Peter and Paul had the gifts for planting, John, like Apollos, had the talents for watering. To him the Head of the church committed not the work of founding, but that of finishing. As his Gospel, both in its date and character, presupposes the three others, so his writings in general, to be fully understood, call, with all their childlike simplicity, for a high degree of Christian knowledge. In temperament, Peter is sanguine, with a strong infusion of the choleric ; hence excitable, quick in deciding, imperious, passionate, not always persevering and reliable, because determined by momentary impressions ; a man of the present, ready for immediate speech and action. John is melancholic, therefore not so quickly but all the more deeply moved, clinging with the strongest affection to the object of his love, little concerned about the world without, lingering musingly in the past, a master in knowledge and love. Both disciples loved the Lord with all the heart, but, as Grotius finely remarks, Peter was more a friend of *Christ* (*φιλόχριστος*), John of *Jesus* (*φιλοῖησούς*) ; that is, the one revered and loved the Saviour chiefly in his official, Messianic character ; the other was attached most of all to his person, and was, therefore, personally still nearer to him, being, so to speak, his bosom friend. Then again, the love of the former was more active and masculine, that of the latter more receptive and virgin-like. Peter took greatest delight in acting out his love to the Lord ; John, in having himself loved by Him, and in the consciousness that he was so loved. Hence he so often styles himself the disciple whom Jesus loved. Among the female characters

of the New Testament, we find precisely the same relation between the practical Martha, careful and troubled about many things, and the contemplative Mary, forgetting the outward world and joyfully reposing in the love of Jesus, the one thing needful. Yet both have the approval of the Lord; both are equally necessary in the kingdom of God; and the absence of either of these characters would essentially mar the complete New Testament picture of the Christian life.

John and Paul have depth of knowledge in common. They are the two apostles who have left us the most complete systems of doctrine. But they know in different ways. Paul, educated in the schools of the Pharisees, is an exceedingly acute thinker and an accomplished dialectician. He sets forth the doctrines of Christianity in a systematic scheme, proceeding from cause to effect, from the general to the particular, from premise to conclusion, with logical clearness and precision. He is a representative of genuine *scholasticism* in the best sense of the term. John's knowledge is that of intuition and contemplation. He gazes with his whole soul upon the object before him, surveys all as in one picture, and thus presents the profoundest truths as an eye-witness, not by a course of logical demonstration, but immediately as they lie in reality before him. His knowledge of divine things is the deep insight of love, which ever fixes itself at the centre and thence surveys all points of the circumference at once. He is the representative of all true *mysticism*. Both these apostles together meet all the demands of the mind thirsting for wisdom; of the keenly-dissecting understanding, as well as the speculative reason, which comprehends what is thus analyzed in its highest unity; of mediate reflection as well as immediate intuition. Paul and John, in their two grand systems, have laid the eternal foundations of all true theology and philosophy; and their writings, now after eighteen centuries of study, are still unfathomed.

Not inaptly has Peter been styled the apostle of hope; Paul, the apostle of faith; and John, the apostle of love. The first is the representative of Catholicism; the second, of Protestantism; the third, of the ideal church, in which this great antagonism shall resolve itself into perfect harmony.

§ 104. *The Writings of John.*

The labors and influence of John undoubtedly related more or less to all the departments of religious life, even upon government and worship, as we learn from the scattered testimonies of the second and third centuries. But they were mainly concerned with the living knowledge of the holiest mysteries of our faith, especially the incarnation and divinity of Christ. And hence he is called by the Greek fathers the "theo-

gian" by eminence. His writings have very little to do with the outward form, the constitution and usages of the church. On the contrary, they present an inexhaustible mass of ideas, not logically drawn out, but only sketched in a few masterly strokes—a thoroughly original conception and representation of Christianity, from which a peculiar system and school of theology must arise. In them the church, planted by Peter among the Jews, and by Paul among the Gentiles, plunges into the depths of her life, refreshes herself with the blissful contemplation of the theanthropic glory of her heavenly bridegroom, and with holy longing adorns herself to receive him. As we speak of a Petrine and a Pauline period and tendency in the apostolic church, so we may speak also of a Johannean, though it is not so sharply defined. Over the last forty years of the first century, which comprise the peculiar labors of this apostle and the composition of his writings, there hangs a mysterious veil. It is with them as with those forty days between the resurrection and ascension, when the Lord hovered, as it were, between earth and heaven; was near his people, yet far away; discernible by the senses yet, like a departed spirit, able to enter a room where the doors were shut; ate and drank with his disciples, yet no longer needed earthly food. The Johannean period, which may be dated from the death of the two other leading apostles, that is, from the Neronian persecution, A. D. 64, presupposes the activity of Peter and Paul, brings together the results of their labors in a higher unity, and forms the transition to the next age, in which the church is left more to herself to develop the contents of revelation according to the laws of human nature. The theology of the second and third centuries does not work much with Paul's doctrines of sin and grace, of faith and justification. The fathers, on the contrary, and the Catholic church, except the school of Augustine, leave these so far in the back-ground as finally to call for the Reformation. The age after the apostles, and the whole Greek church starts rather from John's fundamental ideas of the incarnation of the Logos and the divine human nature of the Redeemer, using them as its weapons against the Gnostic errors, which afterwards grew into formal systems and overspread all Christendom. Irenæus and other church fathers supposed, that John himself wrote against the Judaizing Gnostics and Docetists, particularly Cerinthus and the Nicolaitans (comp. Rev. 2 : 6, 15). In his Gospel we observe no certain, direct marks of this, except perhaps in the introduction. For much that has been referred to a polemical design, such passages, for instance, as 19 : 34. 20 : 20, 27, may be satisfactorily explained otherwise. Unquestionably, however, is the fourth Gospel a most effectual, indirect and positive refutation of all the fundamental heresies in Christology, whether springing from Judaism

or heathenism; for it unfolds the infallible truth and the objective reality of the theanthropic life of Jesus Christ. In John's epistles we cannot mistake also a direct reference to the Gnostic Docetists who denied, or resolved into a mere appearance, the central mystery of Christianity, the Incarnation, the real, abiding union of Deity and humanity in the person of Jesus of Nazareth. Cerinthus, for example, affirmed, that the divine element, or the Messiah, first united itself outwardly with the man Jesus at his baptism in the Jordan, and forsook him again at the beginning of his passion. By this theory, he virtually annulled the mediatorship of Jesus, the reality of the atonement, and the whole objective, historical character of Christianity. This is the Antichrist, then already present in many forms, against which the apostle so earnestly warns his flock.¹ But of this heresy, and of the doctrinal contents of John's writings in general, we must speak more at large under the head of theology. Here we have to do properly only with the outward relations, the historical frame-work, of the books in question.

§ 105. *The Gospel of John.*

This most vivid and profound picture of the incarnate Son of God and his eternal glory as it beamed from the servant form, full of grace and truth, is, according to Irenaeus and other church fathers,² the last of all the Gospels, and was written at Ephesus; and this statement is confirmed by internal evidence. For the narrative of John implies the existence of the first three Gospels; explains localities in Palestine and Hebrew expressions and customs for Gentile-Christian readers; and stands at the summit of the development of the apostolic church and theology. All this points with tolerable certainty to the last thirty years of the first century. But here we shall perhaps be obliged to stop. For the marks, which have been used to fix the date more accurately, do not furnish a demonstration.³

¹ 1 Jno. 2 : 18, 19, 22, 23. 4 : 3. 2 Jno. 7 sqq.

² Iren. : *Adv. haer.* III. 1. Clemens Alex. in Eus. VI. 14 Eusebius himself, III 24. Jerome : *De vir. ill.* c. 9, &c.

³ Thus some commentators on Jno. 5 : 2, where the sheep-gate and the pool of Bethesda are spoken of as still existing (ἔσται), have inferred that this Gospel must have been written before the destruction of Jerusalem. But aside from the facts that the pool was still pointed out in the time of Eusebius, and that there may very well have remained some ruins of the gate, the use of the present tense in historical narrative is sufficiently accounted for by the effort after vivid representation. Still less does the prophecy of the martyrdom of Peter, 21 : 19, imply that this apostle was still living; while the succeeding verses, 20-23, point rather to a later time. On the other hand, from such passages as 11 : 18. 18 : 1. 19 : 41, where the evangelist speaks of localities about Jerusalem in the past (ἦν) some have drawn the conclusion that he wrote

The design of the fourth Gospel, as expressly stated by the author, is to lead its readers to faith in the Messiahship and divinity of Jesus, and thereby to the possession of eternal life. The church fathers attributed to it also other secondary objects, such as the refutation of the Gnostics and Ebionites (which, however, is not immediately and clearly apparent), and the furnishing of a supplement to the synoptical Gospels. John certainly leaves unnoticed many very important sections of the history, which he might presume were already familiar from oral tradition and the other Gospels; as, for instance, the childhood of Jesus; his baptism, to which, however, he alludes in c. 1 : 33 sqq.; his temptation and transfiguration; the healing of the demoniacs; the sermon on the mount, and the popular parables respecting the kingdom of God; the institution of baptism, the *idea* of which, however, is for the first time set forth in the conversation with Nicodemus on regeneration by water and the Spirit, 3 : 1 sqq.; the institution of the Lord's Supper, which is merely touched (13 : 1 sqq.), though it affords the only proper explanation of the similitude of the vine, c. 15, as well as of the mystic language respecting the eating and drinking of the flesh and blood of Christ, c. 6 : 51-58; and the ascension (comp. 20 : 17). In place of these John gives us the two greatest miracles, the turning of water into wine and the raising of Lazarus, along with the most profound discourses of the Saviour, especially his parting address and mediatorial prayer (c. 13-17), not to be found in the three preceding Gospels. We should not regard John, however, as attempting to correct the other evangelists, or merely to furnish a supplement to them. This idea is at once contradicted by his having many points in common with them; as the miraculous feeding of the multitude, and most of the scenes in the history of the passion. His work is all one effusion, and, though it serves as a valuable complement to the other Gospels, is yet a complete whole in itself.

John wrought on a fixed plan, and he shows a certain art, which, without any clear intention on his part, sprang as it were instinctively from his peculiar conception of the subject; as nature by her plastic virtue produces the fairest forms to serve as models for the human artist. In the first place, the outward arrangement of the matter of the book is very clear; all the events of the history being made to cluster around the several Jewish feasts. During the public ministry of Jesus there are

this book *after* the year 70; but such a "was" does not necessarily imply that the thing no longer is. The latest limit seems to us to be the date of the Apocalypse (95 or 96), not indeed because, as almost all expositors down to Bengel suppose, the Apocalypse, c. 1 : 2, refers to the written Gospel, but because the whole economy of the Holy Scriptures seems to require, that the Revelation, the seal of the apostolic literature, should be composed last.

mentioned in all at least three, probably (i. e. unless the feast of Purim be intended in 5 : 1) four passovers (2 : 13. 5 : 1. 6 : 4. 11 : 55. 12 : 1. 13 : 1), one feast of tabernacles (7 : 2), and one feast of dedication (10 : 22) ; thus furnishing data for the length of our Lord's labors as a teacher (about three years). But along with this external arrangement an inward order is also observed, a progressive development of the relation of Jesus to the world and to his disciples. Especially may we trace the gradual increase of the hatred of the unbelieving Jews towards the personal manifestation of the eternal Light and Life down to the final catastrophe, where, however, that hatred must unwittingly and unwillingly serve to glorify the Crucified and to accomplish the plan of redemption.

The evangelist begins his history with a philosophico-theological prologue (1 : 1-18), propounding as his theme the great truth, that Christ, the incarnate Logos, is from the beginning one with God, and the principle of all revelation, of all light and life in humanity. The history itself may be divided into three, or, if we choose to make a separate part of what is in some sense merely a historical introduction, four sections : (a) The *preparation* for the public ministry of Jesus, first by the appearance of John the Baptist (1 : 19-36), then by the choice of the first disciples (v. 37-51), who are favored at the outset with a foretaste of the intercourse of divine and human powers, of the glory of the Only Begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth. (b) The *public labors* of Jesus in doctrine and miracle, by which he manifests before the world his divine nature and eternal glory, a savor of life unto life to the susceptible, but to the hardened a savor of death unto death (c. 2-12). Chapters 2-4 are devoted chiefly to the favorable results of the Saviour's ministry on those who were longing for salvation, on his disciples and kindred at the marriage in Cana, on the still timid Nicodemus in Jerusalem, the woman of Samaria, and the inhabitants of Sichem ; chapters 5-10 set forth principally the growing opposition of the unbelieving Jews (*οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι*) to Jesus, till it reaches a deadly hatred ; c. 11 records the raising of Lazarus, which brings to a crisis the faith of the Saviour's friends and the unbelief of his enemies ; then comes the transition to the history of his passion (12 : 1 sqq. 24 sqq.), and a recapitulation of his discourses (12 : 44-50). (c) Jesus in the *private circle of his disciples*, his last supper, his farewell address, his solemn consecration to death, his mediatorial intercession, and his inward glorification (c. 13-17). This section is the peculiar ornament of the fourth Gospel, and the inmost sanctuary of the history of Jesus, where the holy sorrow of eternal Love as it addresses itself to the great sacrifice, and the silent breath from the land of peace, so indescribably charm us. (d) The *his*

tory of the passion and resurrection, or the *public glorification of the Lord*, when, as formerly by his words and works, so now by his obedience and sufferings and a creative act of God, he is mightily accredited as the Messiah, the conqueror of sin, death, and hell (c. 18–20). In his appearances after his resurrection, he gives his disciples a pledge of his perpetual presence with them. In the enthusiastic exclamation of Thomas: “My Lord and my God!” there expresses itself the fullest recognition of the divinity of the risen Saviour; and to awaken this faith, which believes even without seeing, was the object of the Gospel, with the statement of which it fitly closes (20 : 31). The twenty-first chapter is a subsequent addition, of special importance for the history of Peter, made either by John himself, or by one of his friends and pupils from what was orally handed down by the apostle.

§ 106. *The Epistles of John.*

The epistles of John were undoubtedly written at Ephesus after the Gospel, which is presumed to be known (1 Jno. 1 : 1 sqq.), and in the advanced years of the apostle, though before the date of the Apocalypse. In them the author proves himself truly a faithful pastor, full of the tenderest love and care for the welfare of his “little children.”

The first epistle attests itself at once by the introduction as well as by the striking similarity of thought and style, which is not that of imitation, but of identity of origin, as the work of the author of the fourth Gospel, with which it stands intimately connected as a practical application. It is a circular letter of exhortation and encouragement to the churches of Asia Minor (comp. Rev. 2 and 3), which were already well versed in the faith, built on the golden foundation of Paul’s doctrine of grace, and therefore not exposed, indeed, to the gross, sensuous errors of Judaism and heathenism, but perhaps, instead of these, to a refined form of theoretical and practical aberration, more dangerous because united with Christian elements. The object of the epistle is, therefore, not to produce, but to nourish the Christian life, and to warn its readers against moral laxness, against all intermixture of light with darkness, of truth with falsehood, of the love of God with the love of the world, and against the influence of those Gnostic, Docetic “antichrists” who denied the reality of the incarnation, the true union of Deity and humanity in Jesus Christ; who separated the knowing of Christ from the following of him, religion from morality; and who probably fostered antinomian licentiousness. Of these errorists John says, that they went out, indeed, from the Christian communion, but never really belonged to it, and by their secession only revealed the opposition which had existed within them from the first (2 : 19). In perfect accordance with his

peculiar character, however, he does not enter on any minute, dialectical refutation of them, as the acute, scholastic Paul does in the case of the Judaizers. He only briefly points out their fundamental error with profound discernment and holy horror, and contrasts it with the Christian principle. Here, as in the Gospel, his great object is to set forth the positive truth. The simple, sublime thought of the epistle, which he presents at the very beginning instead of the customary address, and continually enforces under different shapes with childlike earnestness, is the *love of God and of the brethren*, founded on living *faith* in the God-man, whose history is fully given in the Gospel; in other words, the idea of *fellowship* (*κοινωνία*, 1 : 3, 7; comp. 5 : 1, 2¹), in its twofold aspect: the union of believers with God and his Son Jesus Christ (*unio mystica*), and the union of believers with one another (*communio sanctorum*). The latter is rooted in the former, and is its necessary product; the two are the marks of regeneration and adoption, and are inseparable from the keeping of the commandments of God, from a holy walk in the light after the example of Christ, as well as from true joy and the possession of the eternal life, which the incarnate Logos has brought into the world, and which he alone can give. These few thoughts, clothed in the simplest words, contain the sum of Christian morality and describe the inmost essence of piety. In striking accordance with this is the above-mentioned narrative of Jerome about the aged apostle's continual repetition of the exhortation to love. What Herder says of John's writings in general, may be applied with peculiar emphasis to this first epistle: "They are still waters, which run deep; flowing along with the easiest words, but the most profound meaning."

The second and third epistles of this apostle are, like Paul's epistle to Philemon, very short private letters. In the second John congratulates a pious female Christian of Asia Minor, by the name of Cyria, perhaps a deaconess, on the Christian conduct of some of her children; exhorts her to be steadfast in the truth and in love; warns her most earnestly against all contact with the Gnostic errorists attacked in 1 Jno. 2 : 18 sqq. 4 : 3; and mentions at the close, in apology for his brevity, his expectation of soon visiting her. The third epistle is addressed to one Gaius, probably an officer of a congregation, commending him for his hospitality to the messengers of the faith, and rebuking a certain Diotrephes, otherwise unknown to us, for his am-

¹ This word denotes the inward, eternal nature of the church, of the *ἐκκλησία*, which latter term John uses only in the third epistle, v. 6, 9, 10. The temporal form, under which the body of Christ is revealed, is left almost entirely out of view by this noblest of mystics. Scattered traditional accounts, however, intimate, that he exerted an important influence on the development of the constitution and worship of the church of Asia Minor.

bitious and uncharitable disposition. Perhaps these lines after v. 6 were a letter of recommendation for some Christian brethren.

In these two epistles the author calls himself neither an apostle nor an evangelist,—nor, indeed, does he so style himself anywhere,—but simply “the elder” (ὁ πρεσβύτερος). This must be understood either in the same official sense in which Peter calls himself “co-presbyter” (1 Pet. 5 : 1), or what is more likely, as denoting the apostle’s great age (like πρεσβύτερος, Philem. v. 9). For John was at that time an old man in years and experience, a real father in Christ, and it is very possible that he was so styled by his affectionate “little children” in Asia Minor.¹ At any rate it furnishes no sufficient reason for ascribing this epistle to a “presbyter John,” distinct from the apostle. Such a person could in no case have possessed such authority as is implied in 2 Jno. 10 and 3 Jno. 10. Eusebius, it is true, reckons these epistles among the antilegomena, or the disputed books of the canon; but the uncertainty of tradition in this case is sufficiently accounted for by the fact, that these epistles, being small and of a private character, did not come so early to be generally known or much used.² They contain no internal marks of spuriousness. Even the author’s severity against the errorists, 2 Jno. 10, 11, is by no means inconsistent with the character of John (comp. § 103). On the contrary, the unmistakable resemblance particularly of the second epistle to the first in thought and style, almost to verbal repetition,³ is a sufficient argument for the identity of the author.⁴

§ 107. *The Apocalypse.*

At the close of the Scriptures stands, like a mysterious sphynx, the Revelation of John, or rather of Jesus Christ through John, His servant; the prophetic history of the conflicts and conquests of the church; the book of Christian hope and comfort; the pledge of the all-controlling dominion of Christ in the world, till he shall come to take home his longing bride.

That this book was the last of all the productions of the apostles, is indicated by its position at the close, and as the seal of the canon; by the whole character of its contents, which have to do with the future

¹ At least John is called by Clement of Alexandria in the above-quoted anecdote “the old man” (ὁ γέρον); and he addresses the youth, whom he had found again, with the words: Τί με φεύγεις, τέκνον, τὸν σεαυτοῦ πατέρα, τὸν γυμνὸν, τὸν γέροντα. Though this also may be explained as simply antithetical to the youth.

² Yet Irenæus cites the 2nd epistle, v. 11, as a work of the apostle John (*Adv. hæres.* I. 13, and III. 16); and Clement of Alex. must have known it, since he styles the first epistle of John “the greater” (*Strom.* II. 15).

³ Comp. 2 Jno. 4–7 with 1 Jno. 2 : 7, 8. 4 : 2, 3.

⁴ On this question comp. Lücke’s *Commentar. zu den Br. Joh.* p. 329 sqq.

and the end of all things; and by the oldest and most reliable tradition, which places the banishment to Patmos and the seeing of this vision at the close of the reign of Domitian († A. D. 96), therefore in the last years of John's life (comp. § 101).

The place of its composition was undoubtedly Patmos. From the expression: "I *was* in the isle that is called Patmos," 1 : 9, many, indeed, have inferred, that John, when he wrote the book, was no longer there, but had returned to Ephesus. This imperfect, however, is to be closely connected with v. 10, as though it were said: "During my residence in Patmos I was in the Spirit" (i. e. in ecstasy); and the whole is to be referred to the position of a later reader, to which, as in 1 : 2, the prophet transfers himself. From 1 : 11 and 10 : 4, it is evident that the writing immediately accompanied the seeing and the hearing, so that with the revelation itself the book also ended, 22 : 7, 9, 10.

Reserving for subsequent discussion the matter and design of the Apocalypse, we must here attend somewhat minutely to the question of its *genuineness*, which is still one of the most difficult and distracting parts of New Testament criticism and exegesis. Whilst the Gospel and the first epistle of John are raised above all rational doubt, and have only come out approved and purified from the fire of modern criticism to which they have been subjected by a Strauss, a Baur, and a Schwegler, the apostolical origin and character of the Apocalypse, on the contrary, has been denied even by judicious and believing scholars on grounds both dogmatical and critical.¹ So far, indeed, as external evidence is concerned, this book fares as well as any other, and better than most of the New Testament writings. The tradition in favor of its being the work of the beloved disciple reaches back to Justin Martyr, who wrote some forty years after the death of John, and himself resided in Ephesus. Nay, we may trace it even to Papias, a disciple of the apostles; and Irenæus, the pupil of the bishop Polycarp of Smyrna, one of the seven churches of the Revelation, appeals even for the correctness of

¹ By Luther, for example, who would regard the book as "neither apostolical nor prophetic," because "his mind could not accommodate itself to it;" by Zwingle, who declared at the disputation in Berne: "From the Apocalypse we will derive no proof, for it is not a canonical book;" and more recently by Schleiermacher, Lücke, Neander, Bleek, and others, who at the same time regard the genuineness of the Gospel as incontrovertible. With the infidel school of Baur, Zeller, and Schwegler, it is just the reverse. The Apocalypse, on account of its supposed Ebionism, is found altogether characteristic of the Jewish apostle, John (Gal. 2 : 9); while for the absence of it the Gospel and epistles are denied to him, and placed down in the middle of the second century. Thus in this case the "higher criticism" arrives at two entirely opposite results, which is by no means calculated to strengthen our confidence in it, and should make its eulogists more cautious and discreet.

his reading and interpretation of the mystical number 666 (Rev. 13 : 18) to the testimony of those "who had seen John face to face."¹ It is true, Dionysius of Alexandria, about the middle of the third century, brought about in the Eastern church, a partial rejection of the apostolic origin and canonical authority of the Apocalypse; not, however, on historical or traditional grounds, but only from dogmatical prejudices, viz., to get rid of a gross, sensuous millenarianism, which it was supposed to favor, and with which the spiritualism of the school of Origen had no sympathy whatever.

Then again, we have an explicit declaration of the author himself, which leaves us no other alternative but to take the book as the work either of the *apostle* John, or of a deliberate, bare-faced impostor. But against the latter all sound, moral and religious feeling revolts. While in the fourth Gospel the author speaks of himself only in the third person and by circumlocation, in the Apocalypse he more than once calls himself expressly "John" (1 : 1, 4, 9. 22 : 8), because he here appears as a prophet; and in the Old Testament no anonymous prophecies occur (comp. especially Dan. 8 : 1. 9 : 2. 10 : 2). True, he does not directly apply to himself the title of "apostle" or "evangelist,"² but he appears evidently clothed with apostolical authority; in the first place, from the very fact of his being the organ of so momentous and comprehensive a revelation, which, if it be a true revelation, the Lord certainly would not have communicated, especially during the life-time of his favorite disciple, to an inferior person, perhaps one of John's own presbyters in Ephesus; secondly, from his position as superintendent of the churches of Asia Minor (1 : 4), to which none but an apostle could write in such a tone and with such earnestness and severity of rebuke. Any other John, thus writing, would have come into evident conflict with the apostle's unquestionable official relation to these churches, particularly that of Ephesus, and hence would have been obliged, at the outset, at least to introduce himself to them more distinctly, and to

¹ *Adv. Haer.* V. 30. *Euseb.* V. 8. A very full collection of the assertions of tradition on the point in hand may be found in the learned *Einleitung in die Offenbar. Joh.*, by Dr. Lücke, § 30 sqq. p. 261-365, 1st ed. § 34 sqq. p. 516 sqq. of the 2nd ed. (1851); and in Hengstenberg's *Commentar zur Apok.*, vol. II. Pt. 2, p. 97 sqq. Comp. also several solid articles by Hävernicks in the "Ev. Kirchenzeitung," 1834, p. 707 sqq., and Guericke's *Einleitung in's N. T.* p. 538 sqq.

² In the *ἐμαρτύρησε τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ*, &c., 1 : 2, many expositors detect, indeed, a reference to the fourth Gospel, in which case these words would unequivocally declare the identity of the authors of the two books. But the perfect: *ἐμαρτύρησε*, "hat borne record," may also be referred, as it is by Bengel and Hengstenberg (*Comment.* I p. 69), to the time of *reading* (comp. *ἐγγράφα*, Philm. v. 19), and the "word of God," &c., in view of the explanatory *ὅσα εἶδε*, to the succeeding visions of the book.

enter more minutely into the proof of his divine mission, if such he really had, before he could obtain a hearing or secure himself from ridicule, since even a Paul and a John (3 Jno. 9, 10) had to contend against enemies of the apostolical dignity.¹ By the simple name, "John,"

¹ On these grounds we must affirm, that the hypothesis first hinted at by Dionysius of Alexandria, the spiritualistic and anti-chilastic disciple of the great Origen, and latterly advocated even by such distinguished scholars as Bleek, De Wette (in the earlier editions of his *Einleitung in's N. T.*), Credner, and Neander (who, however, does not give a definite decision), making the Ephesian *presbyter*, John (afterwards confounded with the apostle), the probable author of the Apocalypse, contradicts the clearest exegetical evidence; as also Dr. Lücke concedes (l. c. p. 239 sqq.), and De Wette (in the fourth ed. of his *Einl.* p. 353. though he again expresses himself otherwise in his *Commentar über die Apok.*). Indeed, there is room even to inquire, whether the very existence of this obscure *presbyter* and mysterious duplicate of the apostle John rests not upon sheer misunderstanding, as Herder suspected (*Offenb. Joh.* p. 206, in the 12th vol. of Herder's *Werke zur Theol.*). We candidly avow, that to us, notwithstanding what Lücke (l. c. p. 396 sqq.) and Credner (*Einleit. in's N. T.*, I. p. 694 sqq.) have said in its favor, this man's existence seems very doubtful. The only proper, original testimony for it is, as is well known, an obscure passage of Papias in Euseb. III. 39: "When I met any one, who had been a companion of the elders (*πρεσβυτέρους*), I inquired about the discourses of the elders, what Andrew or what Peter had said, or what Philip, or what Thomas, or James, or what John, or Matthew, or any other of the disciples of the Lord, what Aristion or the *presbyter* (*ὁ πρεσβύτερος*) John, the disciples of the Lord, say." Had we an accurate author to deal with here, it would certainly be most natural to assume, with Eusebius, Lücke, Neander (p. 631), Credner, and others, that there were two Johns, both personal disciples of Jesus. But it is very possible, that a man like Papias, whom the mild Eusebius calls, in spite of his venerableness, a "weak head," meant in both cases one and the same John, and repeated his name perhaps on account of his peculiarly close contact with him. So Irenæus, at least, seems to have understood him, when he calls Papias a disciple of the apostle John (without mentioning any *presbyter* of that name) and friend of Polycarp (*Adv. haer.* V. 33). The arguments for this interpretation are the following: (1) The term "*presbyter*" is here probably not an official title, but denotes age, including the idea of venerableness, as also Credner supposes (697), and as may be inferred from 2 Jno. 1 and 3 Jno. 1, and from the usage of Irenæus, who applies the same term to his master, Polycarp (*Adv. haer.* V. 30), and to the Roman bishops before Soter (V. 24). This being so, we cannot conceive how a contemporary of John, bearing the same name, should be distinguished from the apostle by this standing title, since the apostle himself had attained an unusual age, and was probably even sixty when he came to Asia Minor. (2) Papias in the same passage styles the other apostles also "*presbyters*," the ancients, the fathers; and on the other hand, calls also Aristion and John (personal) "*disciples of the Lord*." (3) The evangelist designates himself as "*the elder*" (2 Jno. 1 and 3 Jno. 1); which leads us to suppose that he was frequently so named by his "*little children*," as he likes to call his readers in his first epistle. For this reason also it would have been altogether unsuitable and could only have created confusion, to denote by this title another John, who lived with the apostle and under him in Ephesus. Credner supposes, indeed, that these two epistles came not from the apostle, but, like the Apocalypse, from the "*presbyter John*" in question. But it is evident at first sight, that these epistles are far more akin, even in their language, to

the reader could evidently understand, in this connection, no other than the well-known apostle and evangelist. And this was, in fact, universally the case in the church, as the testimony of the fathers and the titles of the manuscripts show, until the decay of Apocalyptic hopes and the want of deeper understanding in some theologians awakened prejudice against the *contents* of the book.

The doubts respecting the apostolical origin and canonical authority of the Apocalypse, however, do not arise solely from doctrinal prepossessions. There are also considerable *critical* difficulties, which modern science alone has brought fully to light, but which it has also in many instances exaggerated. An impartial comparison of this production with the other works ascribed to John, shows at once a striking difference in matter and form, and seems to leave no alternative but to deny either the Apocalypse or the Gospel and epistles to this apostle. Here, if anywhere in the field of biblical criticism, honest scientific doubt may be to some extent justified. The difference may be reduced to three points: (1) Language and style; the Greek of the Revelation being largely Hebraized, irregular and abrupt, like a wild mountain torrent, while that of the Gospel and epistles, though not without a Hebrew tinge, is much purer, and flows along in lovely tranquillity. (2) The psychological temper and the whole tone of the author. The writer of the Apocalypse shows an exceedingly vivid imagination, moving along majestically with the grandest imagery. He breathes a holy anger against the enemies of God. In a word, he is the "sun of thunder," calling down fire from heaven (Lu. 9 : 54-56). The evangelist, on the

the first epistle, than to the Apocalypse (comp. 2 Jno. 4-7 with 1 Jno. 2 : 7, S. 4 : 2, 3. 2 Jno. 9 with 1 Jno. 2 : 27. 3 : 9, &c.). This is De Wette's reason for considering them genuine. And when Credner supposes that the presbyter afterwards accommodated himself to the apostle's way of thinking and speaking, he makes an entirely arbitrary assumption, which he himself condemns in pronouncing a like change in the apostle "altogether unnatural and inadmissible" (p. 733). (4) The Ephesian bishop, Polycrates, of the second century, in his letter to Victor, bishop of Rome on the Paschal controversy (in Euseb. V. 24), mentions but *one* John, though he there enumerates the *μεγάλα στοιχεία* of the Asian church, Philip with his pious daughters, Polycarp, Thraseas, Sagaris, Papius, Melito, most of whom were not so important as the presbyter John must have been, if he were a personal disciple of the Lord and the author of the Apocalypse. We can hardly think, that in this connection, where it was his object to present as many authorities as possible for the Asiatic usage respecting the feast, Polycrates would have passed over this John, if he had known anything about him, and if his tomb could have been really pointed out in Ephesus, as the later Dionysius and Jerome intimates. Jerome, however, in speaking of this, expressly observes: "Nonnulli putant, duas memorias *eiusdem* *Johannis evangelistae* esse" (*De vir. ill.* c. 9); which again makes this whole story doubtful, and destroys its character as a historical testimony in favor of this obscure presbyter.

contrary, reveals in almost every line a mild, serene, contemplative mind, sunk in deep meditation; breathes forth the gentle breath of love and peace; and bespeaks himself the disciple who lay upon the bosom of the All-merciful.¹ (3) The theological stand point; the author in the one case moving apparently amidst the theocratic ideas of the Old Testament prophets and the Jewish Christian sphere of thought, while in the other, starting from the most profound and sublime view of the incarnate Word, he sets forth Christianity in its specific character as an independent, new creation, though at the same time the fulfillment and climax of all previous revelations.

Many scholars think this difference sufficiently explained by the simple fact, that the Apocalypse was written some twenty years before the other works of John.² But even had it been written soon after the death of Nero (which, however, as already observed, is manifestly against tradition), still John must have already reached at that time (A. D. 69) at least the age of sixty, and after that period style, temperament, and religious views do not usually undergo any material change. Nor can it be conceived why he should have learned his Greek first in Asia Minor, while this language was so universally known, and was used by James, for instance, with much skill and comparative purity, though he perhaps was never out of Palestine. In fact, the author of the Apocalypse shows himself, as also Lucke concedes,³ by no means a tyro in Greek, but well versed and ready in his way. The Hebraisms and irregularities are in some cases occasioned by the character of the matter, and evidently designed;⁴ in others they are rhe-

¹ We have, however, already observed, § 103, that the apostle John shows also extreme severity in his judgment of everything ungodly, and that this hatred of Antichrist is but the reverse of his enthusiastic love for Christ; comp. especially 1 Jno. 2:4, 9, 18, 22. 3:8 15. 2 Jno. 10, 11.

² So says Gieseler, for example, I. 1, p. 127, note 8: "The internal difference in language and thought between the Apocalypse, which John wrote (A. D. 69) while yet essentially a Hebrew and Palestinian Jewish Christian in his views, and the Gospel and epistles which he composed after a twenty or thirty years' residence among the Greeks, is so necessary a result of circumstances, that suspicion would be awakened if it did not exist." The opinion of Tholuck is the same. *Die Glaubwürdigkeit der evangel. Geschichte*, 2nd ed. p. 283. From the rich treasury of his reading he draws such analogies as the vast *varietas dictionis Appulejanæ*; the difference between the *Dialogus de Oratoribus* and the *Annales* of Tacitus; between the *Leges* and the earlier dialogues of Plato; the sermons and the satires of Swift, &c. This catalogue may be easily increased from the history of modern literature. Think, for example, of the immense distance between Schleiermacher's *Reden über die Religion* and his *Dialektik*; Hegel's *Logik* and *Ästhetik*; the first and second part of Göthe's *Faust*; Carlyle's *Life of Schiller* and his *Latter-day Pamphlets*, &c.

³ L. c. p. 363, 1st ed., comp. p. 448 sqq., 2nd ed.

⁴ This is the case, for example, in the very beginning, 1:4: Ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄντος καὶ τοῦ ἔντος καὶ

torical and poetical; while in some instances they belong to the New Testament idiom in general, which rests throughout, and, indeed, in the Gospel of John far more than even in Paul's epistles, on the basis of the Hebrew, as the New Covenant itself rests on the Old.

We must, therefore, cast about for some other explanation to maintain the identity of authors. This we find, on the one hand, in the different *mental state* of the writer, who, in producing the Apocalypse, was not under the influence of the ordinary, reflecting, self-controlling consciousness (*ἐν νοῖ*), but in a spiritual ecstasy (*ἐν πνεύματι*),¹ and was, far more than the author of any other New Testament book, a mere passive organ, an amanuensis, so to speak, of the Holy Ghost; and, on the other hand, in the *peculiarity of his subject*, for which the figurative language of Old Testament prophecy, especially of Ezekiel, Daniel, and Zechariah, was alone fitted; for this sort of literature was wholly foreign to the idiom of the heathen Greek. The task of the prophet is very different, both in matter and form, from that of the historian and letter-writer. The prophet seeks for poetical, rare, antique, solemn, full-toned, strong expressions; the historian for those which are clear, simple, precise, and universally intelligible. Thus the style of Isaiah, for instance, when he moves along in mere historical narrative, and when he rises in prophetic flight, is very different. It is in itself not at all impossible for one and the same apostle, at different times, to have occupied the different spheres of authorship, each in its proper style. We have examples, in fact, of versatile geniuses in the literary history of almost all cultivated nations. Thus, therefore, the differences in view must have arisen from the nature of the case, even though John wrote the work in question long after his Gospel.

This, however, is but one aspect of the matter. The difference between the book of Revelation and the other writings of John, has been manifoldly exaggerated. With it all, there appears a striking affinity between them, as well in the simple, elevated style, and in single expressions, as in the tone and ideas of the whole. In proof of this, we have but to refer the attentive reader particularly to the lyric parts of the

ὁ ἐρχόμενος; for this is no doubt a circumlocution for the unutterable name Jehovah (comp. Ex. 3 : 14), and the participles are used as indeclinable, to express even in the language the unchangeableness and faithfulness of God. Herder emphatically asserted the intentional character of these grammatical irregularities, of which the above is the most harsh and striking: *Commentar zu. Apok.* p. 241: "The solecisms are often properly and diligently studied; the construction is often industriously made to deviate from the Greek. The author's soul labors under the burden of the language of the Hebrew prophets. He wishes to say what they say as they say it. He struggles with the language; he breaks with it."

¹ Comp. 1 Cor. 14 : 14 sqq. and Rev. 1 : 10.

Apocalypse, the anthems of profound adoration and blissful joy sung by the glorified saints before the throne of the Lamb ;¹ to the incomparable picture of the New Jerusalem and the perfected theocracy, where heaven and earth, God and his people, are forever united, and the material universe, spiritualized, is radiant with the divine glory, c. 21 and 22 ; to the expression of the deep longing of the bride for the coming of the heavenly bridegroom, with which the seer sinks back from his ecstasy into the sphere of the militant, praying church, 22 : 17, 20. Truly John-like, too, is the elevation of Christianity in the Apocalypse above all Jewish exclusiveness, and the conception of it as a living power, determining and controlling the history of the world from beginning to end ; and, above all, the doctrine of the person of Christ, to whom the Apocalypse, like the Gospel, applies the highest epithets, representing Him as the beginning and the end, the fountain of life, the object of divine worship on the part of angels and the whole creation, the Ruler and Judge of the world ;² and knowing of no salvation but through His atoning blood.³ Particularly remarkable is the appellation "Logos" (Rev. 19 : 13. Comp. 5 : 5), which is used of Christ nowhere else in the New Testament, but in the prologue to the Gospel and the beginning of the first epistle of John.⁴ No one in the whole circle of apos-

¹ 4 : 8 sqq. 5 : 8 sqq. 7 : 9 sqq. 14 : 1 sqq. 15 : 3 sqq.

² 1 : 17. 2 : 8, 17. 3 : 14. 20 : 11 sqq. 21 : 6. 22 : 13.

³ 1 : 5. 5 : 9. 7 : 14 ; comp. 1 Jno. 1 : 7. 2 : 2.

⁴ This affinity in form and substance between the Apocalypse and the Gospel and epistles of John, cannot be altogether denied even by those who refer them to different authors. Neander says (II. p. 628. Note) : The Apocalypse "shows the presence of a Johannean type of doctrine, as the epistle to the Hebrews, while it cannot have come from the apostle Paul, betrays the hand of a man who proceeded from the company of this apostle." Köstlin (*Johanneischer Lehrbegriff*, 1843, p. 498) : "It is accordingly confirmed from all quarters, that John's system of doctrine is, in great part, a spiritualization (?) of that of the Apocalypse." Schwegeler (*Das nachapost. Zeitalter*, II. p. 373 sq.) : "Notwithstanding this material (?) difference, the two books have not a few points of resemblance, in language, style and matter, so as to make one think that the author of the Gospel had read the Apocalypse, and, to give his production a Johannean coloring, had purposely copied from it many expressions and ideas. . . . Different as the Gospel certainly is from the Apocalypse, yet it is related to it, on the other hand, as the fruit to the root, as the close of a process of development to its beginning." Dr. Lücke endeavors to account for this resemblance, which accompanies the (in his opinion) far greater diversity, by the hypothesis, that a friend and disciple of John, during the latter's life-time, wrote down the substance of the book from the oral communications of the apostle himself respecting the visions revealed to him, adhering as much as possible to his style of language and thought, and putting them into his mouth as by mimicry, so as to have the apostle appear as the author, while he was really the author only mediately and partially (l. c. p. 390 sqq 1st ed.). But this artificial hypothesis is only a shift to get out of the embarrassment

tolical authors, but John, can have written the Apocalypse; not even the evangelist John Mark, whom Hitzig, following out a hypothetical hint of Beza, has declared to be the author, on account of the similarity of language and the partial identity of name. Still less can any one be selected from among the apostolic fathers, to whom this work could be even with the remotest probability attributed. But the author of such a production, which, in a purely esthetic point of view, is one of the sublimest creations of poetry in all ages, and the contents of which have attracted and engaged with undiminished fascination the learning of the most learned, and the ingenuity of the most ingenious, could certainly not have remained utterly unknown; he must have been a very prominent actor in history.¹

Finally, as the Apocalypse demands John for its author, so, conversely, the peculiar character of John seems to demand that he should produce an Apocalypse.² We suppose that this book has not come into the canon without the special ordering of Providence, and that it forms the appropriate, indispensable conclusion of the New Testament. We believe, moreover, that the completeness of the Christian system of revelation demands prophecy, the unveiling of the future of the kingdom of God by infallible organs, as certainly as this kingdom has its development on earth through perpetual warfare and victory, and as

into which any one must fall who will not at the start acknowledge the apostolical authorship of the book. Aside from the fact, that this supposition has not the slightest historical testimony to support it, it cannot for a moment be thought that John, who traces the principles of morality to their lowest root, and draws an impassable line between truth and falsehood, would have let such a pious fraud, perpetrated at his side, go uncensured, and would have perfectly concealed his true relation to these most important visions. Gieseler, on the contrary, a rationalistic scholar indeed, but impartial and judicious, justly remarks (*Kirchengesch.* I. 1, § 31, Note 8): "I cannot bring myself to deny the Apocalypse to the apostle John. The author describes himself as the apostle; the oldest witnesses declare him to be. Had the book been falsely ascribed to him some thirty years before his death, he would certainly have disclaimed it, and this disclaimer would have come down to us from the circle of his disciples through Irenæus; but the later rejection of it proceeds only from dogmatical interests." And the assumption, too, of a false ascription of it to the apostle after his death has insurmountable difficulties, external and internal, historical and moral, in its way.

¹ The case of the epistle to the Hebrews, which might be cited here, is not parallel. For in the first place, the author of that book does not name himself at all; whereas the author of the Revelation designates himself explicitly as John, and appears as overseer of the churches of Asia Minor. And again, there are men of Paul's school, known to us, as Luke, Barnabas, Clement, Apollos, who may well have written the epistle.

² This point has been more fully discussed with poetical freshness and great ingenuity by Dr. John Peter Lange, in the attractive article: *Ueber den unaufstöslichen Zusammenhang zwischen der Individualität des Apostels Johannes und der Individualität der Apocalypse*, in his "*Vermischte Schriften*," vol. II. (1841), p. 173-231

certainly as the hope of the glorious return of the Lord forms a constituent element of Christian life. And now that disciple who had been favored, in a peculiar degree with the gift of intuition and profound contemplation; who drank in adoring reverence and love at the fountain of the theanthropic life, and was admitted to the special confidence of the Head of the church; who was chosen by the dying Redeemer as the guardian of his bereaved mother, and thus, in some sense, His representative; and who, as the patriarch of the apostolic church, experienced most of its conflicts and sufferings, its victories and hopes; that disciple was best fitted of all the apostles to be the organ of these revelations of the future and the final completion of the church, and to seal her sacred records. The mystic John, the apostle of completion, was by his sanctified natural gifts, as well as by his position and experience, predestinated, so to speak, to unveil the deep foundations of the church's life and the ultimate issue of her history; so that in the Apocalypse the rejuvenated apostle simply placed the majestic dome upon the wonderful structure of his Gospel, with the golden inscription of holy longing: "Even so come, Lord Jesus!"

§ 108. *State of the Church in Asia Minor at the close of the Apostolic Period. The Seven Epistles of the Apocalypse.*

We must not take leave of John without giving a sketch of the churches in Asia Minor, to which the Revelation is primarily addressed. The theatre of John's later labors was also the main theatre of the Christian life at the close of the apostolic period. At first the principal seat of Christianity was Jerusalem; then Antioch; thence it moved westward, until in the course of the second century Rome became more and more plainly the centre of ecclesiastical movements at least for the West.

The seven epistles in the second and third chapters of the Apocalypse give us a glimpse of the church in its light and shade towards the end of the first century;—primarily of the church of Asia Minor, but through it also of the church in other lands. These letters are all very much alike in their plan, and present a beautiful order, which has already been very well developed by Bengel. They contain (1) a command of Christ to write to the angel of such and such a church. (2) A designation of Jesus by some imposing title, which generally refers to His majestic appearance (1 : 13 sqq.), and serves as the basis and warrant of the subsequent promises and threatenings. (3) The address to the angel, or the responsible head of the congregation, be it a single bishop or the college of pastors and teachers. The angels are, at all events, the representatives of the people committed to their charge, and

what was said to them, was said at the same time to the churches. This address, or the epistle proper, consists always of (*a*) a short sketch of the present moral condition of the congregation—both its virtues and defects,—with commendation or censure as the case may be; (*b*) an exhortation either to repentance or to faithfulness and patience, according to the prevailing character of the church addressed; (*c*) a promise to him who overcomes, together with the admonition: “He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches” (2 : 26–29. 3 : 5 sq., 12 sq., 21 sq.), or the same in the reverse order as in the first three epistles (2 : 7, 11, 17).. This latter variation divides the seven churches into two groups, one comprising the first three, the other the remaining four, just as the seven seals, the seven trumpets, and the seven vials are divided. The ever-recurring admonition: “He that hath an ear,” &c., consists of ten words. This is of course no unmeaning play, but an application of the Old Testament system of symbolical numbers, in which three was the symbol of the Godhead; four of the world or humanity; the indivisible number seven, the sum of three and four (as also twelve, their product), the symbol of the indissoluble covenant between God and man; and ten (seven and three), the round number, the symbol of fulness, completion.

As to their moral and religious condition, the churches and the representatives fall, according to the epistles, into three classes :

1. Those which were *predominantly good and pure*, viz., those of Smyrna (2 : 9) and Philadelphia (3 : 8). Hence, in the messages to these two churches we find no exhortation to repentance in the strict sense of the word, but only an encouragement to be steadfast, patient, and joyful under suffering. The church of Smyrna, a very ancient, still flourishing commercial city¹ in Ionia, on the bay of Smyrna, perhaps eighteen leagues north of Ephesus, was externally poor and persecuted, and had still greater tribulation in view, but is cheered with the prospect of the crown of life. If the Apocalypse was written, according to the oldest and most reliable tradition, not till the year 95, there is nothing against the old opinion that the venerable martyr, Polycarp, was already at the head of this church.² Philadelphia, a city built by

¹ Smyrna, or Izmir, as the Turks call it, has at present some 130,000 inhabitants, of whom more than 20,000 are Greek and Armenian Christians. It is also the centre of the Roman Catholic and Protestant missionary operations in Asia Minor.

² This opinion has recently been revived by Hengstenberg (*Comment.* I. 168), and defended against De Wette and others, who date the composition of the Apocalypse as early as the year 68. When Polycarp suffered martyrdom, A. D. 161 (according to others 167), he had already, as he said, served his divine Lord and Master eighty-six years, and would the less forsake him now. In 107, Ignatius met him in Smyrna as bishop, and according to Irenæus (*Adv. hæc.* III. 3. 2 and in *Euseb.* IV. 14), Tertullian

king Attalus Philadelphus and named after him (now Ala-Schär), in the province of Lydia, a rich wine region, but subject to earthquakes, was the seat of a church likewise poor and small outwardly, but very faithful and spiritually flourishing;—a church which was to have all the tribulations and hostility it met with on earth abundantly rewarded in heaven.

2. Those which were in a *predominantly evil and critical condition*, viz., the churches of Sardis (3 : 2) and Laodicea (3 : 15). Here accordingly we find severe censure and earnest exhortation to repentance. The church at Sardis, till the time of Croesus, the flourishing capital of the Lydian empire, but now a miserable hamlet of shepherds, had indeed the name and outward form of Christianity, but not its inward power of faith and life. Hence it was on the brink of spiritual death. Yet the epistle, 3 : 4 sq., distinguishes from the corrupt mass a few souls which had kept their walk undefiled, without, however, breaking away from the congregation as separatists, and in modern style setting up an opposition sect for themselves.—The church of Laodicea, a wealthy commercial city of Phrygia, not far from Colosse and Hierapolis (Col. 2 : 1. 4 : 13, 15), where now stands only a desolate village by the name of Eski-Hissar, proudly fancied itself spiritually rich and faultless, but was in truth poor and blind and naked, and in that most dangerous state of indifference and lukewarmness from which it is more difficult to return to the former decision and ardor, than it was to pass at first from the natural coldness to faith. Hence the fearful threatening : “I will spew thee out of my mouth.” (Lukewarm water produces vomiting.) Yet even the Laodiceans are not driven to despair. The Lord, in love, knocks at their door and promises them, on condition of thorough repentance, a part in the marriage-supper of the Lamb (3 : 20 sq.).

3. Those of a *mixed* character, viz., the churches of Ephesus (2 : 2–4, 6), Pergamus (13–15), and Thyatira (v. 19). In these cases commendation and censure, promise and threatening are united. Ephesus, then the metropolis of the Asian church, already sufficiently familiar to us from the history of Paul and as the residence of John, had withstood, indeed, the Gnostic errorists predicted by Paul (Acts 20 : 29), and faithfully maintained the purity of the doctrine delivered to it ; but it had lost the ardor of its first love, and it is, therefore, earnestly exhorted to repent. It thus represents to us that state of dead, petrified orthodoxy, into which various churches oftentimes fall. Zeal for pure doctrine is, indeed, of the highest importance, but worthless without liv-

and other old witnesses, he was appointed bishop of this church by the apostles particularly by John.

ing piety and active love. The epistle to the angel of the church of Ephesus is peculiarly applicable to the later Greek church as a whole—Pergamus in Mysia, the northernmost of these seven cities, formerly the residence of the kings of Asia of the Attalian dynasty, and renowned for its large library,—now Bergamo, a little Turkish village of about two thousand inhabitants,—was the seat of a church, which under trying circumstances had shown great fidelity, but tolerated in her bosom those who held dangerous Gnostic errors. For this want of rigid discipline, she also is called on to repent.—The church of Thyatira, ■ flourishing manufacturing and commercial city in Lydia, on the site of which now stands a considerable town called Ak-Hissar, was very favorably distinguished for self-denying, active love and patience, but was likewise too indulgent towards errors which corrupted Christianity with heathen principles and practices. The last two churches, especially that of Thyatira, form thus the exact counterpart to that of Ephesus, and are the representatives of a zealous practical piety in union with theoretical latitudinarianism. As doctrine always has more or less influence on practice, this also is a dangerous state. That church alone is truly sound and flourishing, in which pure doctrine and pure life, faith and love, theoretical orthodoxy and practical piety, are harmoniously united and promote one another.

With good reason have pious theologians in all ages regarded these Seven churches of Asia Minor as a miniature of the whole Christian church. "There is no condition, good, bad, or mixed, of which these epistles do not present a sample, and for which they do not give suitable and wholesome direction." Here, as everywhere, the word of God and the history of the apostolic church evince their applicability to all times and circumstances, and their inexhaustible fullness of instruction, warning, and encouragement for all states and stages of religious life.

11 2

S E C O N D B O O K .

T H E C H R I S T I A N L I F E

THE CHRISTIAN LIFE.

CHAPTER I.

INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY ON THE MORAL RELATIONS.

§ 109. *The New Creation.*

IF we apply to Christianity the maxim: "By their fruits ye shall know them," if we judge of its origin and character by its moral effects, we find it not only the purest and best of all religions, but absolutely the only true and perfect religion. It alone makes genuine morality possible, and brings it to perfection. The pagan religions embosom a great mass of immoral principles and practices, and even sanction them by their opinions concerning the gods, in whom we find the concentrated essence of all human passions. We discover, indeed, in Confucius, Socrates, Plato, Cicero, Seneca, Plutarch, Marcus Aurelius, and other ancient sages, a multitude of most beautiful precepts and most exalted moral maxims. But they have neither improved the world nor saved a single sinner. They are isolated flashes of light, which cannot make day. They lack an all-pervading principle; they lack unity, completeness, and vital energy.¹ Action is the most powerful preaching. Life

¹ Cicero, in his *Tusculan Questions*, II. 22, where he discusses virtue in only one of its aspects, as the overcoming of pain, in which very aspect, however, the heroic Roman character is most worthy of admiration. makes the remarkable concession, that he has never yet seen a perfect wise man ("quem adhuc nos quidem vidimus neminem"), and that the philosophers had described merely what he would be, *if there should ever be one* ("qualis futurus sit, si modo aliquando fuerit"). The highest ideal of morality, to which classic antiquity attained, was that just man (*δίκαιος*), proving himself by suffering, whom Plato portrays in the second book of his *Republic* in contrast with the unjust (*ἀδίκος*), *Politia*, p 74 sqq. ed. Ast. (Opp. vol. IV.), p. 360, E. sqq. ed. Bip. While the unjust man, says Plato, assumes the air of justice, in order to carry out his injustice, the just man, on the contrary, is simple and upright, wishing

alone can kindle life. On far higher ground stands Judaism, which is not the offspring of unaided, erratic fancy and speculation, but a divine revelation, and has constantly in view the glory of God and the holiness of man. Yet it is but the shadow of a future substance,¹ a preparation for Him who has fulfilled the law and the prophets, presented in his life the ideal of holy love, reconciled man with God, and thereby opened the only pure fountain of true virtue. The law demands; the gospel gives. The law shows what is duty; the gospel gives the ability to do it. The one is a mirror of God's holiness; the other, of his love. The former accuses and condemns; the latter justifies and blesses. True, the law too has its promises; but they are conditioned by the fulfilment of its commands, which is possible only by the Spirit of the gospel. Nothing short of supernatural faith in Jesus, the Redeemer, furnishes an effectual remedy for the disease of sin, and brings us into living communion with God and into the element of disinterested love to God and man, in which the essence of true virtue and piety consists. Without regeneration by the Holy Ghost, there can be, in reality, nothing more than mere outward conformity to the requisitions of the law from more or less selfish motives; a legal righteousness, related to Christian morality as the statue to the living man, or as the shadow to the substance.

Christianity, therefore, is literally a *new moral creation*, not, however, annihilating the old, but delivering its energies from the corruption and bondage of sin and raising them to perfection. It makes its first appearance in all its fullness and glory in the theanthropic person of JESUS CHRIST, the second Adam, the head and representative of regenerate humanity. To be Reconciler and Redeemer, Christ must incorporate himself with human nature in all its motions and states. He must pass through all its pains and moral conflicts. He must perfectly overcome, without once for a moment giving way, the temptation to evil from

as Æschylus says, to *be* good, rather than to *appear* good; a man, who "without doing any wrong may assume the appearance of the grossest injustice (*μηδὲν γὰρ ἀδίκων δόξαν ἔχέτω τῆς μεγίστης ἀδικίας*); that he may try his justice in not allowing himself to be shaken by ill report, or anything that springs therefrom, but in remaining constant until death; being regarded, indeed, throughout his life as unjust, while in truth he is just." Nay, Plato predicts to this wise man, as with a presentiment of Christ crucified, that he "shall be scourged, tortured, fettered, deprived of his eyes, and, after having endured all possible sufferings, fastened to a post" (p. 361. E. ed. Bip.). But after all, this description, in the first place, never rises from the sphere of legal justice into that of religion properly so called; and then it is nothing but a mere ideal, an abstraction, without any certainty of ever being realized; an unconscious and significant prophecy, so to speak, of the unpretending, suffering virtue in servant form, which appeared four centuries after in Jesus Christ, and was crucified for the salvation of the world.

¹ Col. 2 : 17. Heb. 10 : 1.

without, which, as it assailed the first Adam, so also must assail him, for the trial and exercise of his virtue. He had to maintain, in the thickening conflict with the earthly and hellish kingdom of darkness, his obedience to God and his love to man, even to the sacrifice of his own life. In this way He must break the power of sin in its whole compass and realize in his own person the idea of sinless holiness, the ideal of moral perfection.¹ That he actually did this is testified by the whole gospel history, as well as by the daily experience of all believers, who continually feel the influence of this moral idea upon themselves, and are conscious that that influence proceeds not from their own nature, nor from another man, but from the person of Christ. His sublime moral teaching is but the reflection of his character. His life, as portrayed to us from personal observation by the unlettered evangelists with the artless pencil of the most single-hearted love of truth, and as it has since lain, as the most sacred and certain of all realities, at the foundation of the faith of His people, is an uninterrupted communion with God, his heavenly Father; an undisturbed harmony of all the powers of the soul; a perfect dominion of reason over sense, of mind over body, of the consciousness of God over that of self and the world; an ever-victorious struggle against all forms of sin and error; but at the same time an unreserved self-devotion to the welfare of humanity as a whole, irrespective of nation, age, sex, condition, or culture, making its interests His own, bearing, in the deepest sympathy, its moral and physical sufferings, healing its diseases, perfecting and satisfying its susceptibility for the divine;—in a word, it is *one* grand act of the freest and purest love to God and man. In Him piety and morality, absolute devotion to God and absolute devotion to mankind, are but two expressions of the same inward principle, and therefore perfectly reconciled.

¹ The Christology of the church conceives the union of the divine and human natures in the Redeemer as something already accomplished, a finished fact. This is the theological way of viewing it. But with this there is also a historical and ethical view, which coincides in its result with the other, but at the same time forms its necessary complement. This regards the union in its progress, its development, as a perpetually growing *incarnation of God and deification of man*. These two processes condition each other, and are simultaneously completed, since they are one (not identical). Just so far as the divine forms itself in the various stages and conditions of human existence, the latter is deified, and *vice versa*. The descent of the eternal Logos through the Holy Ghost into the womb of the virgin, in whom the religious susceptibility of the whole human family reached its maturity, is the beginning,—the exaltation of the human nature, thus forever, yet without confusion, united with the Logos, to the right hand of the Father and to a participation in the divine government of the world, is the end,—of this sacred biography of the second Adam. Only so far as He has *become* what he is by a moral and religious process, by the activity of his will, can he be in any proper sense the *pattern* which we are to follow. Comp. Lu. 2 : 52 Heb. 5 : 8.

Where in the universe is there a being so full of earnestness and mildness, grandeur and humility, hatred of sin and love of sinners ; so deeply moved and inspired, yet of such heavenly serenity and calmness ; so symmetrical and harmonious ; so thoroughly controlled by a sole regard to the glory of God and the salvation of the world ; so divine, yet so genuinely human ; so sublime and awful, yet so irresistibly attractive,—as *Jesus of Nazareth* ? Here is more than the majesty of the starry heavens above us and the moral law within us, which filled even the prosaic philosopher, Kant, with ever-growing admiration and awe. Here is the “holy of holies” of history, which infidelity itself, if it retain the least sense of decency and of the dignity of man, does not venture to violate. Here is the light of the world, which immediately attests its own presence and glory, and sends its rays through all ages and climes. Here is the fresh fountain of life, in which the noblest of our race have bathed and purified themselves, have renewed their youth and been inspired for every great and good work. Here is the soul’s only true point of departure, its only firm centre of repose, on which rests all confidence in the moral nobility and eternal destiny of man, nay, all certitude itself. Here is the only sure refuge of the weary and heavy-laden—and such are all who know themselves—where they find rest and refreshment, and soon learn to exclaim with Peter : “Lord, to whom shall we go ? Thou hast the words of eternal life !” —“One could bear,” says the childlike Claudius, “to be branded and broken on the wheel for the mere idea” (how much more for the living, bodily reality ?), “and he must be crazy who can think of mocking and laughing at it. He, who has his heart in the *right* place, lies in the dust, exults, and adores”

By His sinless life, by His free-will offering of himself on the cross in our stead and for our good, and by His triumph over death and the grave, Christ has wrought out a complete atonement and redemption for humanity, and has become the founder and the head of a new moral and religious kingdom, which carries in itself the necessary supernatural power, and is destined to purge the world of all elements of sin and error, and, heaven-like, to pervade, to sanctify, and perfect it. This purifying and developing work of the Redeemer in and through his kingdom is absolute, arriving at nothing short of moral and religious perfection. If, therefore, there are still imperfection, sin, and error in the world, the reason is not in the Redeemer nor in the constitution of his kingdom, but in the perversity of human nature. Every believer must admit, that, if evil still cleaves to him, it is purely his own fault. So far as he lives in Christ, he is a new creature ; old things have passed away, and all has become new (2 Cor. 5 : 17). Again, this

work of Christ is absolute and universal in its extent. As it touches all the powers and capacities of the individual, so it extends also to all the proper,¹divinely-established relations and conditions of human life, resting not till it bring humanity as a whole (not in the numerical, but organic sense) to perfection; till all sciences, arts, states, and social institutions, in happy freedom serve the Lord; till even the body is glorified, all nature regenerated and transformed into the theatre of the perfect theocracy, the new earth united with the new heavens, and God made all in all. For Christ is not merely "a clergyman or a pastor but a high-priest and king," to whom the whole world belongs and must ultimately submit in free and cheerful adoration.

Thus the incarnation of the eternal Word, while it is, on the one hand, the culminating point of all the previous, preparatory revelations of God, the winding up of the ancient history, is, on the other, the creative beginning of a vast series of operations and influences, which, flowing forth from this central fact and the ever-present energy of its life, run through all centuries and nations, and will end only with the third and last creation. The Old Testament begins with the natural creation; the New, with the moral, the incarnation; and with the union of the two, the absolute glorification of Nature in Spirit, of the world in the kingdom of God, the Bible closes.²

We are now to observe how this transforming power of the Spirit of Christ revealed itself in the apostolic church: first in the personal character of the apostles; then in the family and the congregation; and finally, in civil and national life.

§ 110. *The Apostles.*

When we look at the lives and labors of the several apostles, as they have already been presented in detail; when we consider their humble parentage and education, their unselfish motives and purposes, their gigantic performances in almost total want of outward means, their incalculable influence not only upon their own age, but upon the whole succeeding history of the church and the world,—we are irresistibly overwhelmed with the impression of a power, a purity, and a sublimity, which far transcend the sphere of mere natural will, and before which the greatest heroes of heathendom vanish like shadows. Here we everywhere feel the life-giving breath of a new moral creation, of a regeneration which reaches to the very centre of the human constitution, and which can be produced only by the power of the Holy Ghost. A

¹ Words of Dr. R. Rothe in the preface to the first volume of his *Theologische Ethik*. 1846, p. xiii.

² Comp. § 6 above.

few fishermen of Galilee, who, as Jews, were accustomed to make so rigid a separation between a holy God and sinful man, and to shrink from any mixture of the two as from horrible idolatry, rise to the intuition of the absolute God-man, and thereby prove that they themselves have become children of God, in whom is reflected that original, sinless life of the Redeemer. They can all say with Paul: "I live; yet not I (in my old, natural man, in the flesh, a slave of sin and of the law), but Christ liveth in me" (Gal. 2 : 20). Their piety is thus a real indwelling of Christ in their souls by the Holy Ghost, through the instrumentality of faith, so that He forms the motive power of their whole being, and they think, speak, write and act by Him, in His Spirit, and according to His will.

This union of the apostles with Christ was not, indeed, a pantheistic confusion. They retained their self-consciousness, their personality and individual peculiarities. No true, living unity can be conceived without personal distinction. But neither was this union, on the other hand, a merely moral one, a sympathy of thought, feeling, and aim, like that, perhaps, between a pious Jew and Moses, between a Mohammedan and Mohammed, or between any pupil and his teacher, or other kindred spirits. Next to the unsearchable Trinity, and the relation of the divine and human natures in the Redeemer, it was the deepest, holiest, and most indissoluble union conceivable. It was a literal community of *life*, which extended to the whole man, beginning in the inmost soul and ending with the resurrection of the body (2 Cor. 3 : 18. Phil. 3 : 24); a communion of life, which, according to the sublime representation of the Scriptures themselves, has its original in the mystery of the eternal unity of the Only Begotten with the Father (Jno. 17 : 21); its image, in the tenderest and closest unions in the province of nature, the relation of body and soul, members and head, wife and husband, branch and vine.¹ Christ is not only the progenitor of the life of believers, as Adam was the progenitor of our natural existence. He is a "quickening spirit" (1 Cor. 15 : 45), and as such the ever-present and inexhaustible fountain of life. On him the whole spiritual existence of his people every moment depends, as the branches on the vine, and

¹ Comp. Jno. 6 : 51-58. 15 : 1-8. Rom. 8 : 9-11. 1 Cor. 6 : 17. 12 : 14-27. Gal. 2 : 20 sq. Eph. 1 : 22 sq. 4 : 15 sq. 5 : 22-23. Col. 1 : 18, 24. 2 : 19. 3 : 3 sq., and many other passages, especially Paul's perpetually recurring phrases, "in the Lord," "in Christ," where the *ἐν* should not be taken instrumentally and confounded with *διὰ*, but as denoting the sphere of life, the element, in which believers move, and in which all their moral relations, their duties as parents and children, husband and wife, masters and servants, rulers and subjects, &c., have their foundation and their significance.

from him they are perpetually inspired anew for word and deed. Jno. 14 : 19. 15 : 5 ; " Without me ye can do nothing."

In relation to the Redeemer, therefore, the religious life of the apostles was derived, gushing forth from His fullness and wholly dependent on Him, yet at the same time truly free. In relation to the church, however, it was original, welling up in uncommon freshness and purity, the most vigorous and unadulterated continuation of the earthly human life of Jesus himself ; a life of love, of unconditional devotion to God and to the eternal interests of mankind to the latest breath. A specific distinction between the apostles and ordinary Christians there is not ; for the former owed all to the Lord, and the latter enjoy, in the Holy Ghost, through faith, the same immediate access to the Redeemer. But there is an important difference in degree. A Peter, a Paul, and a John are patterns and examples for us in a far deeper sense and in higher measure than the most enlightened and godly martyrs, church fathers, or reformers.

The mode of transition from the natural to the higher spiritual life varied in the apostles according to their individual peculiarities ; for to these God condescends to accommodate himself in His revelations. Our Lord himself (Jno. 3 : 8) compares the operation of the Spirit in regeneration to the wind, primarily to illustrate the mysteriousness of its origin and end, its absolute freedom and independence upon human calculations, and yet, at the same time, the impossibility of denying or resisting its action. But we may legitimately extend the comparison also to the various degrees of force and rapidity with which the Spirit operates. For as the wind at one time blows a hurricane amidst lightning and thunder, uprooting trees, demolishing houses, and wrecking ships ; at another rises gradually and almost imperceptibly, as the cool zephyr, playing with delightful freshness on the brow ;—so is it also with the Holy Ghost, according as He has to deal with a proud, energetic character, or a modest and gentle one, with a hoary offender or a guileless child. Upon a Paul He descends suddenly and unexpectedly, like a thunder-storm ; upon a John He falls like the gentle dew or the mild rays of the vernal sun. Yet even in the first case the transformation ought not to be regarded as altogether abrupt and magical. Even what are called sudden conversions are always inwardly and outwardly prepared, though often in a way not clearly discernible by the subject himself ; they never wholly break the connection with the previous course of life.¹ For regeneration is not the destroying, but the redeeming, the exalting, and the sanctifying of the natural gifts, faculties,

¹ Comp. Neander's fine article : *Die mannigfachen Wege des Herrn in dem Werke der Bekehrung*, in his "*Kleinen Gelegenheitsschriften*." 3rd ed., 1829, p. 130 seq.

and idiosyncracies. Everything purely human Christianity attracts, develops, and perfects. Only sin it inexorably repels; and sin is not a constituent element of human nature, as it originally was, but an accident cleaving to it only from the fall; not nature itself, but a corruption of the nature created by God and in itself good. Manicheism has always been condemned by the church as an error, leading to the denial of man's capability of redemption, as the opposite extreme of Pelagianism leads to the denial of his need of it.

Accordingly we find in the apostles, in point of fact, their peculiar temperaments and capacities remaining after conversion, but raised from the sphere of nature into that of Spirit, from the service of self and the world to the service of God and his Christ. How much alike are these apostles, yet how great the diversity among them! The church may well be compared to a garden variegated with flowers of every species and clime; to an anthem, in which the highest and deepest tones blend in wonderful harmony; to a body, whose members have each its particular form and function, yet are ruled by the same head, permeated by the same blood, and subservient to the same end, according to the masterly representation of Paul, 1 Cor. 12 : 4 sqq. In this very diversity of divine endowments must we adore the inexhaustible wisdom and grace of the Lord. The unbiassed contemplation of this unity in diversity and diversity in unity, should free us from all exclusiveness and bigotry, and raise us to a genuine liberality and catholicity of thought and feeling.

Peter retained the fire of his nature, his quickness of decision in word and deed, his practical talent for governing; but these were purified from vanity and self-conceit, and coupled with true humility. He became more constant and reliable, and thenceforth sought not his own honor, but solely the glory of the Lord and the salvation of souls.¹ John remained a son of thunder in the boldness and massiveness of his ideas, in his overwhelming zeal against everything ungodly and anti-christian, in his keen discrimination between light and darkness, truth and falsehood, the Spirit of Christ and the spirit of the world, the children of God and the children of the devil. But the inconsiderate vehemence of passion, in which he once rashly proposed to call down fire from heaven, he had laid aside, and had become wholly conformed to the spirit of his Master. In his character there was a rare blending, by no means unaccountable, however, on psychological principles, of the most ardent love with the holiest severity, an almost maidenly tenderness and mildness with the strongest antipathy to everything impure.²

¹ Comp. 1 Pet. 4 : 10, 11. 5 : 1 sqq., and § 89 above.

Comp. what we have already said (§ 103) respecting the character of this apostle.

Of the character of Paul we have the fullest representation in his numerous epistles and in the Acts of Luke ; as, in fact, this apostle labored more than all the others (1 Cor. 15 : 10). In him the transition from the old life to the new was most abrupt, and therefore most striking. Indeed he calls himself even an abortion (*ἐκτρωμα*, 1 Cor. 15 : 8), to denote the violent, irregular mode of his conversion. Yet his great gifts and learned education, which distinguished him above all his colleagues, were made, under the direction of the Holy Ghost, of the most important service to the church. It is he who has given us the only complete, systematic exhibition we have of the doctrines of salvation. Endowed with uncommon depth and acuteness of thought, with indomitable energy and proud independence of will, earnestly and honestly striving withal after moral perfection, but totally blind as to the way of attaining it, and implicated in the sin against the Son of Man (Matt. 12 : 32), he stands at first at the head of the zealots for the law of his fathers, sworn to exterminate the followers of the Nazarene. Suppressing the gentle risings of sympathy, not suffering himself to be disconcerted by the sight of the heavenly sufferer, Stephen, he persecutes the Christians, breathes out blasphemies against the Crucified, and hastens to Damascus, with full power from the Sanhedrim, to root out there also, if possible, the dangerous sect. How entirely different his conduct after the wonderful event which transformed the cursing Saul into the praying Paul, the cruel persecutor into the most laborious and efficient advocate of Christianity ! All those gifts of nature, which have hitherto been dealing destruction in the service of a blind fanaticism, become gifts of the Holy Ghost, and are consecrated to the most faithful service of Christ crucified, whom he thenceforth regards not as an usurper of the Messiahship, but as the true Saviour of the world, and as his highest, his only wisdom and strength. The same energy, decision and consistency, but coupled with gentleness, meekness and wisdom ; the same inflexibility of purpose, but no disposition to use violence or unholy means ; the same independence and lordliness, but animated by the most self-denying love, which strives to become all things to all men ; the same, nay, still greater zeal for the glory of God, but cleansed of all impure motives ; the same inexorable rigor, not, however, against erring brethren, but only against sin and all impeachment of the merits of Christ ; the same fire, no longer that of a passionate zealot, but of a mind at rest, considerate and self-possessed, the same dialectic acumen of a Rabbin of Gamaliel's school, no longer busied, however, with useless subtleties, but employed to vindicate evangelical doctrine and oppose all self-righteousness. In a service of almost thirty years, from his conversion to his martyrdom, Paul shows such

nobleness of mind, such deep tenderness of heart, such disinterestedness, and fidelity in laboring for the most exalted and holy ends, the spread of the kingdom of God and the salvation of immortal souls, through almost incessant persecution and hardship, derision and anxiety, hunger and thirst, chains and imprisonment; and notwithstanding the unexampled success of his labors in two quarters of the globe, with all his consciousness of the unassailable height and glory of his calling, he exhibits such unfeigned humility, declaring himself the least of all the apostles and the chief of sinners, ascribing all his honor and fame to free grace alone, and glorying only in his weakness, in which the power of God is magnified;—in short, he presents a character so pure and sublime, that he stands forth as a living apology for Christianity of irresistible force to every unprejudiced mind. Indeed it seems inconceivable that any one, after thoroughly studying such a life, can for a moment doubt the divinity of the gospel. Of deception and hypocrisy it is here not to be whispered; nor even of self-delusion and enthusiasm. For Paul, though he was once caught up into the third heaven and heard unutterable words, was anything rather than a dreamer and a visionary. He manifests, on the contrary, rare moderation, prudence, and self-control in all the circumstances of his life. In general, we observe in all the apostles an extraordinary combination of the innocence of the dove and the wisdom of the serpent, depth and clearness, fullness of heart and discretion, vivacity and calmness.

The four leading apostles have by many been characterized according to the four *temperaments*, to James being assigned the phlegmatic, to Peter the sanguine, to Paul the choleric, and to John the melancholic, each sanctified by Christianity. This comparison, however, will not hold strictly; at least the phlegmatic temperament does not accord with the practical activity of James and the life and power of his epistle. It is better to suppose in all a mixture of temperaments, with the preponderance of one or another, as in every well-proportioned character.¹ James is the most fettered, Paul the most free; the former predominantly legal, the latter thoroughly evangelical. Yet the two coincide remarkably in their common anthropological starting-point, as also in their spiritualized conception of the law and of righteousness.*

¹ Ullman (*Die Sündlosigkeit Jesu*, p. 46, 5th ed.) justly observes, that in *Jesus* we can speak of no temperament at all; as this always denotes a certain disproportion in the combination of mental faculties, the preponderance of one class of talents. "In Him we find only the purest *temperamentum* in the old sense of the word, a mixture harmonious throughout, the proper, healthy proportion of all faculties and talents." The same is true of the apostles, only in a less degree, so far as they approach this pattern.

² As Neander especially has finely shown in his article: *Paulus und Jakobus*. *Die*

Peter is the most outwardly active and practical, John the most inwardly active and mystical; yet is the former also profound and spiritual, while the latter shows equal zeal for a holy walk. James preaches chiefly the acting faith; Peter, the confessing; Paul, the justifying; John, the loving and enjoying. It is at bottom, however, the same faith in all, only appearing in life in different forms, which can never be abstractly severed from one another. With James, law is the main idea; with Peter, hope; with Paul, faith; with John, love. But James makes love the sum and soul of the law; John makes love consist in fulfilling the divine commands; while upon the same love Paul pens from experience the most beautiful and sublime eulogy, and in it Peter faithfully followed the Lord, even to the death of the cross. And as to hope, Peter, on his part, sees in Christ the fulfillment of all the Messianic promises, while all the other apostles, John among the rest, who most anticipates the ideal future, agree with him, that we are here "saved in hope," that "we walk by faith, not by sight," and that "it doth not yet appear what we shall be."

Thus, therefore, these representatives of the four ground-forms of the Christian life, which are continually repeating themselves in the church, integrate one another, and blend in full-toned harmony, to the praise of the one Redeemer, whose holy and sanctifying Spirit lives in them all, and to the continual instruction, encouragement, and edification of the redeemed, who follow them in the same path and to the same glorious goal!

§ 111. *The Family.*

Marriage, that universal, fundamental social relation, the nursery of the state and the church, is, indeed, as old as humanity itself, and a strictly divine institution (Gen. 2 : 18). But under the influence of sin it has degenerated, and Christianity alone restores it to its proper dignity and significance. Our religion places marriage in the most exalted

Einheit des evangelischen Geistes in verschiedenen Formen, printed in his "*Kleinen Gelegenheitschriften*," p. 1 sqq.

Der Schlachtruf, der St. Pauli Brust entsprungen
Rief nicht sein Echo auf zu tausend Streiten?²
Und welch' ein Friedensecho hat geklungen
Durch tausend Herzen von *Johannis* Saiten!
Wie viele rasche Feuer sind entglommen
Als Widerschein von *Petri* Funkensprühen!
Und sieht man Andre still mit Opfern kommen,
Ist's, weil sie in *Jakobi* Schul' gediehen:—
Ein Satz ist's der in Variationen
Vom ersten Anfang fort tönt durch *Æonen*.

light by representing it as a copy of the relation of Christ to his church, thus giving it a truly holy, we may say, a sacramental character (Eph. 5 : 22-33).

By this comparison, in the first place, polygamy, which is found more or less not only in all heathen nations (most rarely in the Roman and Germanic), but even amongst the Old Testament patriarchs and kings, and which has the sanction of law with Mohammedans, is forever condemned, and *monogamy* made the rule. This form of the conjugal relation was presented in the creation of the first human pair as the normal one ; was made the ideal by the Mosaic law ; and is the only condition of a true and truly happy marriage. Then again, in this analogy is implied the indissoluble nature of the marriage bond ; for the union between Christ and his bride, the church, can never be broken. The husband and the wife are one flesh ; and what God has joined together, man must not put asunder (comp. Matt. 19 : 3-9. 1 Cor. 7 : 10). Increase of immorality always goes hand in hand with the facilitating of divorce.

Again, Christianity alone raises *woman* to her true dignity. It is well known, that in antiquity, even among the highly-cultivated Greeks, woman was generally looked upon as a mere tool of lust, and therefore in the most degraded light. Her education was shamefully neglected ; and if she sometimes attained prominence in society, it was wholly in consequence of bodily attraction and the gift of entertaining wit, not for any moral force or purity of character. Even Plato, with all his exalted ideas, knew nothing of the sacredness of monogamy. In his ideal state he allows promiscuous concubinage. And in the ethical works of Aristotle, among many virtues, chastity and mercy, those pillars of genuine morality, are never mentioned. Sophocles, in his pious, childlike, devoted, self-denying sufferer, Antigone, who followed her blind father into exile and sought in every way to alleviate his misfortunes, reaches out prophetically beyond the domain of heathenism. Antigone is an ideal creation of poetic fancy, realized only in Christian nations. In reverence for the marriage relation the ancient Germans stood highest. They distinguished themselves above all other pagans by their great regard for the female sex, their chastity and conjugal fidelity ; and these traits among others especially predisposed them for the gospel. Yet these become most firm and sacred only by being referred to the holiest of all conceivable relations. Christianity does not, indeed, take woman out of her natural sphere of subordination and domestic life, and throw her into the whirl of public activity, from which she instinctively shrinks ; but places her in a religious and moral point of view by the side of man, as a joint-heir of the same heavenly

inheritance (1 Pet. 3 : 7); and by doctrine and illustrious example, as in the ever blessed Virgin, in Salome, Martha and Mary, and Mary Magdalene, it has opened the way for the development of the noblest and loveliest female virtues in all their forms.

Finally, from that fruitful analogy may be derived all the duties of husband and wife to one another and to their children, as Paul himself presents them in few but comprehensive words in the passage cited above.

1. The relation of the *husband* to the wife is the same as that of Christ to the church. In other words, the husband is even by virtue of his whole physical and intellectual constitution the head of the wife, her lord and ruler (Eph. 5 : 22). He is not, however, to lord it over her ambitiously and arbitrarily, as a despot, but with the power of love, surrendering himself to her, as a part of his own being, as his other self, making her partaker of all his joys and possessions, patiently and meekly bearing her weaknesses, promoting in every way her temporal and above all her spiritual welfare, and sacrificing himself for her, even to his last breath, as Christ has given His life for the church, is continually purifying and sanctifying her with his blood, and raising her, as a spotless, richly adorned bride, to full participation in his glory and blessedness.¹ This, then, makes the sanctification and moral perfection of the character the highest end of conjugal life, to which the physical object, the propagation of the race, must be subordinate and subservient,²—a view, of which heathendom never dreamed. Of course, however, the devotion of the husband and wife to each other, as well as to the children, ought never to be absolute, or it would degenerate into idolatry. It should not interfere in the least either with the moral duties of public life and occupation, by neglect of which the most ardent conjugal love must only shrink morbidly into itself and wither, or with the demands of love to God, who alone can claim our undivided heart and life. On the contrary it should favor both. When there is any danger of a conflict here, then the command is of force : “Let them that have wives, be as though they had none” (1 Cor. 7 : 29).

2. The *wife* stands related to the husband, as the church to the Lord ; that is, she is to be subject to him, and to show him all due reverence.³ But this obedience does not exclude equality of personal and moral dig-

¹ Eph. 5 : 25-31. Col. 3 : 19. 1 Pet. 3 : 7.

² Schleiermacher strikingly says (*Predigten*. I. p. 575) : “The higher end of Christian marriage is, that each party may sanctify, and be sanctified by the other;” and Rothe (*Theol. Ethik*, III. p. 670) : “Only in the holiness of self-denying love can the marriage relation be a copy of the relation of Christ to humanity, which he, by his self-devotion, has purchased for his own.”

³ Eph. 5 : 21, 33. 1 Cor. 11 : 7 sqq. 1 Tim. 2 : 11 sqq. 1 Pet. 3 : 1 sqq.

nity.¹ It should have nothing slavish or bitter about it, no fear nor trembling. It should be free and joyful, in, and for the sake of, the Lord (comp. Col. 3 : 18). So the church finds her highest honor, delight, and freedom in everywhere following her heavenly bridegroom in the most trustful self-resignation. Pride is contrary to the nature of woman, except so far as it relates to her husband and children, in whom she forgets herself. In this subordinate position, as well as in the maternal care of her children and the whole field of private, domestic life, she has occasion to exhibit her silent moral elevation, to unfold the noble virtues of modesty, meekness, patience, fidelity, and self-denial, and thereby to adorn her Christian profession, and to integrate the masculine character. Here too, however, the analogy is not perfect. For while the wife often converts her husband, and always ought at least to exert upon him a softening, refining, elevating, and sanctifying influence, such an influence of the church on Christ, the Perfect, is of course unnecessary and impossible.

3. The relation of *parents* to children corresponds with that of Christ and the church to individual Christians ; the father here again holding the place of Christ, the mother the place of the church. Every new, spiritual birth is the result of the creative activity of the Holy Ghost in the womb of the Christian church ; and it is the church, which by the faithful administration of the means of grace under the direction and with the power of the Lord nourishes, strengthens, and perpetually sustains the new life of her children, and protects it from all disease and degeneracy, till it reach the age of independent manhood in Christ. So should it be, also, in every Christian family. It is the duty primarily of the mother, who is peculiarly fitted for it by nature, to provide for the wants of the infant, and to awaken its slumbering powers to the first stage of their activity ; but this she is to do under the oversight, and supported by the authority, of the father, who is king and priest in the sanctuary of his own house. Both parents are to treat their children not with severity, but with devoted, self-sacrificing love,² and to train them up not only for useful members of the body politic, but above all for citizens of the kingdom of heaven. They are to train them by instruction, and still more by the living power of example ; by actually bearing witness of Christianity in their lives, and by the religious consecration of the whole domestic system ; ever mindful that God has given them this precious blessing of marriage, and will one day call them to account for their use of it. This sacred duty the apostle enforces in the few words, Eph. 6 : 4 : "Bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the

¹ Gal. 3 : 28. 1 Pet. 3 : 7.

² Eph. 6 : 4. Col. 3 : 21.

Lord;"¹ that is, as the representatives of the Lord, so that, properly speaking, the Lord himself, by the free agency of the parents, with earnestness and gentleness trains the children for himself, as his own. The apostle is here speaking, indeed, primarily only to fathers, as the responsible agents in the education of the children; but he certainly would not exclude the delicate, noiseless, but none the less important part of the mother, who, by her meekness, patience, and fidelity, happily softens the sternness of the father's authority (though without the latter she mistrains instead of training); and who, especially where her husband is not a believer, may and should exercise an exceedingly deep, lasting and salutary influence on the moral and religious character of the children; an influence, which Paul himself recognizes in the mother and grandmother of Timothy.²

4. The first duty of *children*, as derived from what has now been said, is of course piety, reverential obedience.³ This again is not to be slavish, but cheerful, the obedience of unreserved confidence and grateful love. It is also in the course of nature the first form of all piety towards God and reverence for divine things. For in its parents the child sees the representative of God, the reflection of His majesty and love, nay, we may say God himself, so far as the child is able to comprehend Him. Where this course, which even natural right and the first commandment of the second table point out, is forsaken, there inevitably results wildness, slavery, and curse. Obedience to the divinely-ordained authority of parents forms the only true training for real freedom and manly independence. All those carnal schemes of emancipation, whether relating to women or children, accomplish just the opposite of what they propose, and will have bitterly to repent their subversion of the natural and revealed order of things. It is worthy of remark, that the apostle makes the children of believing parents an organic part of the Christian congregation in requiring of them obedience "in the Lord;" thus supplying the purest motive for obedience, and at the same time duly restricting it. For as parental authority is derived from Christ and is to be exercised for Him, it can only claim obedience where it answers His spirit and will. When, therefore, it commands what is wrong, it comes into manifest conflict with its author, and destroys itself. Then applies our Lord's language, Matt. 10 : 37 :

¹ Not "to the Lord," zum Herrn, as Luther translates it; which alters the sense materially.

² 2 Tim. 1 : 5. Comp. 1 Tim. 2 : 15. 5 : 10, 14, where the bearing children, *τεκνογονία*, certainly includes educating them. Woman finds her highest dignity and purest happiness, not merely in being a mother, but also in fulfilling all the duties of a mother in the Lord and for his glory. Human life should be propagated only to be educated for the great end of mankind, for virtue and religion.

³ Eph. 6 : 1-3. Col. 3 : 20.

"He that loveth father or mother more than me, is not worthy of me." When the children pass out of their minority, they cease to obey it the strict sense, and enter the relation of friendship ; but never should they lose the reverence which is due in fact to old age in general,² and the gratitude which rejoices to render to parents like for like (1 Tim. 5 : 4, 8), and embalms them even after their death in imperishable memory.

5. Even without any express New Testament command,³ it is easy to see that the proper shaping of Christian domestic life, and especially the successful performance of duty as to the religious education of children, require the *family altar*, on which the father, as priest, may daily offer the sacrifice of thanksgiving and intercession. Family worship, with morning and evening prayer and use of the holy Scriptures, includes also prayer at table. We are not to enjoy God's gifts of nature thoughtlessly like the beasts of the field, but "with thanksgiving."⁴ In individual cases, however, it is hard to maintain this family worship properly, without the assistance of liturgies and hymn-books. And great watchfulness is necessary, lest it degenerate into soulless mechanism, into an *opus operatum*, or infringe upon the duty of closet prayer, the unseen personal intercourse of the soul with God. But that this danger is not always sufficiently avoided, can be no reason for questioning the duty of family worship itself, or asserting that it is made superfluous by public worship. On the contrary, we shall always find, that the two require and promote one another, and that, where the former dies, the latter also decays.⁶ For as marriage continually replenishes the state and secures its perpetuity, so personal and domestic piety furnishes the church a constant supply of her best material.

Thus, therefore, are all the natural relations of authority and subordination recognized and confirmed by Christianity, and duly regulated, defined, and sanctified by being referred to the Lord and his church ; and thus is the whole family life consecrated as a nursery of the purest virtues, as a miniature theocracy, rooted, indeed, in the soil of nature, in the sexual love of individuals, but rising into heaven.

§ 112. *Marriage and Celibacy.*

Christianity, then, as we meet it in the New Testament, recognizes in marriage the normal relation, in which the human character fully deve-

¹ Comp. Matt. 8 : 21, 22. Lu. 2 : 49. Jno. 2 : 4. Matt. 12 : 46-50.

² 1 Pet. 5 : 5. 1 Tim. 5 : 1, 2.

³ Comp., however, Eph. 5 : 19. Col. 3 : 16.

⁴ 1 Cor. 10 : 30, 31. 1 Tim. 4 : 3-5.

⁶ There is no doubt that the regular and general attendance upon public worship, by which the English, Scotch, and Americans are so distinguished above other nations, is especially owing to their high regard for family worship

ropes itself and answers its great end,—a relation instituted by God and sanctified by Christ. The depreciation of conjugal life by an asceticism which cannot rise above its physical and natural basis to the view of its higher moral and religious significance, contradicts the spirit of the gospel, and is, in reality, of heathen origin.¹ In fact, the apostle numbers it among the doctrines of the evil spirits, which rule the world of idolatry (1 Tim. 4 : 1 sqq.), that they forbid marriage, as some Gnostic sects and the Manicheans did,—looking on the body, which was created by God and designed for the organ of the Holy Ghost, with its sensual wants, as a part of the intrinsically evil matter, and consequently regarding all contact with it as sinful.

In this point Christ cannot be strictly taken as our pattern ; for he was not merely an individual, but at the same time the *universal* man, for whom no suitable consort at all, of equal birth, could be found. The church, the body of regenerate humanity, and it alone (not the

¹ The defective, sensual conception of marriage among the heathen could produce both great unchastity, polygamy, concubinage, &c., on the one side, and the ascetic contempt of the relation, on the other. For wherever moral earnestness was once awakened, instead of sanctifying this relation, it turned with horror from it. In its ideal of a priest, therefore, it usually includes in some form the conception of celibacy. So the ancient Indians, in the remarkable myth given by Creuzer in his *Symbolik und Mythologie der alten Völker*, I. p. 407, 3rd ed. After Birmah had formed from his mouth, his arm, his leg, and his foot, the four patriarchs of the four castes, and had given wives to all except the eldest. Brahman, the progenitor of the priests, the latter complained of his solitude ; whereupon he received the answer : “ He should not be distracted (marriage is thus necessarily distraction), but give himself up to doctrine, prayer, and worship.” He persevering, however, in his request, Birmah in anger gave him one *Daintany*, a daughter of the giant family of *Daints*, and from this unequal match sprang the whole sacerdotal caste of the Brahmins. Among the Greeks, the highest priest of the Eleusinian mysteries, the prophet or mystagogue, was forbidden to marry after assuming the office, and, if he already had a wife, he must abstain from commerce with her. In the Roman religion the virgin priestesses of Vesta are familiar. The Gnostic and Manichean contempt of marriage springs from pagan views, and rests on a fundamentally wrong conception of matter and body. With the Jews (except the sect of Essenes, whose asceticism, however, was affected by foreign, oriental elements) a fruitful marriage stood, as is well known, in high esteem, and passed for a special divine blessing ; while celibacy or barrenness was considered a reproach, particularly for women, or a divine visitation of punishment (Gen 16 : 2-14. 19 : 30-36. 1 Sam. 1 : 6-11. Ps. 127 : 3-5. 128 : 3-6. Is. 4 : 1. 47 : 8, 9. Hos. 9 : 14. Lu. 1 : 25, 36). The priests and even the high-priests were, therefore, all married, yet during their term of service in the temple they were required to abstain from cohabitation.—The high estimate of virginity, which came to prevail so early in the Christian church, cannot be derived from Jewish ideas, and certainly as little from heathenism. It arose, no doubt, from ardent enthusiasm for the kingdom of God, which could very easily take up many vitiating elements and influences from the low pagan notion of marriage ; especially as the conception of Christian marriage was so seldom fully realized ; for this required a long process of civilization.

individual soul), is his bride; and this relation is assuredly, as already shown, the sacred model of every true marriage.

As to the apostles; we know for a certainty that Peter was married, and took his wife with him on his missionary tours.¹ Tradition affirms the same of Philip, and gives him, as well as Peter, children.² From 1 Cor. 9 : 5 it has been justly inferred, that at least the majority of the apostles and brothers of the Lord (probably sons of Joseph from his former marriage) lived in wedlock.³ At all events Paul here excepts none but himself and Barnabas, while claiming the same right of marriage for himself, if he chose to make use of it.⁴ Yet ancient tradition unanimously represents St. John as unmarried.⁵ As to the subordinate officers of the church; the book of Acts mentions four prophesying daughters of the deacon and evangelist, Philip (21 : 8, 9). In 1 Tim. 3 : 2, 12. Tit. 1 : 6, it is disputed indeed, whether successive or only simultaneous polygamy, polygamy proper, is forbidden. But at any rate

¹ Matt. 8 : 14. Lu. 4 : 38, where his mother-in-law is mentioned, and 1 Cor. 9 : 5 : "Have we not power to lead about a sister, a wife, as well as other apostles, and as the brothers of the Lord, and *Cephas*?"

² Clement of Alexandria says of these two apostles (*Strom.* III. p. 448) that they begat children; tradition speaks of a daughter of Peter by the name of Petronilla (comp. *Acta Sanct.* 30th May); and Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, in the second century, in his letter to the Roman bishop, Victor (in *Euseb. H. E.* III. 31, and V. 24), mentions three daughters of the apostle Philip, of whom the first two died virgins in Hierapolis at an advanced age, and the third lay buried in Ephesus: *Φίλιππον τὸν τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων, ὃς κεκοίμηται ἐν Ἱερὰπόλει καὶ δύο θυγατέρες αὐτοῦ, γεγηρακυῖαι παρθένου καὶ ἡ ἑτέρα αὐτοῦ θυγάτηρ ἐν ἀγίῳ πνεύματι πολιτευσαμένη, ἥ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἀναπαύεται.* At the same place (III. 31) Eusebius, on the authority of Proculus, speaks of "four prophesying daughters" of Philip, who were buried with their father in Hierapolis. But here it is plain from his remarks immediately following, that he confounds the apostle Philip with the deacon and evangelist of the same name, who according to Acts 21 : 9 had four prophesying daughters, and, when Paul last went to Jerusalem, was laboring in Cæsarea in Palestine.

³ The deacon Hilary, A. D. 380, the probable author of the commentary on Paul's epistles falsely ascribed to St. Ambrose, and hence called *Ambrosiaster*, explicitly remarks on 1 Cor. 11 : 2 : "*Omnes apostoli, exceptis Joanne et Paulo, uxores habuerunt.*"

⁴ Hence some, though certainly without reason (comp. 1 Cor. 7 : 7, 8), held that Paul also was a husband or a widower. So Ignatius, *Ad Philad.* c. 4, according to the larger (spurious) recension : *Ὡς Πέτρον καὶ Παῦλον, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀποστόλων, τῶν γάμοις προσομιλησάντων.* So Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* III. 7, ed. Potter.

⁵ Hence he bears the standing title, *παρθένος, παρθένιος, virgo*. Augustine (*De bono conjugii*, 21) mentions with respect as the view of many : "A Christo Joannem apostolum propterea plus anatum, quod neque uxorem duxerit, et ab ineunte pueritia castissimus vixerit." Hence also it is said in the chant for the festival of St. John in the Roman church : "Diligeat eum Jesus, quoniam specialis prerogativa castitatis ampliori dilectione fecerat dignum : quia virgo electus ab ipso virgo in aevum perman- sit. In cruce denique moriturus huic matrem suam virginem virgini commendavit."

the being "the husband of one wife," which is required of presoyters and deacons, as also the mention of their children and their own households, 1 Tim. 3 : 4, 5, 11, 12. Tit. 1 : 6, imply that *one* marriage is right for ministers, and, so far from censuring the married state, present it as the normal state, and as a good school for exercise in the most important duties of life.

But if apostolical Christianity forbids no man marriage, as little does it enjoin it. On the contrary, it presents exceptions from the general rule, and puts celibacy, if it be a voluntary act of self-denial for the kingdom of God, we cannot say, indeed, above the married state, yet very high, and attributes to it in several places a peculiar value.¹ There are men who lack the qualifications for conjugal life, as the capacity to support a wife, individual sexual love, &c. ; others, who, by some fault, whether their own or not, cannot fulfill the necessary conditions ; others again, who feel called and bound to sacrifice all earthly love to heavenly, and to minister to the latter alone. Hence our Lord in the mysterious passage, Matt. 19 : 10-12, without, however, giving his disciples any command, speaks of three kinds of eunuchism, congenital, forced, and voluntary. Of course the latter alone is of any moral worth ; voluntary self-denial for the sake of the kingdom of heaven ; the willing renunciation of conjugal love and joys, the better to serve the general moral purpose of life. Such, we must suppose, was the course of Paul and Barnabas. For the former was certainly a man of strong natural feelings, of an ardent, passionate temperament, so that the renunciation of marriage was, in his case, an act of self-denial and moral heroism, for which he was strengthened by the assistance of divine grace. He represents it even as a charism, and notices the diversity of gifts in this respect (1 Cor. 7 : 7 : Ἐκαστος ἰδίου ἔχει χάρισμα ἐκ θεοῦ). Those, on the other hand, who have not the gift, to whom a life of celibacy would be such a perpetual struggle against natural propensities, as would prevent the quiet discharge of duty, he advises to marry (v. 9). Such a celibacy, as cannot attain to the complete subjection of the bodily appetite, is assuredly of far less worth than a virtuous marriage,

¹ Matt. 19 : 10-12. 1 Cor. 7 : 7 sqq. 25 sqq. Rev. 14 : 4. As to the latter passage it is a question, indeed, whether by the hundred and forty-four thousand "παρθένοι, which were not defiled with women, and which follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth," are to be understood unmarried persons, or (as Bleek, *Beiträge zur Evangelienkritik*, p. 185, and De Wette, *ad loc.*, explain it) those who have kept themselves free from all whoredom and unchastity, and from all contamination with idolatry. The first interpretation answers best to the literal meaning of the words, but has against it the vast number and the fact, that many of the most eminent servants of God under both dispensations, from Abraham to Peter, who certainly belong also among the "first-fruits unto God and to the Lamb," were not παρθένοι in the strict sense.

in which also chastity may and should be preserved. To Paul, who spent his life in missionary travel, and was exposed to all possible privations, hardships, and persecutions, the married state, with its temporal cares and all sorts of personal matters of attention, must have seemed rather a hindrance to the fulfillment of his apostolic calling, and the single state, the *ἐννουχίζειν ἑαυτὸν διὰ τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν*, more favorable to his activity in the service of the Redeemer (v. 32-35). With him celibacy was actually an elevation above all earthly cares, an entire devotion to the purest love and the holiest interests, an anticipation of the *vita angelica*.¹ And who will deny that such cases repeatedly occur? Who does not know, that the voluntary celibacy of so many self-denying missionaries, especially in times of wild barbarism and dissolution, as at the entrance of the Middle Ages, was in the hand of God a great blessing, in mightily promoting the spread of the gospel among the rude nations and under numberless privations?² Here Christianity deviates from the old Jewish view, in which celibacy was a disgrace and a curse; it can transform this state into a charism and use it for its own ends. Without the acknowledgment of the peculiar value and manifold benefits of this virginity, which grew out of unreserved enthusiasm for Christ and his gospel, it is impossible properly to understand the history of the church, especially before the Reformation.

But in the chapter before us Paul goes yet further. He manifestly gives celibacy the preference, believing that it enables a man better to serve the Lord; and he wishes that all might be in this point like himself, and might share with him the happiness of freedom from all earthly cares and undivided devotion to the highest objects and duties of life. His words are too clear to admit of any other interpretation: "He that giveth (a daughter) in marriage doeth well; but he that giveth her not in marriage doeth better" (1 Cor. 7 : 38). "He that is

¹ V. 7, 32. Comp. Matt. 22 : 30. Lu. 20 : 34-36.

² Comp. Neander's remarks, I. p. 404. Not seldom is celibacy also very favorable to great scientific investigations in the theological as well as the secular field. We may here refer only to two very different men, Dr. Neander the historian, and Alexander von Humboldt the naturalist. We cannot help observing here, that the work of home and foreign missions would be in many respects greatly facilitated, and much expense spared, if among us Protestants that moral heroism of self-denial that voluntary, and, if not perpetual, yet at least temporary *ἐννουχισμὸς διὰ τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν* (Matt. 19 : 12), were more frequent than it unfortunately is. The great zeal with which many young ministers scarcely ordained (often even while students), look around for a wife, as though they had nothing more important to do, is absolutely irreconcilable at least with the seventh chapter of 1 Corinthians and with the example of Paul. The excellent Swiss divine, A. Vinet, expresses similar opinions on the relative value of celibacy, as a voluntary service to the kingdom of God, in his *Pastoral Theology*, transl. by Dr. Skinner, p. 156 sqq.

unmarried careth for the things that belong to the Lord, how he may please the Lord; but he that is married careth for the things that are of the world, how he may please his wife" (v. 32 sqq.). "I would that all men were even as myself" (v. 7). Here undeniably that ascetic tendency and relative depreciation of marriage, which we find in almost all the church fathers, even the married ones (as Tertullian and Gregory of Nyssa), has some plausible foundation to rest upon. Yet we cannot without charging Paul with obscurity and inconsistency, understand him as derogating from the holiness and dignity of marriage, which in Eph. 5¹ he himself so decidedly asserts. The apparent contradiction may be solved by the following considerations suggested by the connection of the passage itself:

1. It must be remembered, that in the time of the apostle the education of the female sex and the whole married life were in a very low state; that Christianity had scarcely begun to exert its refining influence upon them; and that the elevation and sanctification of them must in the nature of the case be gradual. In 1 Cor. 7 Paul has in view the relations actually prevailing in a congregation but just gathered from amongst the frivolous heathens of dissolute Corinth, and therefore such a marriage as by no means answers to the Christian principle, or to the ideal sketched by himself in Eph. 5 : 32. He has his eye upon a union which stands in the way of prayer (v. 5), entangles one in worldly cares, conflicts with the undivided service of the Lord (32-35), and is in general nothing more than a mere check upon debauchery (v. 2, 5, 9 : *Κρείσσον γάρ ἐστι γαμῆσαι, ἢ πυροῦσθαι*). Here firm opposition to corrupt heathenism was the safe and necessary way to the final realization of the true idea of marriage. So the church at first stood hostile to art, on account of its degradation to the service of idolatry and immorality; yet at a later day herself gave birth to the highest creations of architecture, painting, music and poetry.

2. The apostle plainly has in view approaching pressure and persecution, which are certainly heavier on the married than on the single, and furnish strong temptations to unfaithfulness to the Lord from personal considerations. This is evident particularly from v. 26, which speaks of "the present distress;" v. 28, of "trouble in the flesh;" and v. 29-32, of the "shortness of the time," earnestly exhorting Christians to rise above everything earthly and be ready for the approaching end.²

¹ Comp. 1 Cor. 7 : 28. 9 : 5. 1 Tim. 5 : 14. Tit. 1 : 6 sq.

² Möhler is certainly not unbiased, when in his defense of celibacy (*Gesammelte Schriften und Aufsätze*, I. p. 197) he denies any such reference to approaching dangers in 1 Cor. 7. The *διὰ τὴν ἐνεστώσαν ἀνάγκην*, v. 26, he translates: "on account of the easily) rising natura' appetite," and refers to a passage in *Heroph. de venat.* c. VII

The Christians were then expecting the speedy return of the Lord (as in fact he actually came, though not to the *final* judgment, yet to the destruction of Jerusalem), and it appeared doubly advisable to await the catastrophe in a state of the greatest possible independence of worldly cares and connections. That there are, however, at this day, circumstances, in which it would be an indiscretion involving heavy responsibility for certain individuals to marry, can by no means be denied. The advice of the apostle; therefore, has by no means lost its force and applicability.

3. All this instruction on the question proposed to him by the Corinthians respecting marriage and celibacy, Paul repeatedly assures us (v. 6, 25, 40), he gives as his own private judgment, as his humble opinion (*γνώμη*), and not as an express command of the Lord (*ἐπιταγή*), who had given him no special, direct revelation on the subject.¹ Hence, to prescribe laws on this point is to assume more than apostolical authority. The *prohibition* of marriage is expressly enumerated by the same apostle among the marks of antichrist (1 Tim. 4 : 3).²

Our conclusion, therefore, is, that according to the doctrine and practice of the apostles marriage is duty in general, but under certain circumstances and for certain individuals, celibacy ; that the latter may be as great a blessing to the church and to mankind as the former ; that the decision, however, in any particular case, whether to marry or not, must rest neither on the person's own will nor on another's, but on a consideration of the person's peculiar gift, and the plain indications of Providence. The great work of the man remains in both cases the same,—to serve the Lord and Him alone. To do this, in whatever way, is neither greater nor less *merit*, but our bounden duty, and should be at the same time our honor and our joy.

§ 113. *Christianity and Slavery.*

To the family in the wide sense belong also *servants* or *domestics*, rendered necessary by the distinction of rich and poor, and by wants which increase with civilization, and which the proper members of the

where *ἀνάγκη* denotes the impetus ad Venerem. But even admitting the philological consideration (the passage adduced, by the way, is not about men, but about dogs!), this interpretation gives no good sense at all, because the *ἀνάγκη* in this sense exists also in celibacy, nay, is even still stronger in this state (comp. v. 9); and hence the avoidance of it can be no ground for recommending virginity.

¹ In this case, therefore, at least the *possibility* of error is admitted, especially as the personal experience of Paul on this point was all on one side, an experience of the advantages of the single life, but not of those of the married. In his thus qualifying his own advice, we must admire his great pastoral wisdom and prudence.

² Comp. also Ha: less. *Ethik.* p. 219.

family alone are unable or unwilling themselves to meet. Here Christianity, when it entered into the world, had to encounter a deeply-rooted social evil, which in consequence of the fall had gradually spread over the most cultivated nations of heathendom, and, we may truly say, then held the *greater* part of the human race in a condition of almost beastly degradation.¹

Slavery is the robbing an immortal man, created in the image of God, of his free personality, degrading him into an article of merchandise, a mere machine of his owner, and thereby hindering the development of his intellectual and moral powers and the attainment of the higher end of his existence. For this heathenism had no remedy. On the contrary, the most distinguished heathens justified this immoral and unnatural state of things by assuming an original and essential distinction between the ruling and the serving classes. The Hindoos believed, that the menial caste of Sudra, upon which the other three castes looked down with contempt, had been guilty before its earthly life of some peculiarly heavy crime, for which this degraded condition was a just punishment; or, according to a somewhat higher view, that it had sprung from the feet of Brahma, while the Brahmins sprang from his head, the soldiers from his shoulders, and the tradesmen from his thighs. The Greeks adopted the view of Homer, that Zeus deprived those whom he "destined for servitude," "of half their mind;" and to this passage even Plato appeals in the sixth book of the *Laws*, appearing in general to view slavery as a natural and necessary institution.² Aristotle speaks much more plainly. He defines³ a slave as an ὄργανον ζῶον, a man, who belongs not to himself, but is the property of another. He declares all barbarians to be born slaves, who have no reason at all or only instinctive, and are good for nothing but to obey. Single instances of intelligent, virtuous slaves he would have pronounced exceptions, which prove

¹ Attica alone, in the time of Demetrius Phalereus (309 B. C.), according to the statement of Ktesicles, contained 400,000 slaves with only 21,000 citizens and 10,000 foreign residents. See Böckh: *Die Staatshaushaltung der Athener*, I. p. 39 (p. 35 sq. of the English translation by Geo. C. Lewis, 2nd ed. London. 1842). The slaves were, indeed, counted by the head, like beasts; but even if we quadruple the number of freemen, to make it include women and children, and with Böckh suppose the whole population of Attica to have been at most 524,000. the number of slaves would still be almost four times that of freemen. In Sparta Reitmeier (*Ueber den Zustand der Sklaverei in Griechenland*, p. 116) supposes there were even from 600,000 to 800,000 slaves. In Rome it was still worse, slaves being there an article of formal luxury.

² So Ritter with many others assert, *Gesch. der Philos.* II. 450. Yet this may be questioned. For the passage in the *Politicus* (p. 309, a), to which Ritter appeals may be more favorably explained, as it is by Möhler, *Gesammelte Schriften und Aufsätze*, II p. 62 and 76.

De Republica, I. c. 1-7.

the rule. The Roman law looked upon them in the same light, subjected them to the arbitrary dominion, passion and lust of the master, yea, gave to the latter, at least down to the time of Emperor Hadrian, the uncontrolled power of life and death over his slaves. With the pagan Germans, also, the equality of the slave with the brute, of the *servus* with the *jumentum*, was current. It was in perfect consistency with such principles, that the slaves were used and abused like beasts, and not seldom even worse. The Spartans had the abominable custom to intoxicate their helots, in order to teach their youth sobriety by such revolting spectacles of drunkenness; and when the slaves became dangerous from their increasing number, they were hunted in the Crypteia, as the chase was called. The celebrated Cato Censorius, in whose time the distinction between the two classes had not yet become so strongly marked in Rome as afterwards, worked, indeed, with his slaves, and ate at the same table with them, but mercilessly drove them away when they became weak from age, and were no longer saleable.¹ At a later day slaves became a matter of luxury, like horses and precious stones. Romans of rank owned them by hundreds and thousands, and their wives likewise kept great numbers (sometimes over two hundred) for the most trifling services connected with their endless wardrobes. Half-naked the poor wretches had to stand before their mistress, who was armed with an iron rod to beat them for every mistake. Even for innocent noises, as sneezing or coughing, they were often unmercifully whipped.²

Exceptions there certainly were. Heathendom retained a faint recollection of a golden age, when there was no sin nor slavery. It had feasts in memory of this age, such as the Saturnalia, in which freemen ate with slaves, and even waited on them. Theseus, and the deified Hercules, once himself a slave, were patrons, and the Vestal virgins, the temples, statues and altars of the gods, and the churches of Rome, were refuges, of slaves. In the old philosophers too we meet with many excellent precepts, framed, to be sure, not on the higher principles of religion, but only on those of humanity, respecting the kinder treatment of these wretched creatures; especially in Seneca, his letters, and his work on meekness and mildness (*De Clementia*). After he himself had

¹ On this Plutarch in his biography of Cato, c. 21, passes censure thus: "As if, when no further gain is to be had from them, there were no longer any room for humanity; as if equity were not more comprehensive than justice! Even dogs and other animals men continue to feed, after they cease to bring them gain. The Athenians provided for the mules used in building the Parthenon, till they died, though they were free from all further labor."

² Comp. on this Böttiger's *Sabina oder Morgenscenen in dem Putzzimmer einer reichen Römerin* (1806), Part I. p. 40 sqq., where the proof is given.

returned from an eight years' exile in Corsica, he laid down the rule in almost the same terms as those of our Lord, Matt. 7 : 12 : "So live with an inferior, as thou thyself wouldst wish a superior to live with thee."¹ But what were the fairest precepts of human philanthropy when they were never observed, or at least very rarely, and then not from principle and fear of God, but accidentally only, or from constitutional good nature? They could at best but mitigate the evil in individual cases. They could effect no radical cure. This demanded an entirely different view of the origin and destiny of man, such as Christianity alone has introduced.

Here also the Jews of course stood on much higher ground. Yet among them too servants with their posterity were in thralldom, and could be bought and sold. The Patriarchs had two kinds of servants, those "born in the house" and those "bought with money" (Gen. 17 : 12, 13), who are sometimes enumerated with other property, although there is no case recorded, that they sold them. The Mosaic law did not abolish servitude, but regulated and in various respects mitigated it by forbidding ill-treatment, by admitting the slaves into the covenant of circumcision and its religious privileges, and by releasing them from their regular labors every Sabbath, at the three annual festivals, also on the new moons, the feast of trumpets and the day of atonement. If they were themselves Jews, they should after six years service (without wife or children, however,) receive freedom if they chose, and a small outfit of cattle and fruits. The year of jubilee made all slaves free, not only those of Israelitish descent, but also the strangers, as it would seem from Lev. 25 : 10 : "And ye shall hallow the fiftieth year, and proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto *all the inhabitants* thereof: it shall be a jubilee unto you, and ye shall return *every man* unto his possession, and every man unto his family." This was a practical declaration that slavery is an abnormal state of society and incompatible with a renovation of the theocracy, when all should be made to feel equally dependent upon God and equally free in Him.² The Essenes and Therapeutæ, according to Philo, repudiated all slavery as inconsistent with the native equality of men. Of course the Jews in their wars with

¹ *Epp* 47, ad Lucil. : "Sic cum inferiore vivas, quemadmodum tecum superiorem velles vivere. . . . Vive cum servo clementer, comiter quoque et in sermonem admitte, et in consilium, et in convictum," etc. See these and other passages from Seneca, Plato, Aristotle, Plutarch, and the Saturnalia of Macrobius (which, however, only copies Seneca, often word for word), in Möhler, l. c. p. 75 sqq.

² Comp. on this subject such passages as Gen. 12 : 16. 14 : 14. 17 : 12, 13. 24 : 35. 30 : 43. Ex. 20 : 10. 21 : 2 sqq. 23 : 17. Lev. 25 : 41-46. Deut. 15 : 12 sqq. 29 : 10-12. Jer. 34 : 8 sq. Michaelis, *Mosaisches Recht*, II. p. 358 sqq.; and the article "Sklaven" in Winer's *Realwörterbuch*, I. p. 475 sqq.

the heathen in many cases fell into bondage. The community of Jews in Rome consisted mostly of freed men; and at the destruction of Jerusalem, according to the statement of Josephus, no less than ninety-seven thousand were taken captive by the Romans, some of whom were sold at auction and others transported to the Egyptian mines.

What posture now did Christianity assume towards this horrible degradation of a great, nay, the greater, part of mankind? We here have to admire alike the reformatory principle of Christianity, and her wisdom in applying it. The apostles did not attempt even a sudden political and social abolition, and would have discountenanced any stormy and tumultuous measures to that effect. For, in the first place, the immediate abolition of slavery could never have been effected without a revolution, which would have involved everything in confusion, a radical reconstruction of the whole domestic and social life, with which the system was interwoven.¹ In the next place, a sudden emancipation would not have bettered the condition of the slaves themselves, but rather made it worse; for outward liberation, to work well, must be prepared by moral training for the rational use of freedom, by education to mental manhood; and this can only be done by a gradual process. Paul, on the contrary (1 Cor. 7: 17), lays down the general principle, that Christianity primarily proposes no change in the outward relations, in which God has placed a man by birth, education, or fortune, but teaches him to look at them from a higher point of view, and to infuse into them a new spirit, until in time a suitable change work its own way outward from within. This principle he applies particularly to the case before us. On the one hand he requires Christian masters, not to emancipate their slaves, but for the present only to treat them with Christian love (Eph. 6: 9); and he himself sends back from Rome the runaway, Onesimus, now regenerate, and thus a "beloved brother" in Christ, to his rightful master, Philemon, in Colosse, with the touching direction to receive him as kindly as he would the apostle himself (Philem. v. 16, 17). On the other hand he does not exhort or encourage slaves to burst their bonds, but checks all impatient desire for freedom, and exhorts to reverential, single-hearted obedience to masters, be they hard or gentle.²

Christianity, however, has also provided the only means for delivering man from the inward and most cruel bondage of sin, the bitter root of

¹ For the slaves were employed not only in domestic service, but in all sorts of business, grinding, baking, cooking, making clothes, waiting on gentlemen and ladies, carrying letters, attending to agriculture, and the keeping of cattle, working mines &c. See Böckh: *Die Staatshaushaltung der A'tener*, I. p. 40.

² 1 Cor. 7: 21, 22. Eph. 6: 5-7. Col. 3: 22. 1 Pet. 2: 18. 1 Tim. 6: 1 (where the *ἰπὸ δουλοῦ* forbids to think of free servants), Tit. 2: 9.

all wrong social relations, slavery and despotism among the rest, and for the radical cure, therefore, of the evil in question. It confirms, in the first place, the Old Testament doctrine of the original unity of the human *race*¹ and its descent from a single pair.¹ Then it asserts the perfect equality of men in the highest, spiritual view, in their relation to Christ, who has redeemed all, even the poorest and meanest, with his blood, and called them to the same glory and blessedness. In Christ all earthly distinctions are inwardly abolished. In Him there is neither Jew nor Greek, *bond* nor *free*, male nor female; all form one ideal person in Him, the common Head (Gal. 3: 28. Col. 3: 11). On the one hand, therefore, the Christian master is a servant of Christ, with whom there is no respect of persons, and he ought always to be conscious of this dependence, and of the responsibility it involves (Eph. 6: 9). On the other, the slave is by faith a freedman of Christ, in the blessed possession of the only true liberty, that of the children of God, and thus, even though remaining in his bonds, he is raised above them; while the richest prince without faith is but a miserable slave of sin and death. Hence the master should look upon his servant as also his brother in Christ, and treat him accordingly (Philem. v. 16, 17); the servant should obey, not as the slave of man, but for the sake of the Lord. "Masters, give unto your servants that which is just and equal; knowing that ye also have a Master in heaven." "Servants, obey in all things (of course not in things contrary to the divine commands, for here the injunction ceases to be of force) your masters according to the flesh; not with eye-service, as men-pleasers; but in singleness of heart, fearing God; and whatsoever ye do, do it heartily, as to the Lord, and not unto men; knowing that of the Lord ye shall receive the reward of the (heavenly) inheritance; for ye serve the Lord Christ."²

By this view the distinction of master and slave is at once inwardly obliterated and deprived of its sting, even where it outwardly remains. Christianity is so spiritual and universal, that it can exert its power in all conditions and relations, and turn, as by magic, even the hut of deepest misery into a heaven of peace and joy. Thus there are now slaves, who through their virtue and piety are infinitely freer than their masters, and put them to shame. On the other hand, a true Christian, who comes into possession of slaves by inheritance, will never treat them as slaves in the proper sense, but as free servants, with all love and kindness; he will seek in every way to promote their moral and religious culture, even if circumstances, for which he is not personally answerable, should make their formal emancipation for the time impracticable. But

¹ Acts 17 : 26. Comp. Rom. 5 : 12. 1 Cor. 15 : 22, 47.

² Col. 3 : 22-4 : 1. Comp. Eph. 6 5-9.

of course this alone is not enough. All that is inward, must in the end work itself out and fully establish itself as an outward fact in actual life. So Paul expressly says to the slave: "But if thou mayest be made free, use it rather" (1 Cor. 7: 21)¹. Hence the spirit and genius of Christianity, more powerful than any particular command, has in all ages, without any radical noise and revolution, or contempt for historically established legal rights and the principles of equity, urged towards the orderly, constitutional abolition of slavery; and though it has not even yet everywhere succeeded—in the freest land in the world, in most glaring inconsistency with its fundamental political principles, there are still more than three millions of negro slaves!—yet it will not rest, till by the power of redemption all the chains which sin has forged shall be broken; till the personal and eternal dignity of man shall be universally acknowledged, and the idea of evangelical freedom and fraternal fellowship perfectly realized.

§ 114. *The Christian Community.*

The grand feature of the social life of the first Christians was that mark of true discipleship (Jno. 13: 35), brotherly love, rooted in faith and gospel truth; a communion of saints, founded on the unio mystica, or vital union with the Saviour, and drawing thence daily and hourly nourishment. The Christians were conscious of being reconciled to God by the same blood, born again of the same seed, sanctified by the same Spirit, destined for the same end. They felt themselves to be members of one body, children of one Father in heaven, partakers of one salvation, heirs of one blessedness; in short, one holy family of God. Hence they mostly called themselves "brethren,"² and attested themselves such

¹ In the interpretation of this passage I agree with Calvin, Grotius, and Neander (l. p. 427) who to *μᾶλλον χρῆσαι* supply the words *τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ*, most naturally suggested by what immediately precedes. The supplying of *τῇ δουλείᾳ*, preferred by Chrysostom, Theodoret and others, reversing the sense and making the apostle give the preference to servitude, does not suit the verb at all and is by no means required by the *εἰ καί*, as Meyer and De Wette erroneously assert. The sense of Paul then is: Civil bondage is perfectly consistent with Christian freedom, and thy condition should give thee no trouble on this score; but if, besides the inward freedom of faith, thou mayest also attain the outward, as an additional (*καί*) good—of course, by proper legal means—reject not the opportunity, but rather thankfully use it.

² See Matt. 23: 8. Lu. 22: 32. Jno 21: 23. Acts 1: 16. 9: 17. 16: 40. Rom 8: 12. 14: 10, 13, 15, 21. 1 Cor. 6: 5. 7: 12. 8: 11. 15: 6. 16: 11. Col. 1: 1. 4: 7. Eph. 6: 10, 21. Phil. 1: 14. 2: 25. 1 Pet. 2: 17. 1 Jno. 2: 9-11. 3: 10, 14, 16. 4: 20, 21. Ja. 1: 16. 2: 15. 4: 11, and many other passages especially in the Acts of the Apostles and Paul's epistles. Other names, which the Christians gave themselves, were "disciples" (of Jesus), "believers," "saints," and subsequently "Christians." Comp. § 61 above.

by the holy kiss,¹ by acts of mutual service, and by daily *agapæ* or love feasts in connection with the Lord's Supper. "They continued steadfastly," as Luke briefly and strikingly describes the social life of the primitive Christians, Acts 2 : 42, "in the apostles' doctrine, and in fellowship, and in breaking of bread, and in prayers." "The multitude of them that believed were of one heart and of one soul," 4 : 32. Of course this inward unity and equality of the Christians was not inconsistent with, but included, the greatest diversity of gifts and powers. They were, indeed, "one in Christ" (Gal. 3 : 28); but the unity was such, that no one could accomplish his destiny separate from the rest. They required and completed one another. There was in the whole body a perpetual vital action of giving and receiving (Eph. 4 : 16). True, this fraternal harmony in the congregations was in many instances disturbed. In Corinth there were divisions and party strifes. In the churches, to which James wrote, the rich indulged in heartless oppression of the poor. In Rome the circumcised and uncircumcised had not yet become perfectly harmonized. And Ephesus soon lost the glow of its first love. But these disturbances were directly opposed to the spirit of Christianity. They proceeded from the selfishness of nature as yet imperfectly subdued or reasserting its power, and from the corrupting influence of false teachers. The apostles everywhere most emphatically condemn them. Among their exhortations those to concord, to self denying, forbearing love, are peculiarly prominent.²

While the church was limited to one community in Jerusalem, it went so far in the ardor of its first love, as to abolish even externally the distinction of rich and poor and establish a community of goods, after the pattern of the common treasury of Jesus and his disciples. Those who owned houses and estates sold their property, in literal fulfillment of Christ's command, Lu. 12 : 33. Matt. 19 : 21, and laid the proceeds at the feet of the apostles as the treasurers of the common fund (Acts 2 : 45. 4 : 34-37). Luke commends particularly the self-denial of the future companion of Paul, the Cyprian Levite, Joses, distinguished for the gift of prophetic exhortation and consolation (comp. 13 : 1), and hence honored with the surname, Barnabas.³ This com-

¹ Rom. 16 : 16. 1 Cor. 16 : 20. 2 Cor. 13 : 12. 1 Thess. 5 : 26. 1 Pet. 5 : 14.

² Comp. 1 Cor. 1 : 10 sqq. 3 : 3 sqq. Gal. 5 : 15. Rom. 14-16. Phil. 2 : 1-3. Ja. 2 : 1 sqq. 3 : 13 sqq. 4 : 1 sqq. 1 Jno. 2 : 9 sqq. 3 : 11 sqq., &c.

³ From *בְּרִיָּאָה*, properly *υἱὸς προφητείας*, which, however, includes *παράκλησις*, Acts 4 : 37. He was in all probability the same as Joseph Barsabas, one of the two candidates for the vacant apostleship, 1 : 23, although some commentators make them two different persons.—It is true, the Mosaic law allotted the priests and Levites only tithes, not real estate, except the forty-eight cities with their suburbs assigned them in Nu. 35 : 2 sqq. But this institution was probably not revived after

munity of goods, however, was not enforced by law, as in the sect of the Essenes, but left to the free will of individuals, to the inward impulse of love and beneficence. Peter tells Ananias (Acts 5 : 4) that he might have kept his field, and, even after he had sold it, might have disposed of the money as he chose. And according to Acts 12 : 12, Mary, the mother of the evangelist John Mark, and a member of the church, owned a house in Jerusalem. The distribution of alms to widows, spoken of in Acts 6, also seems to indicate, that the distinction between poor and rich was not altogether done away. It is most probable, however, that at this time most of the believers gave up their property, and that the enthusiasm of their first love did more than the strictest law could have accomplished. In this childlike economy of the primitive Christian community we may see a prophetic anticipation, of the state of things in the perfected kingdom of God, where the civil distinction of poverty and wealth will entirely disappear, and all be kings and priests. It is worthy of remark, however, that community of goods, in the universal establishment of which visionary reformers expect to find a panacea for society, was not free, even in the primitive apostolic church, from temptation to hypocrisy and avarice; as the examples of Ananias (Acts 5 : 1 sqq.) and of the dissatisfied Hebrew widows (6 : 1) show.

How long the community of goods lasted in Jerusalem, we know not. On a larger scale it could not have been carried out without an entire subversion of all existing relations; and from this the apostles were infinitely removed. Hence in other congregations we find no trace of it. But in them all prevailed, no doubt, the disposition which lay at the root of it, the spirit of Christian love and charity. This is the true socialism and communism, which inwardly breaks down the distinction of rich and poor, without abolishing it in the civil sense, or leveling the inequalities and varieties of life according to abstract theories; and which takes the sting from all other forms of aristocracy, such as the inevitable dominion of talent over mental weakness, of culture over ignorance, &c.¹ For Christianity perpetually reminds the rich and powerful of their poverty and weakness before almighty God, and urges them to liberality and humanity; while it makes the poor and weak the Babylonish captivity. Indeed, as early as Jeremiah's time, the priests could purchase pieces of ground (Jer. 32 : 7).

¹ The modern communism is mostly a carnal, in some cases even a diabolical, caricature of the self-denying brotherly love of Christians, and proceeds not from genuine interest in the lot of the poor, but rather from low envy of the rich, from mean selfishness and infidel radicalism. Yet we would by no means deny, that, in opposition to the rigid distinction of classes, and the heartless money aristocracy of modern society, it finds some justification.

conscious of their riches and strength in the Lord, and thus raises them above the greatest outward misery. "Let the brother of low degree rejoice in that he is exalted; but the rich, in that he is made low: because as the flower of the grass he shall pass away" (Ja. 1: 9, 10). Works of mercy, of self-denying care and consolation for the needy and the troubled, were from the first a main ornament of the Christian life (James 1: 27). The example of the female disciple, Tabitha, who with her own hands made clothing for widows and orphans (Acts 9: 36), was certainly not alone in the apostolic church, though the history does not mention many individual cases. Alms and other expressions of Christian benevolence love solitude and silence, according to our Lord's exhortation: "Let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth."

§ 115. *Civil and National Life.*

Christ did not appear, it is true, as a political reformer, but as King of truth and Founder of the kingdom of heaven. He more than once decidedly condemned the earthly Messianic hopes of his contemporaries, and neither in doctrine nor in act did he concern himself directly with political affairs.¹ The same is true of the apostles. They left untouched the Roman civil institutions, in which there was certainly much to censure and to improve; and they never courted in the least the favor of rulers.

But Christianity is not by any means on this account indifferent or hostile to politics. On the contrary, history testifies, that it has indirectly exerted a very important and exceedingly beneficent influence on the development and purification of states, and is indispensable to their perfection. It sees in the body politic not an arbitrary, human invention; in the magistracy, not a mere slavish creature of the sovereign will of the people; but a divine ordinance for the administration of eternal justice, which punishes evil and rewards good; for upholding the majesty of law; for maintaining order and security both of person and of property; and for promoting the public weal (Rom. 13: 1-5). The state is moral society resting on law; the church, the same resting on the gospel. The one is necessarily limited and national; the other, catholic and universal. The former looks to temporal welfare; the latter, to eternal. But each promotes and protects the other. The state in a measure trains for the church; as the law is a schoolmaster to bring to Christ. As a legal institution it remains absolutely necessary, until the law become in all men the inward power of love, and outward constraint become needless.

¹ Compare Matt. 22: 15-22. Lu. 12: 13, 14. 22: 25, 26. Jno. 6: 15. 8: 11
18: 36, 37.

As to the particular form of government for a state the apostles give no directions. As all power and authority come from God, so also does the power of the civil government,¹ be it an absolute or a limited monarchy or a republic, be it an aristocracy or a democracy. In virtue of its elevation above the temporal and earthly, Christianity may exist under all forms of civil government, and will always favor that which most corresponds to the historical relations and wants of a nation, and which is, therefore, relatively the best. Of course, however, in this point also, it tends steadily to improvement and to the highest possible perfection; to the abolition of hurtful laws and institutions and the introduction of good; to an organization, under which the power is judiciously distributed, the rights of the individual as well as of the commonwealth best preserved, and the moral ends of the race most efficiently promoted and most surely attained. The spirit of the gospel can, therefore, permanently tolerate neither absolute despotism, which checks the free growth of the intellectual and moral powers of the people, and subjects them to the arbitrary will of a mortal, nor the rude dominion of the mob, which shatters the foundations of public order and security, and ends at last in anarchy and barbarism. Between these two extremes there are various forms of government, under which the church may, and actually does, thrive. Nay, even oppression and persecution on the part of the reigning secular power may be favorable to her in a moral point of view, as the history of the first three centuries, the classical age of Christian martyrdom, sufficiently shows. But this is certainly not the normal state of things. The least that the church may and must demand of the state, is to be tolerated and to enjoy the protection of the laws.

The above conception of the magistrate shows his duty to rule not arbitrarily and despotically, but in the name of God and for the good of his subjects; to maintain right and law, humbly mindful of his heavy responsibility to the supreme power in heaven. For rulers stand not over, but under, the law, and only when they exercise their office as servants of God (Rom. 13 : 4), can they be in the noblest sense also the servants of the people and promote their true welfare. Tyrants and ambitious demagogues at last ruin both themselves and those they rule. The duty of subjects is obedience. This is enjoined with special emphasis by Paul

¹ Rom. 13 : 1. *Ὅτι γὰρ ἐστὶν ἐξουσία ἐκ μὴ ἀπὸ θεοῦ, αἱ δὲ οὐσαι (ἐξουσίαι) ἀπὸ θεοῦ τεταγμέναι εἰσὶν.* Into the question whether a revolutionary administration, resting on usurpation, is of divine origin and authority, Paul does not here enter. Yet such a government is certainly not excepted (comp. 1 Pet. 2 : 13) and can likewise claim obedience, provided it be actually established by the overthrow of the former regime and by the oath of allegiance, and accomplish the end of government, the administration of law and justice, v. 3, 4, and 6.

and Peter¹ on account of the rebellious spirit of the Jews,² which might easily communicate itself to the Jewish Christians, particularly under so tyrannical an administration as that of the emperor Nero. In such cases men are very likely to confound the person with the office, and summarily to repudiate the latter with the former; whereas the office remains divine and sacred, even though the temporary holder of it do the opposite of what it requires.

But of course the apostles did not require a blind, slavish subjection to any man, however high his position. They enjoined subjection "for the Lord's sake," and "for conscience sake."³ Fawning is unchristian and unworthy of a free man. With what dignity and noble self-respect did Christ stand as King of truth before Caiaphas and Pilate; and Paul, as the apostle of the risen Saviour before the Sanhedrim, before Felix, Festus, and Agrippa, and finally before the Roman emperor! Again, the subjection here required is not absolute and unlimited. In obeying the constituted authorities—thus runs the exhortation, Rom. 13—a man should, properly speaking, obey God only, whose minister the magistrate is, and whose sword he bears. And hence obedience to an earthly ruler must be measured and limited by the obligation to the heavenly; as is hinted by the significant collocation: "Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's; and unto God the things that are God's (Matt. 22 : 21). When, therefore, the temporal authority commands what is contrary to the divine will, irreligious, and immoral, or even when it violates the general rights and honor of the body politic, it comes into conflict with itself and with the law, to which it, as well as the humblest citizen, owes allegiance. It ceases to be God's minister, and loses all claim to regard. It is then the duty of the Christian to refuse to obey, and that in the way of obedience to God, and "for conscience sake," according to Peter's maxim: "We ought to obey God rather than men (Acts 5 : 29. Comp. 4 : 19). The apostles would be forbidden to confess the faith and preach the gospel neither by the Jewish nor the Roman authorities, and preferred imprisonment, exile, and death, to acting against their conscience.⁴ Yet in such cases the Christian resorts not to violent measures of resistance and rebellion, which are under any circumstances morally wrong, but to the spiritual weapons of the word, faith, prayer (comp. 1 Tim. 2 : 2), and patience. "Though we walk in the flesh," says Paul (2 Cor. 10 : 3 sq.), "we do

¹ Rom. 13 : 1. Tit. 3 : 1. 1 Pet. 2 : 13-17.

² Who, on this account, were banished from Rome under Claudius. Comp. Neander : *Apost. Gesch.* I. p. 461, and Tholuck, on Rom. 13 : 1 (p. 647).

³ 1 Pet. 2 : 13. Rom. 13 : 5.

⁴ Acts 4 : 20. 5 : 18, 20 sqq., 28 sqq. 7 : 2 sqq. 16 : 22. 17 : 6 sqq. c. 22-26. 2 Tim. 4 : 17.

not war after the flesh. For the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God." Martyrdom is a far nobler heroism than resistance with fire and sword, and leads in the end to a purer and more lasting victory. Undoubtedly, there are sometimes revolutions,¹ in which truly pious men engage as members of the body politic, from motives of patriotism and religion,² and which may be justified, at least to some extent, on Christian principles; that is, so far as the government itself has first trampled upon all law and right, has set itself against the general good, and has spurned all the lawful measures of the people for redress. Such rare cases, however, are to be counted anomalies and necessary evils. They are the last desperate efforts of nations to get rid of irremediable diseases; thunder storms in the pestilential atmosphere of society; volcanic eruptions of the natural life of history, which become impossible as fast as the spirit of Christianity works itself into civil and national life. It remains the duty of Christians in the most trying state of political affairs, to bear as long as is at all possible; to avoid war and bloodshed; rather to suffer, than to do, injustice; and to confine themselves to moral and spiritual means of resistance, which are generally slower, indeed, but always surer. They should bear in mind that our Lord and his apostles, in the days of a Tiberius, a Caligula, a Claudius, a Nero, and a Domitian, explicitly enjoined obedience; and that a bad administration may be also the rod of divine chastisement to a nation. Furthermore, very much depends undoubtedly on whether this and that individual are inwardly qualified and outwardly situated for political action; and here it is impossible to judge all by the same rule. What would be censurable here, or at least un-

¹ This name, however, is made to comprehend many acts, which have in reality nothing rebellious about them; as, for instance, the involuntary withdrawal of a people, under general indignation, from a worthless administration, which has made itself illegitimate by its own acts; or the voluntary, but orderly emancipation of a colony ripe for self-government from the unduly prolonged guardianship of the mother country, which would still treat the adult daughter as a child. To such revolutions in themselves considered (to which it were better not to apply this name at all) there can of course be no reasonable objection.

² As in the reformation in Scotland, which was at the same time a political revolution; the struggle for freedom in the Netherlands; the Puritanic revolution under Cromwell, and the North American under Washington. The Reformed theologians, particularly in England and America, are much more liberal than the Lutheran in their opinion of revolutions, and in all their political views. The good and pious Dr. Thomas Arnold vindicates even the July revolution in France as a blessed revolution, without a stain, without its parallel in history, and extols it as the most glorious example of the quick and powerful suppression of a royal insurrection against society, which the world ever saw. See his letter to Cornish, August, 1830. Yet the revolution of February, 1848, and the dethronement of Louis Philippe would probably have led him to modify his judgment considerably.

becoming, in a preacher of the gospel, may be duty for a statesman or a general.

Finally, upon the mutual relations of *nations* also Christianity has exerted an exceedingly beneficent influence. All know with what "odium generis humani," with what spiritual self-conceit, the Jews abhorred all Gentiles; with what pride of culture and with what contempt the Greeks and Romans looked down upon barbarians. By the power of the Holy Ghost these insurmountable partition-walls were demolished as by a thunder-bolt. What had never before entered into the heart of man,—that Jews and Gentiles should meet as brethren without the Gentiles passing through the door of circumcision and the whole ceremonial law,—was through faith actually accomplished in Paul's churches, at a time when the Roman eagle was mercilessly treading under foot the hardened Jewish nation and laying its sacred things in dust and ashes. Antiquity had not the remotest idea of a universal religion, which by the fellowship of faith and love should annihilate the greatest distances of time and space, and bind all the nations of the earth together in one family of God. This colossal idea Christianity revealed, and in the apostolic age began mightily to carry out; not obliterating national distinctions, but recognizing and indulging nations in their rights; yet at the same time truly drawing them together in a higher unity. The same brotherly love, which bound together the members of single communities, also united the various communities in one organism, forming the mystical body of the Redeemer and presenting a spiritual temple of wonderful symmetry and beauty. Nor is this unity limited merely to the inward, invisible life. Besides unity of spirit Paul explicitly requires also unity of body, as the necessary fruit and evidence of the former.¹ It must be admitted, to be sure, that this unity did not perfectly appear; that it was variously disturbed by the after-workings of the Jewish and Graeco-Roman national characters, and still more by Pharisaical and afterwards by Gnostic heretics. Yet it constantly tended towards perfect manifestation in real life, and in spite of all hindrances was rapidly growing towards full manhood in Christ (Eph. 2 : 21. 4 : 13). Whatever modern critics may say of the dispute between Peter and Paul, between Jewish and Gentile Christians, all the apostles perfectly agreed in their main principles. They were the personal representatives of the unity of the whole church, and all wrought, each with his peculiar gift and in his own way, towards the same end. Of this we have testimony in their writings; in their harmonious action in the council at Jerusalem, and their settlement of the great question

¹ Comp. Eph. 4 : 4: "Ὁ ἓν σῶμα καὶ ἓν πνεῦμα; 2 : 19–22; and particularly 1 Cor 12 : 13.

of the relation of the Gentiles to the gospel ; in the continual collections made by the apostle of the Gentiles in his Grecian churches for the poor Jewish Christians in Palestine. For these collections were designed by no means merely to furnish outward aid, but to attest practically, and to promote, the fraternal communion between the two great sections of the church. Thus could Paul write with truth to the Ephesians, that Christ, our peace, has by his atoning work broken down the wall between Jews and Gentiles, abolished the enmity, made of the two one new man in himself, and reconciled both in one body to God (Eph. 2 : 14-22).—Rome, with all her spirit of conquest and her wonderful governmental talents, could erect only a giant body without a soul, a mechanical conglomeration of nations, which has long ago fallen to pieces ; while the spiritual edifice of the Christian church still stands unshaken, and is continuing and will continue to enlarge itself, until it shall have wrought all nations as living stones into its walls.

¹ Gal. 2 : 10. 1 Cor. 16 : 3, 4. 2 Cor. 9 : 12-15. Rom 15 : 25-27.

CHAPTER II.

SPIRITUAL GIFTS.

§ 116. *Nature and Classification of the Charisms*

THIS power of the Apostolic church to transform and sanctify all the moral relations of life had its ground in special gifts of divine grace, with which that church was endowed. These wrought together in organic harmony for the inward edification of the body of Christ and for the conversion of the world without. They formed, as it were, the sparkling bridal ornament of this first creative epoch of Christianity. Paul treats of them particularly in the twelfth and fourteenth chapters of his first epistle to the Corinthians.

By the expression *spiritual gift* or *gift of grace*, *χάρισμα, ἐνεργημα*, the apostle means "a revelation of the Spirit for the common good ;" that is, not faith in general, which constitutes the essence of the whole Christian disposition, but a particular energy and utterance of the believer's life, prompted and guided by the Holy Ghost, for the edification of the church ; the predominant religious qualification, the peculiar divine talent of the individual, by which he is to perform his function, as an organic member, in the vital action of the whole, and promote its growth. It is, therefore, as the name itself implies, something supernaturally wrought, and bestowed by free grace (comp. 1 Cor. 12 : 11) ; yet it forms itself, like Christianity in general, upon the natural basis prepared for it in the native intellectual and moral capacities of the man, which are in fact themselves gifts of God. These natural qualities it baptizes with the Holy Ghost and with fire and rouses to higher and freer activity. The charisms are many, corresponding to the various faculties of the soul and the needs of the body of Christ ; and in this very abundance and diversity of gifts are revealed the riches of divine grace (*ποικίλη χάρις θεοῦ*, 1 Pet. 4 : 10). As, how-

¹ Φανέρωσις τοῦ πνεύματος πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον, 1 Cor. 12 : 7 ; πρὸς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τῆς ἐκκλησίας, 14 : 12, comp. Eph. 4 : 12.

ever, they all flow from the same source, are wrought by the Holy Ghost, and are gifts of free grace ; so they all subserve the same end, the edification of the body of Christ. Hence the apostle applies to them the beautiful simile of the bodily organism, the harmonious co-operation of different members.¹ To this practical design the term *administrations*, or *ministry*,² no doubt refers. Every one has "his proper gift," which best corresponds to his natural peculiarity and is indispensable for his sphere of activity.³ But several charisms may also be united in one individual. This was the case particularly with the apostles, whose office in fact originally included all other spiritual offices and their functions, even to the diaconate (comp. Acts 4 : 35, 37. 6 : 2). It is true they all had not these gifts in equal measure. John seems to have possessed especially the charisms of love, profound knowledge, and prophecy ; Peter, those of church government and discipline, miracles, and discernment of spirits (comp. Acts 5 : 1 sqq.) ; James, those of the faithful episcopal superintendence of a congregation, and silent, patient service at the altar. Most variously endowed in this respect was St. Paul, eminent alike in knowing and in setting forth divine mysteries ; fitted both for the labors of a pioneer, and for preserving and confirming established order ; at home among visions and revelations ; excelling all the Corinthians in the gift of tongues (1 Cor. 14 : 18) ; and accredited among them by signs and wonders (2 Cor. 12 : 12).

The greatest movements in the history of the world always proceed from individuals uncommonly gifted, in whom the scattered mental energies of their age are harmoniously concentrated. Of course, however, the number or strength of the charisms establishes no merit or preference as to the attainment of salvation. For this, living faith in Christ is sufficient. The charisms are free gifts of grace ; and the man is responsible, not for the possession, but for the use of them. Every spiritual gift is liable to abuse. Spiritual knowledge may puff up (1 Cor. 8 : 1). The gift of tongues may foster vanity and the disposition to monopolize the benefit of worship in self-edifying rapture (14 : 2 sqq.). And every gift is attended with heavy responsibility. Hence the apostle's earnest commendation of love, which alone would prevent such abuse of other gifts, and make their exercise pleasing to God. The value of the gifts varied ; not depending, however, as many of the Corinthians thought, on their splendor and outward effect, but on their

¹ Rom. 12 : 4-6. 1 Cor. 12 : 12 sqq.

² *Διακονία*, 1 Cor. 12 : 5, comp. Eph. 4 : 12. 1 Pet. 4 : 10.

³ 1 Cor. 7 : 7. 12 : 11. Rom. 12 : 6. 1 Pet. 4 : 10.

practical utility for building up the kingdom of God (1 Cor. 12 : 31 14 : 3 sqq.).

This extraordinary operation of the Spirit showed itself first in the apostles on the day of Pentecost, the birth-day of the church.¹ Thence it followed the steps of the heralds of the gospel as a holy energy, awakening in every susceptible soul a depth of knowledge, a power of will, and a jubilee of heavenly joy, which formed a glowing contrast with the surrounding paganism. For the Lord had promised (Mk. 16 : 17, 18), that the gifts of speaking with tongues, casting out devils, and healing, should be not confined to a few, but bestowed on the mass of believers. This blooming glory of the infant church unfolded itself most luxuriantly among the intellectual, excitable, gifted Greeks, especially in the Corinthian church. But there too the dangers and abuses attending it most frequently appeared. The usual medium of communicating spiritual gifts was the laying on of the apostles' hands (Acts 8 : 17. 19 : 6. 1 T.m. 4 : 14). Yet on Cornelius and his company the Holy Ghost fell immediately after the simple preaching of the gospel, and they began to speak with tongues and prophesy, to the great astonishment of the Jewish-Christian brethren, before Peter had baptized them (Acts 10 : 44, 46).

It is the prevailing view, that the charisms, some of them at least, as those of miracles and tongues, belong not essentially and permanently to the church, but were merely a temporary adventitious efflorescence of the apostolic period, an ornamental appendage, like the wedding-dress of a youthful bride, and afterwards disappeared from history, giving place to the regular and natural kind of moral and religious activity.² The

¹ Some of these gifts, as those of prophesy and miracles, meet us, indeed, even in the Old Testament; and before the resurrection of Christ we find the disciples healing the sick and casting out devils (Matt. 10 : 8. Mk. 6 : 13). But the *permanent* possession of the Holy Ghost as the Spirit of *Christ* was attached to his glorification and exaltation to the right hand of the Father (Jno. 7 : 39).

² So among the ancients, Chrysostom, who begins his twenty-ninth homily on the epistle to the Corinthians with these words: Τοῦτο ἅπαν τὸ χρωρίον σφόδρα ἐστὶν ἀσάφες, τὴν δὲ ἀσάφειαν ἡ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀγνοία τε καὶ ἐλλείψεις ποιεῖ, τῶν τότε μὲν συμβαινόντων, νῦν δὲ οὐ γινομένων. Among moderns compare, for example, Olshausen (*Comment.* III. p. 683), who makes the charismatic form of the Spirit's operation cease with the third century. With special distinctness this view is expressed by Trautmann as follows (*Die Apostol. Kirche.* 1848, p. 309): "As in the case of marriage the festivity of the wedding-day can not always last, any more than the inspiration of the first love when the seriousness and steady activity of the common pilgrimage just begun comes on; as, according to the universal order of nature, the blossom must fall away, if the fruit is to thrive—though, on the other hand, the fruit does not appear without the preceding blossom;—so that gush of heavenly powers on the day of Pentecost *could* not, *must* not continue in the church. It could

Irvingites, on the contrary, like the Montanists of the second century look upon these apostolic gifts and offices as the necessary conditions of a healthy state of the church at any time; make their disappearance the fault of Christianity; and hold it impossible to remedy the defects of the church without a revival of the charisms and the apostolate. They appeal to such passages as 1 Cor 12 : 27-31. Eph. 4 : 11-13, where undue emphasis is laid on "till;" and to 1 Thess. 5 : 19, 20. 1 Cor. 12 : 31. 14 : 1, where the apostle not only warns Christians against quenching the holy fire of the Spirit, but also positively requires them to strive earnestly after His miraculous gifts.¹ There seems to us to be here a mixture of truth and error on both sides. In these charisms we must distinguish between the essence and the temporary form. The first is permanent; the second has disappeared, yet breaks out at times sporadically, though not with the same strength and purity as in the apostolic period. In the nature of the case, the Holy Ghost, when first entering into humanity, came with peculiar creative power, copiousness, and freshness; presented a striking contrast to the mass of the unchristian world; and by this very exhibition of what was extraordinary and miraculous exerted a mighty attraction upon the world, without which it could never have been conquered. Christianity, however, aims to incorporate herself in the life of humanity, enter into all its conditions and spheres of activity as the ruling principle, and thus to become the second, higher nature. As it raises the natural more and more into the sphere of the Spirit, so in this very process it makes the supernatural more and more natural. These are but two aspects of one and the same operation. Accordingly we find, that as fast as the reigning not,—because the earthly human nature is not able constantly to bear the bliss of ecstasy and such mighty streams of power from above, as is shown by the example of the three chosen disciples on the Mount of Transfiguration. It must not,—because the continuance of the blossom would have hindered the development of the fruit. The splendor of these higher powers would unavoidably have fixed the eye and the heart too much on externals, and the proper object and work of faith, the inward conquest of the world, would have been neglected."

¹ So Thiersch, the (only) scientific theologian of the Irvingite community, in his *Vorlesungen über Katholicismus und Protestantismus*, I. 80 (2nd ed.); comp. my articles on *Irvingism and the church question* in the "Deutsche Kirchenfreund," Vol. III., Nos. 2, 3, 5 and 6, particularly p. 223 sqq.—The Mormons too, or "Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints," whose rise (April 6, 1830) was almost simultaneous with the appearance of Irvingism in England, notwithstanding their radical difference in spirit and conduct, likewise claim to possess all the offices and spiritual gifts of the apostolic church. Their founder, Joseph Smith, lays down, among other articles of faith: "We believe in the same organization that existed in the primitive church, viz., apostles, prophets, pastors, teachers, evangelists, &c. We believe in the gift of tongues, prophecy, revelation, visions, healing, interpretation of scriptures," &c. (*Hist. of all the Relig. Denominations in the U. S.*, p. 348, 2nd ed.).

power of heathenism is broken, those charisms, which exhibited most of the miraculous, become less frequent and after the fourth century almost entirely disappear. This is not owing to a fault of Christianity; for at that very time the church produced some of her greatest teachers, her Athanasius and her Ambrose, her Chrysostom and her Augustine. It is rather a result of its victory over the world. Spiritual gifts, however, did not then fully and forever disappear. For in times of great awakening and of the powerful descent of the Spirit, in the creative epochs of the church, we now and then observe phenomena quite similar to those of the first century, along with the corresponding dangers and abuses and even Satanic imitations and caricatures. These manifestations then gradually cease again according to the law of the development of a new principle as just stated. Such facts of experience may serve to confirm and illustrate the phenomena of the apostolic age. In judging of them, moreover, particularly of the mass of legends of the Roman church, which still lays claim to the perpetual possession of the gift of miracles, we must proceed with the greatest caution and critical discrimination. In view of the over-valuation of charisms by the Montanists and Irvingites, we must never forget, that Paul puts those which most shun free inspection, and most rarely appear, as the gift of tongues, far beneath the others, which pertain to the regular vital action of the church, and are at all times present in larger or smaller measure, as the gifts of wisdom, of knowledge, of teaching, of trying spirits, of government, and, above all, of love, that greatest, most valuable, most useful, and most enduring of all the fruits of the Spirit (1 Cor. 13).

Finally, as to the *classification* of the charisms. They have often been divided into extraordinary or supernatural in the strict sense, and ordinary or natural.¹ But this is improper, for, on the one hand, they all rest on a natural basis, even the gift of miracles (upon the dominion of mind over body, of will over matter), and, on the other, they are all supernatural. St. Paul derives them all from one and the same Spirit, and it is only their supernatural, divine element, that makes them charisms. Nor, according to what has been already said, can the division into permanent, or those which belong to the church at all times, and transitory, or such as are confined to the apostolic period, be strictly carried out. We, therefore, propose a psychological classification, on the basis of the three *primary faculties of the soul*; they all being capable and in need of sanctification, and the Holy Ghost in fact leaving none of them untouched, but turning them all to the edification of the church. With this corresponds also the classification according

¹ By Neander, also by Conybeare and Howson, *the Life and Epistles of St. Paul* (London, 1853), l. p. 459.

to the different *branches of the church-life*, in which the activity of one or the other of these faculties thus supernaturally elevated predominates. This would give us three classes of charisms: (1) Those which relate especially to *feeling and worship*; (2) Those which relate to *knowledge and theology*; (3) Those which relate to *will and church government*. To the gifts of feeling belong speaking with tongues, interpretation of tongues, and inspired prophetic discourse; to the theoretical class, or gifts of intellect, belong the charisms of wisdom and of knowledge, of teaching and of discerning spirits; to the practical class, or gifts of will, the charisms of ministration, of government, and of miracles. *Faith* lies back of all, as the motive power, taking up the whole man and bringing all his faculties into contact with the divine Spirit and under His influence and control.

§ 117. *Gifts of Feeling.*

The gifts of elevated religious feeling, which manifest themselves in divine worship, are:

1. *Speaking with tongues.* This is an abbreviation for the original, complete expression, "speaking with *new*" (divinely suggested) or "with *other*" (than the usual) "tongues" (i. e. languages), comp. Mk. 16 : 17. Acts 2 : 4. To what we have already said (§ 55) respecting this remarkable manifestation, we here add the following observations; confining ourselves, however, to the speaking with tongues in the churches founded by Paul. With this the phenomenon of Pentecost was closely allied, indeed, but in the mode of expression, and partly also in the object, by no means identical. According to the older and still very prevalent view, the speaking with tongues, even that mentioned by Paul, would mean speaking in foreign languages not learned by the apostles in the natural way,—languages, with which first they themselves on the day of Pentecost, and afterwards other believers, were suddenly endowed for the more rapid spread of the gospel. But here arise insuperable difficulties. (a) The Greek, which had become, since the conquests of Alexander the Great, not without the ordering of Providence, the prevailing written and spoken language even of the western countries of Asia, was sufficient for the preaching of the gospel in almost all parts of the Roman empire, at least in the cities; and in this empire, which embraced the whole civilized world, Christianity must first of all gain firm foothold, in order to become at all a power in history. To it, therefore, the leading apostles confined their labors; and in the Greek language, the most beautiful in the world, they composed all their writings, even when they wrote, like James, in Palestine and for Jewish Christians, or, like Paul, to the Romans or at Rome. (b) It is the

manner of the Holy Ghost not to exempt His organs from the natural difficulties connected with their work ; but rather to leave these difficulties as perpetual means of moral training, occasions for practising self-denial, patience, and perseverance. And in fact, in the case of the missionaries to the barbarian nations, in which, by the way, the gospel got no firm foothold in the first century, if He has even lightened, He has hardly quite obviated, the labor of learning the barbarous languages. (c) We find hints, that the apostles in truth did not understand all languages. Thus Paul and Barnabas seem to have been ignorant of the Lycaonian tongue ; for they discovered the idolatrous intentions of the inhabitants of Lystra, not from their conversation, but only from their preparations for sacrifice (Acts 14 : 11-14). And as to Peter, a primitive and reliable tradition describes the evangelist Mark as his interpreter, with reference perhaps also to the Latin.¹ (d) In general, it is impossible to prove, that the speaking with tongues had any close connection with the missionary work. Otherwise, to what purpose would Cornelius have spoken with tongues before Peter (Acts 10 : 46), the disciples of John before Paul (19 : 6), and the Corinthians in their *congregational* meetings, and not rather before the unconverted ? (e) Paul makes glossolaly, 1 Cor. 14 : 14-19, antithetic, not to the other tongue, but, as the language of the Spirit (*πνεῦμα*), to the language of the understanding (*νοῦς*) and of every-day life, whether Hebrew, Greek, or Latin. Nor, had it been a speaking in foreign languages, would he have compared it to the indistinct tones of the harp or the trumpet, and declared it something unintelligible to all the hearers without the gift of interpretation ; for in a large assembly there must have been at least some acquainted with the tongues spoken. The speaking with tongues, therefore, was unintelligible, because it varied, not from the vernacular, but from *all* tongues, even the barbarian ; and, by his very comparison of it with the latter, the apostle at the same time distinguishes it from them (14 : 11). (f) Finally, the oldest and original phrase, as used by our Lord himself (Mk. 16 : 17) : “to speak with *new* tongues,” seems of itself to point not to foreign dialects—for these were not new,—but to a language different from *all* dialects in use, a language of the new Spirit poured out upon the disciples.

If now, after all, the orthodox view has in the most natural sense of the second chapter of Acts, v. 6-11, strong, and indeed its only, support, we must regard the peculiar form in the first creative appearance

¹ Papias, in Euseb. *H. E.* III. 39 : Μάρκος μὲν ἐρμηνευτὴς Πέτρου γενόμενος, etc. Tertullian : *Adv. Marc.* IV. 5 : “Cujus (Petri) interpretes Marcus.” Irenæus : *Adv. Iacr.* III. 1 (in Euseb. V. 8) : Μάρκος ὁ μαθητὴς καὶ ἐρμηνευτὴς Πέτρου, etc. See Drigen, Jerome, and others.

of this gift on the birth-day of the church, not as the rule, but as an exception; and to explain the apostles' mysterious (and certainly but temporary) grasping of the languages of the assembled multitude (which were, however, almost all dialects of the Hebrew and Greek), we must suppose them to have been in such a psychological state, that they, in the first place, did not speak in languages not represented there (Chinese, Celtic, German, etc.), and, in the second place, were understood only by the susceptible hearers, being regarded by the ungodly as drunken.¹ In all other passages, on the contrary, where this spiritual gift is spoken of,² nothing requires us to understand by it a miraculous communication and use of the languages of foreign nations.

Speaking with tongues, as described from life by Paul, himself a master in it, is rather an *involuntary, psalmodic, praying or singing in a state of spiritual ecstasy and of the deepest absorption in the mysteries of the divine life*, when the human mind loses its self-control, and becomes a more or less passive organ of the Holy Ghost, an instrument, as it were, upon which He plays His heavenly melodies. Primarily, therefore, it has nothing to do with the outward missionary work. It is an inward act of worship, an ecstatic dialogue of the soul with God in a peculiar language, inspired immediately by the Spirit, elevated, but obscure and desultory, admitting of a certain variety of form according to the character of the matter (*προσεύχεσθαι* or *ψάλλειν*), and perhaps according to the speaker's mother tongue and the degree of his excitement.³ In precisely the same sense the apostle uses the phrase: "to speak in the Spirit, or by the Spirit,"⁴ and distinguishes this from the ordinary speaking, which proceeds from and is mediated by the understanding, the self-controlling, thinking, and reflecting consciousness (*νοῦς*). Vehemently borne along by the Spirit, forgetting the world and himself, enraptured in the immediate enjoyment of the Deity, the speaker with tongues broke forth in a communication of divine mysteries, or a song of praise for the wonderful works of eternal Love.⁵ But instead of

¹ The great condensation of Luke's narrative suggests the possibility that he has omitted to record the appearance, in itself highly probable, of other kindred gifts on the day of Pentecost; and that it was not the speaking with tongues itself, but perhaps the *interpretation* of them and the *prophetic* discourses of the apostles, which took place in the various (Hebrew and Greek) dialects of those present. For according to Paul's representation the speaking with tongues was utterly unintelligible to the uninitiated, and even to the congregation, without an interpreter.

² Acts 10 : 46. 19 : 6, and in the 12th and 14th chaps. of 1 Corinthians.

³ Hence the plural *γλώσσαι*, and the expression *γένη γλωσσῶν*, 1 Cor. 12 : 10, 28.

⁴ *Πνεύματι λαλεῖν μυστήρια*, 1 Cor 14 : 2; *προσεύχεσθαι, ἐὺλογεῖν τῷ πνεύματι*, v 15 and 16. The dative here denotes the means.

⁵ 1 Cor. 14 : 4-16. Comp. Acts 2 : 11. 10 : 46.

edifying the congregation, he edified on'y himself, unless either he or another translated what he said from this celestial language to that of every-day life (1 Cor. 14 : 2 sqq.). No one, who was not himself in ecstasy, could understand those lofty, solemn, mysterious tones, sounding, as it were, from the angel-world. To the uninitiated they were like the undistinguishable sounds of a musical instrument, or of a barbarous language, or, it might be, of a maniac,¹ especially if many thus conversed with God at once (v. 23). To the unbeliever this spiritual language was at best a dumb sign (v. 22, *εἰς σημεῖον*), suggesting to him the presence of a supernatural power and leading him to serious reflection. But the main object was the edification of the speaker *himself* (*οὐκ ἀνθρώποις λαλεῖ, ἀλλὰ τῷ θεῷ*, v. 2 ; *ἑαυτὸν οἰκοδομεῖ*, v. 4). Hence Paul gives the preference to the gift of prophecy, which addressed itself directly and intelligibly to the congregation ; whereas the Corinthians were disposed to overrate the gift of tongues, as it made a greater show and undoubtedly afforded the speaker himself peculiar enjoyment. It easily led, however, to a refined egoism and indulgence in a spiritual intoxication of feeling. To prevent abuse as much as possible, the apostle directs that the congregation should not all speak with tongues confusedly together, but at most three on one occasion, and they one after another in proper order, and that one should always interpret the ecstatic prayers and doxologies for the benefit of the congregation. And if no one was present with the gift of interpretation, the speaker with tongues was not to express himself publicly at all, but to communicate silently with God (v. 27, 28). From this it appears, that the speaker with tongues, though he had not absolute control of his gift, could yet check the impulse of the Spirit, or at least refrain from audibly giving vent to it.²

2. To the gift of tongues is immediately attached that of *interpretation* (*ἐρμηνεία γλωσσῶν*, 1 Cor. 12 : 10, 36. 14 : 5, 13, 26–28). This, so far as it calls into requisition the thinking faculty, might be reckoned also to the second class. It is the gift of translating the language of ecstasy or of the Spirit (*πνεῦμα*), into the language of the ordinary consciousness or reflective understanding (*νοῦς*), and bringing it down to the

¹ Perhaps **with** reference to the divine *μανία*, the *ἐνθουσιασμός* of Pythia in giving out oracles, which certainly forms a parallel in Heathendom to the Christian glossolaly. In the ecstatic demonstrations of Montanism there was a confusion of natural and supernatural, heathen and Christian, elements.

² The liturgical prayers (such as the Gloria in excelsis, the Te Deum), spiritual songs, and chorals of the church might be regarded as in some measure a compensation for speaking with tongues. Respecting the ecstatic discourses and exhortations in the Irvingite congregations see the statement of Hohl, § 55, and the pamphlet of the 'evangelist' Böhm : *Reden mit Zungen und Weissagen*, etc. Berlin. 1848.

comprehension of the whole congregation.¹ For this reason Paul requires this gift as the complement to that of tongues; as by it alone the latter is made edifying to the hearers and conducive to the general good. Wieseler thinks² that these two charisms always went together, and that the speaker with tongues was always his own interpreter. The passages, 14 : 2, 4, 16, are not, however, conclusive for this; while 12 : 10 (ἐ τ ῖ ρ ρ δὲ γένῃ γλωσσῶν, ἄ λ λ ρ δὲ ἐρμηνεία γλωσσῶν), is rather against it. This may, indeed, have been the rule; and from 14 : 5, 13 it would seem, that the speaker with tongues, when he returned from the state of ecstasy into that of sober reflection, himself interpreted what he had seen and enjoyed, for the edification of the assembly. According to 14 : 28, however, there were also speakers with tongues who could not interpret, and who, therefore, were advised to keep silence in the assembly.

3. Closely allied to the gift of tongues is that of *prophecy* (χάρισμα προφητείας, 1 Cor. 12 : 10, 29. 14 : 1 sqq. 1 Thess. 5 : 20. 1 Tim. 1 : 18. 4 : 14). It commonly appeared at the same time and in immediate connection with the gift of tongues (Acts 19 : 6). This too is an elevated utterance, under the influence of divine illumination and revelation, but not in proper ecstasy. The speaker's self-consciousness is in perfect exercise, and his address has direct reference to the awakening, exhorting, and encouraging of the *congregation*, without needing to be interpreted. It is for this reason that the apostle places prophecy above speaking with tongues (1 Cor. 14 : 1-5). On the other hand, this gift is akin to that of teaching (χάρισμα διδασκαλίας); but proceeds less from calmly-working thought and more from intuition and deeply-agitated feeling, addresses the affections, and tends more to excite and carry away the hearers. Paul, therefore, places prophets also before teachers (Eph. 4 : 11. 1 Cor. 12 : 28).

As to the matter of the prophetic discourses; by prophecy in the strict sense, it is true, we understand the prediction of *future* events, directly or indirectly connected with the kingdom of God. So the "prophet," Agabus, in the church at Antioch, foretold the Palestinian famine of the year 44, that the Antiochian Christians might make timely provision for their suffering brethren (Acts 11 : 28). So, as Paul was going for the last time to Jerusalem, his arrest was repeatedly predicted to him on his way, and finally in Caesarea by the prophesying daughters

¹ According to the popular view of glossolaly, the gift of interpretation would consist rather in the ability to translate from foreign languages into the mother tongue. But this power, just as the knowledge of foreign languages, may be acquired in an altogether natural way (and many an infidel has been far more proficient in it than any of the apostles); whereas to constitute a charism the supernatural aid of the Holy Ghost is indispensable.

² "Theol. Studien und Kritiken," 1838, p. 719 sqq

of Philip, and by the same Agabus in a symbolical action (20 : 23. 21 : 4, 11). So, again, prophets foretold the rise of dangerous errorists ; the appearance of Antichrist and his work ; the second coming of the Lord ; and the fate of those whom he will find alive.¹ Here belongs, also, the nomination of an individual for a particular office or duty in the kingdom of God. Thus the Spirit by the prophetic utterances of the congregation called Barnabas and Paul to the work of the Gentile mission (Acts 13 : 1, 2), and Timothy to be an evangelist.² But the office of the prophet must by no means be limited to this even in the Old Testament, much less in the New. It was the prophet's duty to unveil, not only the future, but also the present ; the counsels of God, the deep meaning of the Holy Scriptures, the secret states of the human heart, the abyss of sin, and the glory of redeeming grace. According to the representation of Paul in the fourteenth chapter of 1 Corinthians, the prophetic gift showed itself generally in awakening and comforting discourses, by which susceptible Jews and Gentiles, present at the worship of God, were powerfully impressed, rebuked, and called to repentance, and believers were strengthened and animated anew (v. 3, 4, 22-25, 31. Acts 4 : 36). For the spread of the gospel, therefore, for evangelists or itinerant missionaries, this gift was specially important.³

But along with the true prophets there were also false. Together with genuine divine inspiration appeared also a mock inspiration, merely natural or perhaps diabolical. This called for the gift of discerning spirits, of which we are soon to speak. To prevent disorder and abuse, the apostle directs, as in the case of speaking with tongues, that the prophets should prophesy not all at once, but one after another, that all may receive instruction and exhortation (1 Cor. 14 : 31). He also requires that the spirits of the prophets be subject to the prophets (v. 32) ; that is, that the prophetic excitement and inspiration be controlled and regulated by reason and regard for the wants of the church. The prophets, therefore, were not so much like mere passive organs as the speakers with tongues. They had a certain freedom, and

¹ 2 Thess. 2 : 1-12. 1 Tim. 4 : 1 sqq. 1 Jno. 2 : 18 sqq. 2 Pet. 3 : 3, and the whole Apocalypse.

² Acts 16 : 2 compared with 1 Tim. 1 : 18. 4 : 14.

³ Powerful evangelists and revival-preachers, as, for instance, St. Bernard and perhaps John Wesley and Whitefield, whose words struck like lightning and everywhere kindled life, we might call prophets in this more general sense. To profound church-teachers, also, who bring out the hidden treasures of the holy Scriptures, and with creative inspiration break new paths for theology and the church, this term may be applied ; and in this more theoretical aspect the charism of prophecy belongs at the same time to the second class of spiritual gifts.

hence were responsible for the exercise and application of their gift. Still less can an ordinary preacher excuse any extravagances and irregularities in his discourses or among his hearers by referring them to the irresistible impulse of the Spirit.

§ 118. *Gifts of Knowledge.*

The theoretical charisms, which regard chiefly the doctrine and theology of the church, are :

1. The gifts of *wisdom* and of *knowledge* (λόγος σοφίας and λόγος γνώσεως, 1 Cor. 12 : 8; comp. πνεῦμα σοφίας, Eph. 1 : 17). The two are evidently closely allied, and denote in general a deep insight into the nature and structure of the divine plan of redemption and the whole system of saving doctrine. But as the apostle gives us no more particular information, it is hard to define the difference. According to the common view (that of Neander, for instance, and Olshausen), knowledge refers to theory, wisdom to practice; while other interpreters (as Bengel) reverse this relation; and passages may be quoted on both sides.¹ Perhaps knowledge is more intuitive and immediate, without regard to form; while the latter takes in the accessory idea of dialectic development and artistic, brilliant discourse, as, for example, in the case of Apollos. This view enables us most easily to explain the bad sense in which σοφία is used in the first epistle to the Corinthians, with reference to the desire of the Greeks for wisdom and their over-valuation of eloquence and beauty of style (1 : 18 sqq. 2 : 1 sqq.)²

2. The gift of *teaching* (διδασκαλία, Rom. 12 : 7, διδάσκαλοι, Eph. 4 : 11. 1 Cor. 12 : 28 sq.). The current view makes the gift of teaching coincide with that just spoken of, the λόγος σοφίας and the λόγος γνώσεως being simply two branches of this διδασκαλία.³ It is true, in 1 Cor. 12 : 7-10, where the several charisms are enumerated, διδασκαλίá is not separately mentioned. But the gifts of helps and governments (ἀντιλήψεις and κυβερνήσεις, v. 28) are also wanting here. The catalogue is, therefore, incomplete; and it is a supposable case, that the same person may possess a very high degree of spiritual knowledge and yet very little power of communication. The gift of teaching always includes, indeed, the gift of knowledge, but not *vice versa*. The distinguishing feature of this gift, therefore, is the ability to unfold the treasures of the divine

¹ In 1 Cor. 1 : 17 sqq. 2 : 1 sqq., and 8 : 1 both are evidently theoretical, while on the other hand in Col. 1 : 9. σοφία in distinction from σύνεσις, and in Rom. 2 : 20. 15 : 14, γνώσις. are used in the practical sense.

² Yet in 1 Cor. 8 : 1 it is also said of knowledge, that it "puffeth up;" that is, if separated from love. So Paul, 1 Tim. 6 : 20, speaks of a ψευδώνυμος γνώσις.

³ So, for instance, Neander, *Apost. Gesch.* I. 245 : "In the charism of διδασκαλία we find again the distinction of what are termed λόγος γνώσεως and λόγος σοφίας."

word and of Christian experience in clear, connected discourse for the instruction and edification of the congregation. While the prophetic address, in the glow of inspiration, speaks from feeling to feeling and aims chiefly to rouse and re-animate; the didactic discourse is addressed, more in the form of logical exposition, to the understanding, and serves for the advancement and perfecting of the already established church. Hence at the beginning and at the creative epochs of the church, in the work of missions, and in seasons of powerful revival, prophecy comes out most prominently. In times of quiet stability, on the contrary, and of regular growth, the gift of teaching predominates. Yet neither can ever be dispensed with; both are essential qualifications for every minister.

3. The gift of *discerning spirits* (διακρίσεις πνευμάτων, 1 Cor. 12 : 10 Comp. 14 : 29. 1 Thess. 5 : 19–21. 1 Jno. 4 : 1) is of a critical character, concerned primarily with distinguishing true prophets from false, divine inspiration from human or perhaps Satanic. For where the powers of light are specially active, there also, according to the law of antagonisms, the powers of darkness also most bestir themselves. “Where God builds a church, Satan builds a chapel by its side.” So far this charism bears the same relation to prophecy, as the gift of interpretation to that of tongues, and serves as an effectual corrective of extravagances and abuses. But then the discerning of spirits in the wider sense denotes in general the power of keenly discriminating between the truth and error, which might be mixed together in the discourse of a genuine prophet—for none but the apostles have any claim to infallibility,—as also the power of judging characters and discerning motives hidden from the common eye. So, for example, by this gift Paul saw through the sorcerer, Elymas (Acts 13 : 8–11), and Peter detected Simon Magus (8 : 20–23), and especially the hypocrites, Ananias and his wife, who imagined they could impose on the Holy Ghost dwelling in the apostles (5 : 1 sqq.). This sacred criticism is, therefore, indispensable, not only to preserve purity of doctrine, but also for the proper administration of church government and discipline. Nay, every Christian should exercise it in a certain degree; for Paul enjoins upon the congregation without distinction: “Prove all things; hold fast that which is good” (1 Thess. 5 : 21).

§ 119. *Gifts of Will.*

The practical charisms, which have special reference to the Christian life and church government, are :

1. The gift of outward *ministration* and *help* (ἀντιλήψεις, 1 Cor. 12 : 28; διακονία, Rom 12 : 7. Comp 1 Pet. 4 : 11). This comprehends,

doubtless, the various duties of the office of deacon, and hence above all the care of the poor and the sick, the silent and unassuming, but none the less necessary and honorable, work of self-denying love, which devotes either property or, what is more, all time and strength to the service of the needy in the church.

2. The gift of *church government and care of souls* (κυβερνήσεις, *gubernationes*, 1 Cor. 12 : 28). This charism is needful for all rulers (προϊστάμενοι Rom. 12 : 8) and pastors (ποιμένες, Eph. 4 : 11) of the church, or, to use their official title, for all (presbyter-) bishops, whose duty it is to feed the flock entrusted to them by the Holy Ghost (comp. Acts 20 : 28. 1 Pet. 5 : 2). But it was needful in the highest degree for the apostles, who had charge, not only of a particular congregation, but of the whole church. For the more extensive and varied the field of labor, the more necessary is the talent for organizing and the genius for governing. In the use of this gift there is great temptation to ambition, hierarchical arrogance, and tyranny over conscience, of which so many bishops, patriarchs, and popes have been guilty. Hence Peter earnestly warns the elders against perverting their power to selfish purposes (ἀστακυριεύειν τῶν κλήρων), and holds before them the pattern of the great Chief Shepherd, who in self-sacrificing love laid down his life for the sheep (1 Pet. 5 : 1-4).

3. The gift of *miracles* (χαρίσματα ἰαμάτων, 1 Cor. 12 : 9, 28; δυνάμεις, v. 28, 29; also ἐνεργήματα δυνάμεων, v. 10, or δύναμις σημείων καὶ τεράτων, Rom. 15 : 19. Comp. 2 Cor. 12 : 12). This embraces all those supernatural healings of bodily infirmities and demoniacal states, all those miraculous signs, which the apostles and apostolic men, like Stephen (Acts 6 : 8), wrought, by virtue of an extraordinary power of will,¹ in the name of Jesus and for his glory, by word, prayer, or laying on of hands. What is related of the healing power of Peter's shadow (Acts 5 : 15), and of Paul's handkerchiefs and aprons (19 : 12), borders on the magical. In the first passage, however, Luke gives us only the popular idea, leaving it undecided, whether this was well-founded, or sheer superstition. At any rate the healing power cannot have lain in these mere outward things, but only in the condescending grace of God, and must have been mediated somehow by the will of the worker of the

¹ This is doubtless what we are to understand by πίστις, 1 Cor. 12 : 9, where it is mentioned as a special charism. It is not faith in general; for this, as already remarked, lies at the bottom of all the charisms, as the principle which works in them. The faith here in view is an extraordinary degree of practical moral energy, communicated by the Holy Ghost, in which reveals itself the superiority of sanctified will over nature. It is the *fides miraculosa*, the faith which removes mountains and makes the impossible possible. Comp. 1 Cor. 13 : 2 and Matt. 17 : 20.

miracle and the faith of its subject. We must suppose the same in the analogous case of the healing of the woman with an issue of blood by her touching the hem of the Saviour's garment (Matt. 9 : 20-22. Mk. 5 : 25-34.) Between the miracles ascribed by Luke to the two leading apostles, as wrought by them or for them, we may observe a certain parallelism. Compare, for example, the healing of the lame man at Jerusalem by Peter (Acts 3 : 1 sqq.) and of the cripple at Lystra by Paul (14 : 8 sqq.); the rebuke of Simon Magus (8 : 20 sqq.) and of Elymas (13 : 8 sqq.); the raising of Tabitha from the dead at Joppa (9 : 40) and the restoration of Eutychus at Troas (20 : 9 sqq.); finally, the miraculous liberation of Peter (5 : 19. 12 : 7 sqq.) and that of Paul (16 : 23 sqq.).

Miracles were outward credentials of the divine mission of the apostles and their doctrine in a time and among a people, which could be awakened to faith only by such sensible means. Hence they did not appear indiscriminately, but according to the circumstances and necessities of each particular occasion. In the exercise of the gift of miracles the apostles never suffered themselves to be guided by private, personal considerations, but solely by regard for the glory of Christ and the advancement of his kingdom. When Timothy was sick, Paul recommended a natural remedy (1 Tim. 5 : 23), and he left Trophimus sick in Miletus (2 Tim. 4 : 20. Comp. Phil. 2 : 26 sq.). At Athens, where Heathenism presented itself more in a philosophical form, and where his Epicurean and Stoic hearers, in their skepticism, would probably have sneered at miraculous demonstrations of power as jugglery, Paul wrought no miracles; while at Ephesus, the centre of heathen and Jewish magic and sorcery, he wrought many.

§ 120. *Charity.*

Valuable and splendid as are all these gifts, they are still surpassed by *charity*, which alone puts on them the crown of perfection (1 Cor. 12 : 31—13 : 13). By this we are to understand, not a mere inclination and emotion, however pure, or natural benevolence and philanthropy, however disinterested; but a disposition wrought by the Holy Ghost, springing from the consciousness of reconciliation; a vital supernatural energy, uniting all the powers of the soul with God, the essence of all love, and consecrating them to the service of his kingdom. Without this, even speaking with the tongues of angels were but "sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal." Without this, the boldest prophecy, the most comprehensive knowledge, and a power of faith which could call the impossible into being, have no abiding worth or practical importance. Without this, the other gifts would separate, pass into the

service of ambition, and thus ruin themselves and the whole church. Without this, the gift of tongues fosters vanity and enthusiasm; knowledge puffs up (1 Cor. 8 : 1-3); and the gift of government degenerates to despotism. As faith lies at the bottom of all the charisms, and forms their common root; so also love is properly not a gift by itself, but the *soul of all gifts*, binding them together like the members of a body, making them work in and for each other, and directing them to the common good. It maintains the unity of the manifold divine powers, subordinates everything individual and personal to the general, and makes it subservient to the interests of the body of Christ.

For another reason love transcends all the other gifts. It never ceases. In the future world the other gifts will disappear, at least in their present nature. The mysterious tongues will cease in the land, where all understand them. Prophecies will be lost in their fulfillment, like the aurora in the noon. Knowledge, which on earth is but partial, will merge in immediate, perfect intuition. Nay, faith itself will be exchanged for sight, and hope for fruition. But love, by which even here we have fellowship of life with God through Christ, remains love. It changes not. It rises not out of its element. It passes not into another sphere. It only deepens and expands. It can never gain higher ground, never reach another and better form of union with God; but only continues to grow stronger, fuller, more lively, and more blissful (1 Cor. 13 : 8-13).¹

Hence Paul exhorts the Corinthians, who were inclined to place an undue estimate on the more striking and showy charisms, to strive after charity above all, as the greatest and most precious gift, the cardinal and universal Christian virtue, of which Heathenism had scarce the faintest notion.² And he commends it in the most glowing and attractive description ever uttered by tongue of man or angel,—in language, which comes to the heart with perpetual freshness, like music from the bowers of eternity, and is of itself enough to put beyond all doubt the divinity of Christianity and its infinite superiority to all other religions.—“And now (in the present earthly life of Christians) abide faith, hope, charity, these three; but the greatest of these is charity.”

¹ “Charity,” says Bishop Warburton somewhere, “regulates and perfects all the other virtues, and is in itself in no want of a reformer.”

² “Heathenism,” observes Olshausen (Comment. III. p. 698), “did not get beyond *ἔρως*. It knew nothing of the Christian *ἀγάπη*. In the Old Testament nothing but stern *δύκη* reigns. Eros, even in its purest, noblest form, is but the result of want, the longing for love, springing from the consciousness, that we have not what is worth loving. But the Christian *ἀγάπη* is the streaming forth of positive love. God himself dwelling in the believer, so that streams of living water flow out of him (Jno. 4 : 14).¹

CHAPTER III.

CHURCH DISCIPLINE.

§ 12.. *Imperfections of the Apostolic Church.*

POWERFUL and pure as was the operation of the Holy Ghost in the first Christian communities, the ideal of the church was by no means perfectly realized. To the church and her individual members *holiness* is, indeed, explicitly ascribed as an essential characteristic. The church is, in fact, the body and the bride of the Redeemer, who has washed her with His blood; the temple and organ of the Holy Ghost, who never leaves himself without a witness in her. But this holiness of the church is not complete at once. It is growing, progressive—as are also her other attributes of unity and catholicity—and will be perfected only at the second coming of Christ. This is unequivocally implied in such passages as Eph. 4 : 12–16 and 5 : 26, 27. And this continual process of sanctification is not always a quiet, unresisted advancement from the lower to the higher, but an almost incessant conflict with remaining sin, a subduing of diseases and violent disturbances, a surmounting of obstacles within and without. We must, therefore, though without abstractly separating the two, still observe a due distinction here between the principle and its perfect development, between the ideal of the church in Christ and its real manifestation among men. (Compare § 4 and 5.)

Accordingly the apostles, high as they tower above ordinary Christians, never lay claim to sinless perfection. None but one could ask without revolting arrogance and in the well-grounded consciousness of absolute holiness: “Which of you convinceth me of sin?” (Jno. 8 : 46.) James teaches of himself with others: “In many things we offend all,” and declares only those to be perfect, who offend not in a single word (3 : 2); which certainly can hardly be said of any man this side the

¹ That the Saviour in this passage claims actual sinlessness and not merely freedom from error, is shown by Ullmann: *Die Sündlosigkeit Jesu*, p. 64 sqq. (5th ed.)

grave. Paul confesses, that he is not yet perfect, and has not yet attained the goal, but follows after it, forgetting what is behind, and reaching forth towards what lies before him (Phil. 3 : 12-14); that he has the heavenly treasure in an earthen vessel, that the power of God may be made manifest in his weakness (2 Cor. 4 : 7 sqq.); that he mortifies his body and keeps it in subjection, lest, having preached to others, he himself should be a cast-away (1 Cor. 9 : 27). He lays down the general rule, that we must enter the kingdom of God through much tribulation, which is always directly or indirectly connected with sin (Acts 14 : 22); that we are saved, indeed, but in hope (Rom. 8 : 24). For his personal humiliation, and to aid him in his struggle against the temptation to spiritual pride, there was given him a painful malady, further unknown to us, "a thorn in the flesh" (2 Cor. 12 : 7). John rebukes all assumption of sinlessness in mortal man as self-deception and falsehood. "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves and the truth is not in us. If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness" (1 Jno. 1 : 8, 9).

After such concessions, we cannot wonder, that history, at once to humble and to encourage, records some, though few, wrong steps in the lives of these holy men ; showing, that they were men like ourselves, as James reminds us respecting one of the greatest prophets of the Old Testament (5 : 17). We have already noticed the war in dispute (the *παροξυσμός*) between Paul and Barnabas, which led to their temporary separation (Acts 15 : 36-39 Comp. § 70); Paul's violent, but quickly checked anger at the high-priest Ananias (23 : 3 sqq. Comp. § 83); the inconsistency of Peter at Antioch, into which he fell under the momentary influence of his natural fear of man, and for which he bore, with genuine Christian humility, the heavy charge of hypocrisy from a younger, or at any rate much later called apostle (Gal. 2 : 11. Comp. § 70).¹

¹ On this the great Augustine, in his Commentary on Galatians, makes the following excellent remarks: "The one who suffered himself to be corrected, appears here still more worthy of admiration and harder to imitate, than the one who corrected him. For it is easier to see what may be improved in others, than for each to see what needs improvement in himself, and cheerfully to receive correction therein, whether from himself, or, what is still harder, from another. This serves as a grand example of humility; and the doctrine of humility is the most important in the Christian system of morals; for by humility love is preserved" Comp. Neander's *Kleine Gelegenheitschriften*, p. 18.—The generosity and forgiving disposition of Peter is especially manifest from his epistles where he endorses the doctrines preached by Paul, and after having spoken of the "long suffering of our Lord," and of the prospect of sinless happiness in the world to come, alludes (2 Pet. 3 : 15, 16) to those very epistles in one of which his own censure is recorded, and calls their author his "beloved brother!"

Of course, however, these were only transient failings, which stimulated to greater fidelity and watchfulness. For the general distinction, in fact, between the regenerate and the unregenerate is, not that the former are altogether free from sin, but that, if in unguarded moments they stumble or fall, they humble themselves before God, and if necessary before men; like Peter, they go out and weep bitterly, and find no peace, till they obtain forgiveness from the Lord.

If, therefore, even the apostles did not rise to the ideal of moral perfection, much less did their churches. This is evident from every part of the New Testament, which, in truth, consists largely of exhortations, warnings, and reproofs, not only for unbelievers, but also for believers. For Christians of Jewish extraction, especially for such as had been Pharisees, it was very hard to break away from a certain religious mechanism, from the bondage of the law and of ceremonies, and to rise from narrow particularism into the sphere of evangelical freedom. Of this the fifteenth chapter of Acts and almost all Paul's epistles give ample testimony. And then, on the other hand, the Gentile Christians were under great temptation to run to the opposite extreme of a false, licentious freedom. In the Palestinian congregations we frequently find an anxious, slavish piety, uncharitable prejudices against the free apostle of the Gentiles, and latterly, at the writing of the epistle to the Hebrews, which was addressed to those congregations on the approach of the heavy judgment of God on Jerusalem, a strong tendency to formal apostasy from the Christian faith. Many of the Galatians, deluded by Pharisaical false teachers, had become unfaithful to their instructors and benefactors, "fallen from grace," and returned to "the weak and beggarly elements of the world." In the Corinthian church Paul had to censure the carnal sectarian spirit, the seeking after wisdom, the partaking of the heathen sacrificial meals, an inclination to unchastity, and a scandalous profanation of the Lord's Supper. Ephesus, Colosse, and other churches of Asia Minor, were threatened with Judaistic and Gnostic heresies, which are always more or less attended with practical errors. John found it necessary to lift his voice in those regions, not only against theoretical antichrists, who had gone out from the Christian communion, but also against lax morality, and a dangerous confusion of the love of God and our neighbor with the love of the world and of self. And when he wrote his apocalyptic epistles to the seven churches, a considerable number of them were by no means in a flourishing state. Ephesus had left her first love and was required earnestly to repent, lest her candlestick should be removed. In Pergamus many had been led away by the errors of the Nicolaitans. In Thyatira pagan vices were current. Sardis had a name to live, but was dead. And in

Laodicea there reigned a spiritual satiety and lukewarm indifference, worse than even open hatred of the gospel ; so that the Spirit threatened to "spew this church out of His mouth," unless it should repent.

A state of absolute purity, therefore, has never yet existed in the history of the church, nor can be attained till the second coming of Christ. Nay, there may exist in the earthly and unfolding state of the church the grievous sin of real hypocrisy. John (1 Ep. 2 : 19) expressly distinguishes an inward, and a merely outward fellowship with the church. "In a great house," says Paul with reference to two pernicious errorists, Hymeneus and Philetus, "there are not only vessels of gold and silver, but also of wood and of earth ; and some to honor, and some to dishonor" (2 Tim. 2 : 20). And the Lord alone can distinguish with absolute infallibility the true and the false, the living and the dead members in the outward organism of his kingdom. He "knoweth them that are his" (v. 19) ; and to separate entirely the tares from the wheat, is a work he has reserved for himself at the harvest (Matt. 13 : 30).

§ 122. *Nature and Object of Discipline.*

If now, on the one hand, a mixture of error with truth, of sin with holiness, is unavoidable in the actual church, and yet, on the other hand, holiness is essential to her idea and design ; there arises the necessity of *discipline*, without which no well-ordered society of any kind can stand. By the exercise of admonition and discipline the church expresses her abhorrence of all evil, and is continually purging herself of all the ungodly elements which war against her nature, from "all filthiness of the flesh and spirit" (Eph. 5 : 25-27. 2 Cor. 7 : 1). By this means, also, she formally expels from her communion dangerous errorists and gross sinners, so soon as they are known as such, and when repeated admonition, first private, then public,¹ has proved of no avail ; and thus she restores her violated dignity, her proper character as the body of the Lord.² Neglecting discipline, she would necessarily come to a stand, implicate herself in the sins of her unworthy members, give free scope to the poison in her own organism, and thus procure her own dissolution. Relaxation of discipline is always a suspicious symptom ; while the strict and energetic administration of it bespeaks moral earnestness and zeal for purification. One can feel no repugnance, therefore, to the stern precepts of the apostles on this point. John forbids even saluting a willful and incorrigible Gnostic heretic (2 Jno. 10 :

¹ Comp. Matt. 18 : 15-18. Lu. 17 : 3. Tit. 3 : 10.

² Rom. 16 : 17. 2 Thess. 3 : 6-15. 1 Cor. 5 : 2, 6-12 2 Cor. 6 : 14-7 : 1. Eph. 5 : 11. 2 Tim. 2 : 21. 2 Jno. 10 11

11), Paul prohibits eating with a fornicator, a glutton, an idolator, a railer, a drunkard, or an extortioner, who still calls himself a brother, and claims the privileges of the church (1 Cor. 5 : 9-12), and he peremptorily requires that such an offender be put out of the Christian communion (v. 13), with allusion to the injunction of the law of Moses.

Church discipline is, therefore, primarily a process of *self-purification* in the church, designed for the restoration and maintenance of her essential attribute of holiness. But it necessarily has reference also to the good of the offender, on whom it is exercised. And here appears its evangelical element; since even in its strongest form, the anathema, it has in view not punishment, but *correction*, the reclaiming of the *soul*, to which the temporal punishment is intended to serve only as a means. This is what the apostle intends by delivering a backslider "unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus" (1 Cor. 5 : 5). In this much-mistaken passage, as in the book of Job and 2 Cor. 12 : 7, Satan is conceived as a servant of God in the wider sense, as a being to whom power is committed to send upon men certain bodily chastisements and afflictions, but under the oversight and for the ends of Providence. So in the case before us, Paul expected, that God by means of the prince of darkness would bring upon the excommunicated fornicator at Corinth some heavy trial, or sudden calamity, but that this punishment might arrest the sinful course of the unfortunate man, drive him to repentance, and result in his salvation in the day of the second coming of Christ. For not only in the Old Testament, but also in the New, diseases and premature death sometimes appear as direct visitations from God for certain sins (1 Cor. 11 : 30. Jas. 5 : 14-16). In precisely the same way the apostle proceeds with Hymeneus and Philetus, who by their false teachings had brought mischief and confusion into the church. These also he "delivered unto Satan" by excommunication, "that they might learn not to blaspheme" (1 Tim. 1 : 20). According to the same view we shall doubtless have to understand the anathema which he utters (Gal. 1 : 8) upon all adulterators of the one, unchangeable gospel of Jesus Christ, neither as a mere outward excommunication, nor as an irrevocable, final sentence of damnation, but as the imprecation of some divine judgment, which, as a last desperate remedy, might effect, if possible, the conversion of the heretic.² Thus the design of discipline, in

¹ Deut. 17 : 7, 12. 19 : 19. 21 : 21. The admonition of the offender corresponds nearly to the first stage of the Jewish ban (Niddui); but the anathema or excommunication, to the Jewish Cherem or Shammatha.

² This view throws light also on the obscure passage, 1 Pet. 3 : 19, 20, and 4 : 6 where even the judgment on the unbelieving generation in the time of Noah, nay, as

regard to its subject, is always the rescue of his soul by means of the heavy punishment of temporary exclusion from all the benefits of salvation ;—as in fact, generally speaking, it is the office of the church, not to destroy but to edify and save (2 Cor. 10 : 8. 13 : 10). If this end is gained, as it was in the case of the Corinthian offender, the sinner should be restored to the Christian communion and re-admitted to the enjoyment of its privileges.

As to the administration of discipline ; this should be performed by the *whole congregation* in the name of Jesus Christ ; and even the apostles here appear only as the organs and representatives of the whole body. Paul, it is true, in his absence excommunicated the above-mentioned offender in virtue of the full power committed to him by Christ ; but he was united in spirit with the believers at Corinth, and, relying on their concurrence, he pronounced judgment in the name of all (1 Cor. 5 : 3–5). He took for granted that the whole congregation would look upon this grievous sin in the midst of them as a common misfortune, and would in solemn assembly formally ratify his sentence. For in the organic unity of believers the honor or disgrace of one member falls upon the body itself, and the restoration of the moral dignity of the whole requires, therefore, such an act of the whole body.

§ 123. *Examples. The Hypocrite Ananias. The Corinthian Offender.*

In the comparative purity of the apostolic church we must not look for many acts of discipline. But those, of which we are informed, bear the strongest testimony to the holy vigilance with which the apostles guarded the spotlessness of the bride of Christ.

The first case we meet with in the church of Jerusalem shortly after it was founded (Acts 5 : 1–10). This is the first dark shadow which falls upon the bright picture of the history of Christ's kingdom. The sin of Ananias and his wife Sapphira consisted in a shameful perversion of the community of goods to selfish ends, an attempt to impose by hypocrisy on the Christian community and the Holy Ghost, who dwelt in it. Ananias sold his piece of ground, but in concert with his wife secretly kept back part of the proceeds, laying the rest at the apostles'

we must almost infer from 4 : 6, on all the dwellers in the realm of death before Christ, appears as but a transition state, after which follows either the rescue of the soul by the believing reception of the gospel of the Redeemer, or, in case of its rejection, the proper final condemnation. "For, for this cause was the gospel preached also to them that are (bodily) dead. *ἵνα κριθῶσι μὲν κατὰ ἀνθρώπους σαρκί, ζῶσι δὲ κατὰ θεὸν πνεύματι,*" which perfectly harmonizes with the *εἰς ὄλεθρον τῆς σαρκός, ἵνα τὸ πνεῦμα σωθῇ*, 1 Cor. 5 : 5. Comp. also Thiersch : *Vorlesungen über Katholicismus und Protestantismus*, I. p. 89 sq.

feet in the common treasury. This was worse than if he had kept all. For he wished thus to have the appearance of a love which sacrifices all, while yet, in heart he worshipped mammon. He wished to serve two masters, yet seem to serve but one. Peter, by the gift of discerning spirits (comp. § 119), saw through this hypocrisy and called it a lie to God and to the Holy Ghost. Struck by the rebuke of the apostle as by a thunder-bolt, the guilty man fell dead upon the earth. Some have referred this tragical end to natural causes, perhaps apoplexy caused by terror and remorse. But v. 9, where Peter *predicts* the same fate to Sapphira, of itself shows plainly that we have here to suppose a miraculous intervention of God. The Lord made the apostle's word the medium of an extraordinary punishment. The same divine judgment fell upon his accomplice, Sapphira, but not until time had been given for conscience to reprove her, nor until, ignorant of the fate of her husband, she had aggravated her hypocrisy by a deliberate lie. Had she penitently confessed the deed, she would undoubtedly have been spared. Thus, therefore, fell two as sacrifices to the good of all.¹

The unusual rigor of this discipline is accounted for by the circumstances. In the first place, the example of this hypocrisy, unless it had met exemplary punishment, would have poisoned the life of the Christian community at the outset and undermined the indispensable authority of the apostles. And again, Ananias might very possibly have enjoyed, in this fair season of first love, deeper experiences of the power of the Holy Ghost, so as to have been far more guilty than Simon Magus (c. 8) or Elymas (c. 13), who had merely come into outward contact with the gospel, and were, therefore, more mildly dealt with.

The second example occurred at Corinth and has been already several times touched upon (1 Cor. 5 : 1 sqq.). A member of the church there had committed a scandal almost unheard of even among the heathen. He had lived in incestuous intercourse with his step-mother, while his father was yet living* (comp. 2 Cor. 7 : 12). When Paul to his deep grief heard of it in Ephesus, he in the name of Jesus Christ, and as united in spirit with the congregation, though bodily absent, excluded the offender from the church, that such shocking disgrace might be rolled off from it, and that the backslider might, by remorse and the sense of estrangement from God, be awakened to repentance, and thus, though perhaps ruined in the body, be yet saved at last in

¹ "Ut poena duorum hominum," says Jerome, "sit doctrina multorum."

² The Mosaic law assigns to this horrible crime the penalty of death; Lev. 20 : 11 comp. 18 : 8. Deut. 22 : 30.

the great day of final decision. Here the discipline was actually effectual. For from 2 Cor. 2 : 5-10 we learn, that the unfortunate man was pierced with remorse and brought by loss of the gifts of grace to the brink of despair. Hence the apostle exhorts the congregation to forgive him and to show him brotherly love.

Here belong, finally, the excommunication by the same apostle of the probably Gnostic errorists, Hymeneus and Alexander, who denied the resurrection of the body ;¹ and the command of the aged John, to have no fellowship whatever with those who deny the incarnation of the Son of God; not to receive them into the house, nor even to salute them (2 Jno. 10, 11). Greeting is here conceived not as an empty form, but (like the *ἀσπάζεσθε*, Matt. 5 : 47) as a testimony of real friendship, by which one professes his fellowship of spirit with the one he salutes and makes himself partaker of his works (v. 11, comp. 1 Tim. 5 : 22). This severity is by no means inconsistent with the mild character of John, but is in perfect harmony with his holy earnestness, which acknowledged only a love rooted in the divine truth, and with what Irenæus relates of his interview with the Gnostic, Cerinthus (comp. § 103). It must be remembered, that he is here speaking not of Jews or Gentiles, but of apostate Christians, who altogether rejected the central doctrine of the gospel, under the pretence of apprehending it more clearly and intellectually, and thus threatened to subvert the proper foundation of the church (comp. 1 Jno. 2 : 18 sqq. 4 : 3). We find just as severe expressions in Paul, Phil. 3 : 2. Gal. 1 : 8. 1 Cor. 16 : 22. Without the most rigid separation of truth from falsehood, the church, especially in that day, when she had scarcely gained firm footing and was an object of violent persecution, would soon have become a medley of Christian and unchristian elements, and in the end the sure prey of the world.

¹ 1 Tim. 1 : 20. Comp. 2 Tim. 2 : 7, where Philetus is mentioned along with Hymeneus.

BOOK THIRD.

GOVERNMENT OF THE CHURCH.

GOVERNMENT OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY IN GENERAL.

§ 124. *Origin and Design of the Spiritual Office.*

CHURCH GOVERNMENT has its foundation in the Christian Ministry, which is originally identical with the Apostolate and contains the germs of all other church offices.

It was instituted, not by men, but by Christ himself in person. When our Lord was about to leave the earth, he gave his disciples, whom he had gathered around him since his public appearance as the Messiah and trained by a three years' personal intercourse, a commission to continue his divine work ; to preach the gospel to every creature ; and to baptize the penitent in the triune name of the Creator, the Redeemer, and the Sanctifier of mankind. "As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you." For this purpose he imparted to them the Holy Ghost by an outward act, at first provisionally, afterwards in much richer measure on the day of Pentecost : "And when he had said this, he breathed on them, and saith unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost." With this gift he joined the power of the keys ; that is, full power in his name and with his authority to open or shut the gates of heaven, to proclaim and insure to the penitent the remission of sins, and to the impenitent divine judgment : "Whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them, and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained." Socinian and Rationalistic interpreters are wrong in regarding this as a special gift, attaching only to the persons of the apostles and becoming extinct at their death. The apostles here appear as representatives of the ministerial office in general, nay, of the whole community of believers,

¹ Jno. 20 : 21-23. Comp. Matt. 16 : 19. 18 : 18. 28 : 18-20.

to which the right of church discipline is expressly granted (comp Matt 18 : 18, with v. 17);—just as the promise of the continual presence of the Lord reaches beyond the apostolic age even to the end of the world (Matt. 28 : 18–20. 18 : 20). The ministry of reconciliation is as necessary for the perpetuation of the church, as it was for its establishment. Hence Paul says of it, in comparison with the Old Testament ministry of the law : “ If that which was done away was glorious, much more that *which remaineth* is glorious” (2 Cor. 3 : 11).

The design of the Christian ministry is none other than that of the mission of Christ himself,—the redemption of the world from sin and error, and the extension and completion of the kingdom of God, as a kingdom of truth, love, holiness, and peace. Apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, and teachers, are divinely appointed, “ for the perfecting of the saints for the work of the ministry,¹ for the edifying of the body of Christ ; till we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ” (Eph. 4 : 11–13). The spiritual office, or the ministry (*διακονία*), is the vehicle of the powers of divine grace ; the appointed channel for conveying the blessings of the gospel to mankind ; the organ through which the Holy Ghost acts upon the world, and gradually transforms it into the kingdom of God. This office has various names, according to its different aspects and functions. It is termed the “ ministry of the word” (*διακονία τοῦ λόγου*, Acts 6 : 4), because the preaching of the gospel is its first business, according to the final commission of the Saviour, Matt. 28 : 19 sq. Mk. 16 : 15. It is called the ministration of the *Spirit* (*διακονία τοῦ πνεύματος*, 2 Cor. 3 : 8), which gives life, in distinction from the Old Testament ministration of the letter, which kills ; the “ ministration of *righteousness*” (*διακ. τῆς δικαιοσύνης*, v. 9), which comes from faith in the Redeemer and avails with God, in contrast with the ministration of condemnation proclaimed by the law ; the “ ministry of *reconciliation*” (*διακ. τῆς καταλλαγῆς*, 2 Cor. 5 : 18), which Christ has established between sinful men and a holy God.

From this we see the immeasurable importance, dignity, arduousness, and responsibility of the ministerial calling. This office is the main instrument for carrying out the divine plan of salvation, and from it proceed almost all motion and progress in the church. The apostles, and in a wider view all ministers of the gospel, are “ the salt of the

¹ *Διακονία* is here to be taken in its wider sense, as denoting the particular vocation assigned to each member of the body of Christ, for which he was to be fitted by the *διακονία* in the narrower sense, the ministry of apostles, prophets, &c. Comp., on this whole passage, Eph. 4 : 11–13, the instructive and thorough exposition of Stier in his *Comment. zum Eph. Br.* II. p. 96 sqq.

earth," which preserves humanity from putrefaction and gives it its proper savor. They are "the light of the world," shedding the rays of eternal life into the night of the natural heart and upon all the relations of human existence (Matt. 5 : 13-16). They are "laborers together with God" (1 Cor. 3 : 9), and "stewards of the mysteries of God," which they should faithfully dispense, and of which they must one day give an account (1 Cor. 4 : 1. Tit. 1 : 7. 1 Pet. 4 : 10). They are "ambassadors for Christ" (*ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ πρεσβεύομεν*), who, as though God himself spoke through them, pray sinners in Christ's stead : "Be ye reconciled to God !" (2 Cor. 5 : 20.) Since the Lord himself appears in his servants, the reception or rejection of them is the same as a reception or rejection of Christ; the one is attended with a rich blessing, the other with a heavy curse. "He that receiveth you, receiveth me; and he that receiveth me, receiveth him that sent me."¹

This exalted position, however, of course gives the Christian minister no ground for self-exaltation, but rather incites to humility. Even a Paul, in view of the glory of an office, which is to believers a savor of life unto life, to unbelievers, of death unto death, exclaims under a sense of his own unworthiness : "Who is sufficient for these things?" (2 Cor. 2 : 16), and refers all his qualification to divine grace alone (3 : 5, 6). As little may Christ's stewards abuse their authority by lording it over the conscience and invading the rights of the congregation. They are bound rather to shine as an example to the people of Christ in holy living (1 Pet. 5 : 3), lest, having preached to others, they themselves be cast away (1 Cor. 9 : 27). As faithful shepherds, they must devote themselves in the most self-sacrificing love to the welfare of the flock purchased by the blood of Christ and committed to them by the Holy Ghost (Acts 20 : 28. Comp. Jno. 10 : 12 sqq.); ever mindful, that in the kingdom of heaven greatness and rank are to be measured on the scale of humility and love. "Whosoever will be great among you," says our Lord to his disciples, "let him be your minister; and whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant" (Matt. 20 : 26-28. Comp. Luke 22 : 26-30). For their office is in fact a service, as the original Greek term, *διακονία*, implies. Preachers are, primarily and in the highest view, servants of God and of Christ (2 Cor. 6 : 4. 1 Cor. 3 : 5. 4 : 1); but for this very reason also properly servants of the congregation, for its eternal welfare. Thus Paul writes to the Corinthians : "We preach not ourselves, but Christ Jesus the Lord; and ourselves your servants for Jesus' sake" (2 Cor. 4 : 5. Comp. Col. 1 : 25).

¹ Matt. 10 : 40 sqq. v. 15. Jno. 13 : 20. Comp. Jno. 12 : 26. 17 : 23. Matt. 25 : 40.

§ 125. *Development of the Church Constitution from the Apostolate. Officer of the Whole Church and of Particular Congregations.*

We have already remarked, that the ministerial office was originally one and the same with the apostolical. But as the church outwardly and inwardly grew, the apostles found their sphere of labor so enlarged, that they could no longer attend alone to all the duties of discipline and public worship, and were compelled to resort to a division of labor. In this way arose gradually, as the wants of the church and the force of circumstances required, the several offices, which have their common root in the apostolate, and through it partake in various degrees of its divine origin, its powers, its privileges, and its duties. The Lord himself gave no particular directions on the subject, but left his disciples to the guidance of the Holy Ghost. Under this guidance they proceeded with the greatest wisdom and consideration, following in the footsteps of history and conforming as far as possible to the existing arrangements of the Jewish synagogue. Hence the church was at first regarded merely as a sect or school (*αἵρεσις*, Acts 24 : 5. 28 : 22) among other sects, like the Pharisees (15 : 5. 26 : 5) and Sadducees (5 : 17), within the greater theocratic communion. Even Paul, the apostle of the Gentiles, turned first to the synagogues and followed the order of their customary forms, till he and his disciples were thrust out of them.¹ We must here observe, however, that the analogy, which undeniably exists between the constitution of the apostolic church and that of the Jewish synagogue, must not be pedantically pushed, as it has been by many,² to all the offices and to the minutest details. It holds in reality only in the constitution of single congregations—only, therefore, in the offices of presbyter and deacon ; and even here we must not overlook those differences, which necessarily grew out of the essential dissimilarity of the Christian and the Jewish principles.

In fixing the number and division of the church offices we must keep especially in view the passage Eph. 4 : 11 sq. : “And he (Christ) gave some, apostles ; and some, prophets ; and some, evangelists ; and some,

¹ Acts 13 : 5, 46. 14 : 1. 18 : 4–8. 19 : 8–10. 28 : 17–29.

² By Campegius Vitringa, for instance, who first brought out this analogy profoundly and fully in his celebrated work: *De synagoga vetere libri III.* 1696. Against him Mosheim's objections in his *Institutiones majores*, p. 168–171, are in part not groundless. Compare on this point especially Dr. Richard Rothe (now in Bonn): *Die Anfänge der christlichen Kirche und ihrer Verfassung*, vol. I. 1847, p. 147 sqq. This is undoubtedly the most learned and ingenious work of modern times on the constitution of the primitive church ; and, in spite of its peculiar and almost universally disapproved views of the relation of the church to the state and of the rise of episcopacy, it is a work of permanent value.

pastors and teachers ; for the perfecting of the saints for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ." In the parallel passage, 1 Cor. 12 : 28-30, evangelists are left out and in their stead workers of miracles and several spiritual gifts are mentioned along with apostles, prophets, and teachers. In these passages, at least the latter, Paul is speaking primarily, indeed, as the context plainly shows, of the charisms ; yet these gifts are closely related to the offices, forming the divine qualification and outfit for them, their inward side, as it were ; though the gifts might also manifest themselves out of the offices. Besides, the apostle does not intend to give a complete catalogue ; for he passes over the deacons,¹ whose existence is certain from the Acts and the Pastoral Epistles. Adding these to the list, and understanding pastors and teachers to be identical with one another² and with those elsewhere commonly styled presbyters or even bishops, we have five classes of officers ; *Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists, Presbyter-bishops* (uniting the functions of teaching and governing), and *Deacons*. These offices are so related to one another, that the higher include in themselves the lower, but not the reverse. The apostles (as for example, John, the author of the Gospel, the Epistles, and the Apocalypse) were at the same time prophets, evangelists, pastors, and teachers, and at first had charge even of the business of the deacons (Acts 4 : 35, 37. 6 : 2). This universal official character belonged in the highest sense to Christ. He is expressly called Apostle (Heb. 3 : 1), Prophet (Jno. 4 : 19. 6 : 14. 7 : 40. Lu. 7 : 16. 24 : 19. Acts 3 : 22 sq. 7 : 37), Evangelist (*εὐαγγελιστοῦ*, Eph. 2 : 17) ; calls himself the Good Shepherd (Jno. 10 : 11) ; and condescends, notwithstanding his participation in the divine government of the world, to take even the title of deacon or servant (Lu. 22 : 27. Comp. Matt. 20 : 28. Jno. 13 : 14. Phil. 2 : 7). And all the various branches of the spiritual office are the organs, through which Christ himself in the Holy Ghost continues to exercise on earth his offices of prophet, priest, and king.

But then there is this difference among these offices, that the first three have reference to the whole church, while those of presbyter and deacon relate only to single congregations. This gives us the distinction of *church government* and *congregational government*, which Dr. Rothe

¹ In 1 Cor. 12 : 28 they are alluded to by the term *ἀντιλήψεις*, which denotes the spiritual gift answering to the office of deacon. Comp. above § 119.

² As may be justly inferred even from the fact, that the apostle does not repeat the *τοὺς δὲ* before *διδασκάλους*, but simply puts *καὶ*. Jerome well calls attention to this : "Non enim ait, alios pastores et alios magistros, sed alios pastores et magistros, ut qui pastor est, esse debeat et magister." So Bengel, ad loc. : "Pastores et doctores hic junguntur, nam pascunt docendo maxime, tum admonendo, corripiendo." etc.

especially brings out, though he wrongly puts the latter before the former. The whole system of government has formed itself from above downwards, from the general to the particular, and not the contrary. Even under the old dispensation the kingdom of God consisted not of any local assembly or single tribe, but of the tribes collectively. And this conception passed over directly to the Christian communion, as the true spiritual Israel and the proper succession of the old faith.¹ This was made up of all in every nation, who were separated from the world by divine grace and called to eternal life (the *ἐκλεκτοὶ, κλητοὶ θεοῦ*); and this society of the elect (*ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ*) was distinguished from the ungodly world (the *κόσμος*), as were the chosen people of the ancient covenant from the *גוֹיִם*, the *ἔθνη*, the nations by which they were surrounded.² The apostles, accordingly, are always named first,³ and all the other offices grow out of theirs, like branches from a common stock. The wide view of the church as the total of believers, the whole kingdom of Christ on earth, is the original one;⁴ the narrower sense of the term, in which it denotes a particular local congregation, as the church of Corinth or of Rome, is the derived.⁵ This appears at once from the passage, where the term *ἐκκλησία* first occurs, and that too in the mouth of our Lord himself. When Christ says of his church, "the gates of hell shall not prevail against it" (Matt. 16 : 18), we are obliged to refer this to the church in the complex view, since it is this alone which is indestructible; whilst single congregations and even large districts, once flourishing seats of Christianity, have perished entirely or are now inwardly dead or overrun by a false religion, like Mohammedanism. In the first stage of Christianity the two conceptions properly coincided, the church being commensurate with the congregation at Jerusalem, and the apostles, therefore, being at that time also congregational officers. Yet their mission and vocation had reference, from the beginning, to the whole human family, to the evangelizing of all nations (Matt. 28 : 19 Mk. 16 : 15. Acts 1 : 8).

§ 126. *Election and Ordination of Officers.*

The inward call to the spiritual office, and the necessary furniture of gifts, can come only from the Holy Ghost. Paul reminds the Ephesian

¹ Rom. 2 : 28 sq. 4 : 11 sq., 16, 17. 9 : 6 sq., 24 sq. 11 : 1-7. Gal. 3 : 7, 26-29. 4 : 26. Col. 3 : 11.

² Comp. Acts 2 : 47. 13 : 48. 1 Pet. 1 : 1, 2. Jude 1. Rom. 1 : 6, 7. 1 Cor. 1 : 2. Tit. 1 : 1, &c.

³ Eph. 2 : 20. 4 : 11. 1 Cor. 12 : 28; *πρῶτον ἀποστόλους*, v. 29, &c.

⁴ Comp. such passages as Matt. 16 : 18. 20 : 28. 1 Cor. 10 : 32. 12 : 28. Eph. 22 sq. 3 : 10. 5 : 25, 27, 32. 1 Tim. 3 : 15.

⁵ Rothe himself allows this, p. 285.

elders (Acts 20 : 28), that the Holy Ghost had clothed them with the pastoral office, to feed the church of God. But this does not exclude the coöperation of the congregation. True, the apostles were chosen directly by Christ, as instruments for laying the first foundations of the church. But so soon as there was a community of believers, nothing was done without its active participation. This was the case even in filling the vacant place of the traitor, after our Lord's ascension (Acts 1 : 15-26). Peter here lays before the whole congregation of about a hundred and twenty souls the necessity of an election, to complete the sacred number twelve; whereupon not merely the apostles, but the whole body of disciples, nominate (ἐστησαν, v. 23) Joseph Barsabas and Matthias as candidates; all pray to be informed of the divine will (v. 24); all cast their lots¹ (v. 26); and thus Matthias is elected. Much more must we expect the general rights of Christians to be regarded in the choice of the ordinary congregational officers. When the first deacons are to be appointed (Acts 6 : 1-6), the twelve call together the multitude of the disciples (τὸ πλῆθος τῶν μαθητῶν, v. 2), and require them to make a choice; the latter fall in with the proposition, make their own choice (ἐλέξαντο, v. 5, connected with the πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος immediately preceding), and present the candidates to the apostles, not for confirmation, but only for ordination (v. 6). As to the presbyter-bishops, Luke informs us (Acts 14 : 23) that Paul and Barnabas appointed them to office in the newly-founded congregations by *taking the vote* of the people; thus merely presiding over the choice. Such, at least, is the original and usual sense of χειροτονεῖν² (comp. 2 Cor. 8 : 19). But even in a more general sense (like προχειροτονεῖν, used of God, Acts 10 : 41), it does not exclude the coöperation of the congregations any more than Paul's charge to Titus, Tit. 1 : 5.³ For in the nature of the case the apostles and their delegates had the best judgment and the greatest influence in these elections. Probably in young, inexperienced congregations, they nominated the candidates themselves, simply calling for the concurrence of the new converts. But assuredly they always regarded in this matter the wishes of the Christian people, as may be seen from the direction in the Pastoral Epistles, that none but men of

¹ Either dice, or more probably small tablets, which were inscribed with the name of a candidate and deposited in some vessel. By this mode of choice, which, as is well known, the Moravians imitate even in their marriages (though not so generally of late), it was sought to preclude all human will and place the decision entirely in the hands of Providence.

² From χεῖρ and τείνειν, *to stretch out the hand*; hence, *manum porrigendo suffragia dare, suffragiis creare*.

³ Comp. Rothe, l. c. p. 150, and Neander, *Ap. Gesch.* I. p. 268

blameless reputation should be chosen to these dignities.¹ The formal right of the congregation to an active concern in all its affairs cannot be questioned, though the actual exercise of this right is conditioned by the degree of their spiritual maturity. All authority and power comes, indeed, from God, the only Sovereign, and from the Holy Ghost, the Ruler and Soul of the church; but the conveyance of it to a particular individual must be mediated, even for the sake of order, by some sort of human agency. And why may not the divine will be revealed through the body of Christians, full as well as through one or more individuals? The democratic principle, no doubt, has its dangers. But these are found to the same extent, only in other forms, in monarchy and aristocracy; and in proportion as the true spirit of Christianity prevails, they disappear.

This view of the way of appointing congregational officers is confirmed by the testimony of the apostolic father, Clement of Rome, who says explicitly in his first epistle to the Corinthians, that the apostles appointed bishops and deacons "with the concurrence of the whole church."²

After the election followed the ordination, or the solemn induction into office by prayer and the laying on of hands (a ceremony borrowed from Judaism, comp. Nu. 27 : 18, 23), the symbol and medium of the communication of the grace prayed for and necessary for the office. So in the ordination of the deacons (Acts 6 : 6 : καὶ προσεζήμενοι ἐπέθηκαν αὐτοῖς τὰς χεῖρας). It was natural that the apostles themselves should perform this important act, where they were present. In their absence it was performed by their delegates, as Timothy and Titus; compare Tit. 1 : 5 and 1 Tim. 5 : 22, where Timothy is cautioned against *hastily* ordaining any one (χεῖρας ταχέως μηδενὶ ἐπιτίθει), lest he should become a partaker of other men's sins. From 1 Tim. 4 : 14, however, it appears, that the presbyter-bishops also might ordain, or at least assist in the ceremony. For Paul there exhorts his disciple not to neglect the gift, which was given him in consequence of the prophetic utterances of the

¹ 1 Tim. 3 : 2, 7, 10. Tit. 1 : 6, 7. Similar to this was the way of choosing the rulers of synagogues, whose solemn induction into office did not take place till the congregation had given their assent.

² συνευδοκησάσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας πάσης, *Epist. ad Corinth.* I. c. 44. Even Cyprian in the third century, who is known to mark an epoch in the development of hierarchy says of the choice of priests: "Quod et ipsum videmus de divina auctoritate lescentere, ut sacerdos plebe praesente sub omnium oculis deligatur et dignus atque idoneus publico judicio ac testimonio comprobetur . . . ut plebe praesente vel detegantur malorum crimina, vel bonorum merita praedicentur. et sit ordinatio justa et legitima, quae omnium suffragio et judicio fuerit examinata (*Ep.* 68. p. 118, ed. Bener. I. p. 118 sq., ed. Tauchn.)

congregation (comp. 1 Tim. 1 : 18 and Acts 16 : 2), by the laying on of the hands of the presbytery or college of elders (τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου). From 2 Tim. 1 : 6 it would seem, indeed, that Paul himself was present on this occasion (διὰ τῆς ἐπιθέσεως τῶν χειρῶν μου); unless we adopt the untenable hypothesis that these were two different cases.¹ But at all events the part taken by the presbyters can have been no mere empty ceremony, any more than the participation of the congregation in the choice of its officers, but pre-supposes a right and a power lodged in their official character of conveying the necessary spiritual gifts. The laying on of hands on Paul by Ananias (probably a presbyter) mentioned Acts 9 : 17, although no ordination proper, nor confirmation (for baptism followed afterwards), was the means not only to restore his sight, but also "to fill him with the Holy Ghost." The case mentioned Acts 13 : 3 was a special inauguration of Paul and Barnabas for the great missionary work amongst the Gentiles, and performed by the "prophets and teachers" (v. 1) of the congregation at Antioch.

§ 127. *Support of the Ministry.*

Respecting the maintenance of the various ecclesiastical and congregational officers, our Lord himself had already uttered the principle. "The laborer is worthy of his hire."² But he had previously warned his followers, not to turn the work of preaching into a common trade (Matt. 10 : 8 sq.); for disinterestedness is one of the most needful and beautiful ornaments of him who proclaims the free, unmerited grace of God, and exhorts men to seek first of all the everlasting blessings of the kingdom of heaven. The same principle is laid down by Paul and illustrated by several apt similitudes; the soldier drawing his pay, the vine-dresser reaping the fruit of his vineyard, the shepherd living on the milk of his flock. So the minister of Christ, whose office is frequently represented by these figures, has a just claim to be supported by the church, for which he labors (1 Cor. 9 : 6–10); especially as temporal gifts are after all but a poor equivalent for spiritual and eternal (v. 11). "Ye know not," continues he, enforcing from another quarter this self-evident, but often-neglected duty, "do ye not know, that they which minister about holy things live of the things of the temple? and they which wait at the altar are partakers with the altar? Even so hath the Lord ordained, that they which preach the gospel should live of the gospel" (v. 13 sq.). When he writes to Timothy (1 Tim. 5 : 17) "Let the elders that rule well be counted worthy of double honor," the

¹ As Rothe does. l. c. p. 161, note. This passage is discussed at some length, with reference to the views of English divines, by Dr. Samuel Miller: *Letters concerning the Constitution and Order of the Christian Ministry*. Philad. 1830. 2nd ed. p. 31 sqq.

² Matt. 10 : 10. Lu. 10 : 7 sq. Comp. Lev. 19 : 13. Deut. 24 : 14.

idea of remuneration is at least included ;¹ as is shown by the next verse, where he quotes the above expression of Christ along with the Mosai: precept enjoining mercy to animals (Deut. 25 : 4): "Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn,"—in other words (as here applied), show thyself grateful towards those by whose hard labor thou art served. The passage also, Gal. 6 : 6: "Let him that is taught in the word communicate unto him that teacheth in all good things," contains according to the usual interpretation an injunction to liberality towards the teachers of the gospel.

But the same apostle is equally earnest, on the other hand, in warning ministers against the love of filthy lucre, which is peculiarly unbecoming in them and almost annihilates their moral influence. He exhorts them to contentment, hospitality, and disinterestedness.² He himself exhibited in his life an exalted model in this respect; earning his own support by his trade of tent-making, often working day and night, that he might not be burdensome to the churches, which doubtless consisted mostly of persons without property; that he might procure the readier access for the gospel; and might stop the mouths of his Jewish adversaries, who impeached his motives.³ Paul could say without exaggeration, that through the power of Christ strengthening him he could do all things, knowing both how to be abased and how to be exalted; how to be full, and how to be hungry; how to abound, and how to suffer need (Phil. 4 : 11–13). Yet in the case of the church at Philippi, whose relation to him was one of special confidence and friendship, he made an exception, and sometimes received presents from it (Phil. 4 : 16. 2 Cor. 11 : 8). For though his earnings might have been enough to cover the cost of his own living, they could not well meet the expenses of his frequent and long journeys, on which he had usually several attendants, once as many as seven (Acts 20 : 3, 4). When we consider these numerous and expensive journeys of the apostles and their delegates, to spread the gospel and to maintain and promote the unity of the Eastern and Western churches, while they might all well say with Peter: "Silver and gold have I none" (Acts 3 : 6); and when we remember too, with how great zeal the Christians of Macedonia, for instance, notwithstanding their poverty, raised collections for their needy brethren in Palestine;—we cannot but form a high opinion of the liberality and self-sacrificing love of these apostolic congregations.

¹ Many expositors refer *τιμῆς* here exclusively to remuneration, and translate it *reward*.

² Tit. 1 : 11. 1 Tim. 3 : 2 sq. 6 : 6–10. Acts 20 : 34 sq.

³ 1 Thess. 2 : 5–10. 2 Thess. 3 : 7–9. 1 Cor. 9 : 12, 15. 2 Cor. 11 : 7–10. 12 : 4–18. Phil. 4 : 15. Acts 18 : 3. 20 : 34 sqq.

It is not to be supposed, however, that there was in this period any regular and fixed salary for ministers. Many, like Paul, according to the custom of the Rabbins, may have continued their former trades in connection with their new calling, and may have thus earned a part or the whole of their subsistence. At all events, those, who had the right spirit, contented themselves with the simple necessities of life. So long as Christianity was not recognized by the state, the churches, as such, held no property. Many Christians, especially from among the Jews, might have adhered to the old custom of paying tithes (*decimae*) and first-fruits (*primitiae*). But there was as yet no law about it.¹ All contributions for ecclesiastical or benevolent purposes were free-will offerings, regulated according to ability and need. Thus we read, Acts 11 : 29, on the occasion of the famine in Palestine : "The disciples (at Antioch), every man according to his ability, determined to send relief unto the brethren, which dwelt in Judea." So in the case of the subsequent collections for the poor churches in Palestine, Rom. 15 : 26. 1 Cor. 16 : 1 sqq.; and any salary for the preachers of the gospel would doubtless be raised in the same way.² Assuredly too the voluntary system, where it really merits the name (for many of our so-called voluntary donations are, at bottom, very involuntary, and proceed much oftener from selfish motives than from pure love to God and his church), best corresponds with the spirit of the gospel, and is upon the whole most advantageous to the kingdom of God. It calls forth a vast amount of individual activity and personal interest in church affairs; whereas the support of the clergy by the state, while it has many advantages and may in some countries be necessary for the maintenance of religion, tends naturally to turn the church more or less into a mere civil institution, to make its ministers too dependent upon the government, to stunt the virtue of liberality, and to depreciate the gospel in the eyes of the people.

But where the church is thrown for her support so entirely upon the free love and gratitude of her members as in the first three centuries, it becomes the more necessary, if her operations are not to come to a stand, that she should recommend some fixed system, some method for giving, by which each one may impose a law on himself corresponding to

¹ Legal enactments in regard to the payment of tithes are not met with in the church before the sixth century. But long before this Irenæus (*Adv. haer.* IV. 8, 13, 18, &c.) was of opinion, that the Christians should pay tithes like the Jews. so as not to be behind them in liberality and piety. So Chrysostom, Gregory of Nazianzen, Hilary, Augustine, and other church fathers. See Augusti: *Handbuch der Christl. Archæol.* I. p. 314; also Coleman: *Ancient Christianity Exemplified*, p. 229.

² "His spontaneous giving Tertullian presents as still the order in his day; "Nemo compellitur, sed sponte confert" (*Apolog.* c. 39).

his means and resources. Such was the simple yet most judicious regulation, which Paul made with reference to the collections for the poor in the churches of Galatia and Greece; that every one for himself, on the first day of the week, the holy day of the Christians (comp. Acts 20 : 7 Rev. 1 : 10), should lay by a part of his earnings,¹ and so keep a separate treasury for the Lord as his means allowed and his conscience dictated (1 Cor. 16 : 1, 2).²

§ 128. *Relation of the Officers to the Congregations. The Universal Priesthood.*

Notwithstanding the divine origin, the greatness and dignity of the ministerial office, there was not designed to be a chasm between it and the people an opposition of clergy and laity in the modern sense. This office is not, indeed, a creature of the congregation. It is itself the creative beginning of the church, the divinely appointed organ of her establishment and edification. The apostles go before the church, not the church before the apostles. Hence they not merely their doctrine or their confession, but they themselves, as living persons, in their union with Christ, and as organs of the Holy Ghost are called the foundation of this spiritual edifice, of which Jesus Christ is at once the architect and the corner-stone, binding together the several parts and representing the whole.³ But so soon as the gospel had taken root and produced a Christian community, there arose a relation of active coöperation between pastors and people. Though the pastors retained the control, yet they always exercised it in the spirit of brotherly love, and with the consciousness, that the members of the flock stood essentially in the same relation with themselves to the common Head and chief Shepherd, Jesus Christ; that they were sanctified by the same spirit, and had an equal share in all the privileges and blessings of salvation. Hence all believers without exception are styled "brethren,"⁴ and "saints,"⁵ separated from the world and set apart to the service of the Triune God.⁶ While, on the one hand, the churches were far from assuming

¹ ὁ, τι ἐνδοῦται, "as he may be prospered," "according to his success in gaining," or "as far as his means may allow;" comp. Rom. 1 : 10. Acts 11 : 29 : καθὼς ἡμπορεῖτο τις. 2 Cor. 8 : 12 : καθὼς ἐὰν ἔχη.

² On this the venerable Bengel well remarks : "Consilium facile. Semel, non tam multum datur. Si quis singulis diebus dominicis aliquid seorsum posuit, plus collectum fuit, quam quis semel dedisset."

³ Eph. 2 : 20. Comp. Matt. 16 : 18. Rev. 21 : 14, and § 90 above.

⁴ Comp. § 114 above.

⁵ Acts 9 : 32. 26 : 18. Rom. 1 : 7. 8 : 27. 12 : 13. 16 : 15. 1 Cor. 1 : 2. 6 : 2. 2 Cor. 1 : 1. 13 : 13. Eph. 1 : 1. 2 : 19. 5 : 3. 6 : 18. Col. 3 : 12. Phil. 1 : 1. 4 : 21, 22. Tit. 2 : 14. 1 Pet. 2 : 9, 10. Heb. 13 : 24. Rev. 13 : 10, &c.

authority over their leaders, and were instructed rather to yield them affectionate obedience (Heb. 13 : 17. 1 Cor. 16 : 16); the leaders, on their part, imposed no prescriptions or laws on the churches, which the latter themselves did not sanction by their own free approval. The officers formed no priestly caste, standing between God and the people. The New Testament, it is true, owns the idea of the priesthood; but applies it expressly to *all* true Christians. All have immediate access to Christ by faith, and should daily offer Him the sacrifices of praise and intercession. In virtue of their union with Christ (*πρὸς ὃν προσερχόμενοι*), Peter styles his readers "a spiritual house, an holy priesthood (*ἱεράτευμα ἅγιον*), to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ" (1 Pet. 2 : 4, 5. Comp. Rom. 12 : 1); and immediately after (v. 9) exclaims to them: "Ye are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood (*βασιλείων ἱεράτευμα*), an holy nation, a peculiar people; that ye should show forth the praises of him who hath called you out of darkness into his marvellous light." The same high character was assigned, indeed, even to the people of Israel under the old dispensation, where, nevertheless, we know that the special Aaronic priesthood was joined with it (Ex. 19 : 6); "Ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests, and an holy nation." But in the Old Testament this was rather prophecy and purpose; in the New, it is fulfillment and execution. It is Christ alone, who has "washed us from our sins in his own blood, and hath made us kings and priests unto God and his Father" (Rev. 1 : 5, 6). The New Testament priesthood as far transcends the Old, as Christianity in general outshines Judaism. This is profoundly set forth especially in the epistle to the Hebrews (comp. c. 7-10. 13 : 10, 15, 16). The term clergy (*κλήρος*), which in ecclesiastical terminology denotes the ministerial order in distinction from the laity, is applied by Peter to the congregations (1 Pet. 5 : 3); showing, that every society of Christians is regarded, like the Levites under the old economy, as a consecrated, peculiar people of God.¹ The apostle Paul calls upon his readers, in virtue of their priestly character, to make intercession for himself and for all men (2 Cor. 1 : 10, 11. 1 Tim. 2 : 1), after the pattern of Christ, the eternal High Priest (Heb. 7 : 25. Comp. Lu. 22 : 32. Jno 17 : 9, 20).

It is by this universal priesthood, that we are to account for the *liberty of teaching* and the *participation* of the people in the *worship* and *government* of the church, which we observe in the apostolic age.

The general liberty to teach was a prelude fulfillment of the prophecy, that in the days of the Messiah the Spirit should be poured out

¹ Others take *τῶν κληρῶν*, which in any case refers to the people, to mean congregations distributed and entrusted to the presbyters by lot or election.

upon all flesh, even to servants and maids, and all should be taught of God.¹ Accordingly every one, whether an officer or not, if he possessed the requisite charism, might speak with tongues, pray, teach, and prophesy in the assembly. For spiritual gifts were by no means confined to official station. This freedom appears very plainly from the picture, which Paul draws, of the meetings for public worship among the Corinthians (1 Cor. 14 : 23-36). Nay, it is plain from v. 34 and c. 11 : 5, that even women, forgetting their natural place and mistaking the true idea of religious equality, prayed and prophesied in public. From 1 Tim. 2 : 12, we may infer, that they also occasionally taught ; else the apostle would not have found it necessary to forbid their teaching.²

But here restriction at once makes its appearance. In the first place, Paul rebukes in general all abuse of the liberty of teaching, and reminds the Corinthians, that God is a God of order and not of confusion. They should, therefore, exercise their gifts, not all at once, but in turn and always with due regard to the edification of the assembly.³ James also chides the mania, with which many in his Jewish-Christian congregations (where acting was so often lost sight of in talking), set themselves up for teachers from pure vanity, without any inward call ; and to this he adds his forcible representation of the sins of the tongue (3 : 1 sq.). Thus the act of teaching, though not restricted to any regular office, must yet be joined with the possession of the necessary gifts ; and these must be used in humility and under a sense of increased responsibility.

Then secondly, as regards the female sex in particular, Paul goes still farther, and directly forbids women taking any part in the public services of the church.⁴ This seems inconsistent, indeed, with 1 Cor. 11 : 5 : "Every woman, that *prayeth* or *prophesieth* with her head uncovered, dishonoreth her head ;" and to this passage accordingly the Montanists,

¹ Joel 2 : 28 sq. Is. 54 : 13. Jer. 31 : 34. Acts 2 : 17 sq. Jno. 6 : 45. Comp. 1 Thess. 4 : 9. 1 Jno. 2 : 20, 21, 27.

² This primitive freedom was still understood by an ecclesiastical writer at the close of the fourth century, the author of the Commentary on Paul's epistles, found among the works of St. Ambrose (probably the Roman deacon, Hilary). Thus he says, on Eph. 4 : 11 : "In episcopo omnes ordines sunt, quia primus sacerdos est, hoc est princeps est sacerdotum et propheta et evangelista et caetera ad implenda officia ecclesiae in ministerio fidelium. Tamen postquam omnibus locis ecclesiae sunt constitutae et officia ordinata, aliter composita res est, quam coeperat. *Primum enim omnes docebant et omnes baptizabant*, quibuscunque diebus vel temporibus fuisset occasio. . . . Ut ergo cresceret plebs et multiplicaretur, *omnibus* inter initia concessum est, et evangelizare et baptizare et Scripturas in ecclesia explanare," &c.

³ 1 Cor. 14 : 5, 12, 23-33. Comp. § 117 above.

⁴ 1 Cor. 14 : 34 sq. 1 Tim. 2 : 12. In the synagogue also women were not permitted to speak ; comp. Wetstein on 1 Cor. 14 : 34, and Vitringa : *Synag.* p. 725.

Quakers, and other sects appeal in support of their practice. But the apostle is here simply citing the fact, which undoubtedly occurred (comp. Acts 21 : 9), without approving or disapproving it, reserving his censure for a future occasion (c. 14) ; for in c. 11 he has nothing to do with public worship, but is treating of the custom of covering the head, which some Christian females in Corinth affected to disregard, in opposition to the prevailing ideas of propriety, as though all outward difference between the sexes had been abolished by Christ. Nor will it do to make a distinction here between public *teaching* and public *praying* and *prophesying* ; to say, that Paul's prohibition regards only the first function (the proper *διδάσκειν*, 1 Tim. 2 : 12), and not the last two, which were more the expression of elevated feeling. For, not to mention, that the apostle places prophets above teachers (Eph. 4 : 11. 1 Cor. 12 : 28), his injunction is altogether general, 1 Cor. 14 : 34, that women should *keep silence* (*σιγάτωσαν*) in the assembly, and not speak (*λαλεῖν*) ; and this whole chapter too treats, not of didactic discourses, but of the very functions of speaking with tongues and prophesying. Every public act of this kind implies, for the time being, a superiority of the speaker over the hearers, and is also contrary to true feminine delicacy. Christianity has, indeed, vastly improved the condition of woman. It has brought the highest blessings of heaven within her reach.¹ But it has not, in so doing, abolished the divine order of nature, which places her in subjection to man (Gen. 3 : 16. Eph. 5 : 22), and restricts her to the sphere of private life. Here, in the quiet circle of the family, woman has the freest scope for the display of the fairest virtues. Here too she has a certain right to rule. And here she is bound, not only to pray diligently herself, but also to teach her children to pray, and to lead them early to the Saviour.²

With this state of things in the sphere of worship corresponded to a great extent the conduct of the church government. The presbyters were, indeed, the regular pastors and managers of the affairs of the congregation ; but they shared both their power and their responsibility directly or indirectly with the people. In the first place, the officers, and also delegates for special purposes (comp. 2 Cor. 8 : 18, 19. Acts 15 : 2), were taken from the midst of the congregation, and were chosen by the people themselves or at least with their consent, as we have

¹ Gal. 3 : 28 : οὐκ ἐν ἄρσεν καὶ θήλυν πάντες γὰρ ὑμεῖς εἰς ἓστε ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ. On the contrary even Aristotle says unequivocally : *χειρὸν ἢ γυνὴ τοῦ ἀνδρός*, *Magn. Ethic.* I, 34.

² Probably also the prophesying of the daughters of the evangelist Philip in Cæsarea (Acts 21 : 9) occurred in family worship ; unless we suppose that here too was something which Paul would have censured (comp. Neander, p. 257). For Luke simply records the fact, without giving any opinion.

already shown in a previous section. Then, once in office, they were not to lord it over the flock, but to shine before it as patterns of holy living; to serve it; to control it, not by force of law, but through its own free conviction; and to pay due regard to its rights in all things (comp. 1 Pet. 5 : 1-5). This was the course even of the apostles themselves. Almost all their epistles, with their instructions, exhortations, and decisions on the weightiest points, are addressed, not to the officers alone, but to the whole congregation. In matters of controversy it seems to have been customary (according to 1 Cor. 6 : 5) to choose a board of arbitrators from the body of the people (comp. Matt. 18 : 15-18). Paul, it is true, excommunicated the incestuous person at Corinth; but only as united in spirit with the Corinthian Christians (*συναχθέντων ὑμῶν καὶ τοῦ ἡμοῦ πνεύματος*, 1 Cor. 5 : 4), so that his act was at the same time theirs. Nay, even in controversies, which concerned all Christendom, the apostles did not decide by themselves, but called the congregations, at least frequently, into consultation. We have a striking example of this in the council at Jerusalem for settling the great question about the binding authority of the Mosaic law, and the terms on which the Gentiles were to be admitted to the privileges of the Gospel.¹ Here the apostles assemble with the elders and "brethren;" the deliberations are held in the presence of the whole congregation; Peter urges his clear divine vision respecting the baptism of the Gentiles, not as a command, but simply as an argument (Acts 15 : 17 sqq.; comp. 11 : 2 sqq.); the whole assembly joins in passing the final resolution;² and the written decree of the council goes forth, not in the name of the apostles only, but also in the name of the brethren generally, and is addressed to the collective body of the Gentile Christians in Syria and Cilicia.³

This relation between the officers and their churches, to which the term *democratic* is sometimes, though not in strict propriety, applied,⁴ had a close

¹ Comp. § 67-69 above.

² C. 15 : 22 : τότε ἔδοξε τοῖς ἀποστόλοις καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις σὺν ὅλῃ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ.

³ V. 23 : οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ τοῖς . . . ἀδελφοῖς, etc.

⁴ By Dr. R. Rothe, for example, l. c. p. 148, and passim. We disapprove of this designation, because it is taken from a foreign sphere, that of politics, and may be easily misunderstood. Strictly, there is in the church no kind of dominion, neither democracy, nor aristocracy, nor monarchy; all is service (*διακονία*). The Saviour himself came into the world, not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many (Matt 20 : 28. Lu. 22 : 27. Jno. 13 : 14, 15 sq. Phil. 2 : 6-8). Rothe moreover asserts this so-called democratic character only for the government of congregations, and not for that of the church as a whole. This last he rather styles *autocratic* (p. 310), and regards as having assumed the episcopal form before the close of the apostolic age soon after the destruction of Jerusalem, particularly through the in

connection with the extraordinary effusion of the Holy Ghost in the apostolic period, and was thereby secured against the abuses to which such a form of government is liable, where the mass of the people are under the dominion of ignorance and wild passion. We see mirrored in it, to a certain extent, the ideal state of things, which shall come to pass, when the prophecy of the outpouring of the Spirit upon all flesh shall be absolutely fulfilled.

We must now take a more detailed view of the several offices of the apostolic church, beginning with those that look towards the church as a whole ; since this idea is anterior to that of a single congregation, though the two originally coincide as to extent, in the mother church at Jerusalem.

fluence of St. John. On the first point, however, he evidently goes too far, when, for example, he says (p. 153) of the congregational officers : " They were purely *functionaries of society*, a mere magistratus of the people, *whose authority flowed from no other source than the will of the congregation itself*, to which they owed their election." Against this view compare what we have already said (§ 124) on the divine origin of all church officers ; and in part the work of the Rev. Charles Rothe (since gone over to the Irvingites), entitled : *Die wahren Grundlagen der christlichen Kirchenverfassung*. 1844. p. 3-33.

CHAPTER II.

CHURCH OFFICES.

§ 129. *The Apostolate. (Note on the Irvingites.)*

To be an apostle, the man must have been an eye and ear witness of the main facts of the life of Jesus,—above all of the resurrection (Acts 1 : 22. Comp. 1 Cor. 9 : 1),—and called by Christ in person, without any human intervention. But here at once arises a difficulty respecting Matthias and Paul, who did not come into the original college until after the ascension. Matthias, indeed, possessed the first qualification (Acts 1 : 21, 22), but was chosen by men through the lot ; and this without any special divine direction, but merely upon the motion of the precipitate Peter, who thought that the vacancy in the sacred number twelve, occasioned by the crime of Judas, must forthwith be filled, without waiting for the promised outpouring of the Holy Ghost. Paul, on the contrary, had not known Jesus according to the flesh ;¹ but to compensate for this, the glorified Saviour appeared to him in visible form on the way to Damascus (1 Cor. 9 : 1. 15 : 8), and clothed him with the commission of an apostle for Gentiles and Jews. Paul lays special emphasis also on the facts, that he was called to his office, not through human mediation, but immediately by the Lord himself ; and that he had received his gospel, not from the older apostles, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ (Gal. 1 : 1, 11 sqq.). If now, however, we are still to hold fast the necessity and symbolical significance of the number twelve,² and are unwilling to confine it to the twelve tribes of the Jews,

¹ From 2 Cor. 5 : 16 some commentators, indeed, would infer the opposite ; but without sufficient ground. At all events, such an acquaintance would have been of no use to Paul, as he was then an unbeliever, and must have counted the Saviour either an enthusiast or an impostor.

² The number twelve was so fixed, that the apostles are often called simply *ἀπόστολοι* (Matt. 26 : 14, 47. Jno. 6 : 67. 20 : 24, etc.) ; even after the resurrection, when the college was no longer full (1 Cor. 15 : 5). The church has, in general, always clung to this original number ; though with some exceptions. The *Apostolical*

but refer it to all Christendom, the true spiritual Israel (as in fact the foundation-stones of the heavenly Jerusalem itself bear the names of "the twelve apostles of the Lamb," Rev 21 : 14), there seems to be no alternative, but to pronounce the election of Matthias a well-meant yet hasty and invalid act, and to substitute Paul for him, as the legitimate apostle. On the other side there are reasons for assigning to the free apostle of the Gentiles a position altogether peculiar and independent. He never represents himself as one of the twelve, but seems rather to distinguish himself from them as one born out of due time, occupying a similar relation to the Gentile world, as the older apostles did to the Jewish.¹ At all events it is not advisable to extend the number of proper, regular apostles beyond Paul; though there were undeniably several more *apostolic* men.²

This peculiar personal relation of the apostles to Christ suggests to us

Constitutions, falsely ascribed to Clement of Rome, speak (l. VIII. c. 46) of thirteen apostles (*δεκατρεῖς ἀπόστολοι*), counting Paul the thirteenth. They also distinguish James of Jerusalem, the brother of the Lord, from the younger apostle of this name, but regard him as a man of apostolical standing. Eusebius, in his commentary on Is 17 : 5 sq. (in Montfaucon, *Coll. nova patr.* II. p. 422), assumes fourteen apostles, adding to the twelve Paul and the James just mentioned: Δέκα καὶ τέσσαρας ποιήσει τοὺς ἅντας (ἀποστόλους), ὧν δώδεκα μὲν τοὺς πρῶτους ἀποστόλους εἶποις ἂν εἶναι, οὐκ ἐλάττω δὲ αὐτῶν τὴν ἀρετὴν Παῦλον, καὶ αὐτὸν κλητὸν ἀπόστολον, καὶ τὸν Ἰάκωβον γεγενῆσθαι, τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ κυρίου, etc.

¹ Comp § 63 above.

Especially Barnabas, one of the two candidates for the vacant place of Judas; the person who first introduced Paul to the older apostles (§ 64); the companion of Paul in his first missionary tour (§ 66); and afterwards an independent laborer (§ 70), whose name is always mentioned with honor. According to Tertullian and several modern divines (e. g. Ullmann, Wieseler, Thiersch) he was the author of the epistle to the Hebrews. Paul in 1 Cor. 9 : 6, joins him with himself; though he is here speaking not only of the apostles, but also of the brethren of the Lord, and in the superscriptions of several of his epistles he honors Timothy also with the same position. In Acts Barnabas is at first put before Paul (even at the apostolic council, 15 : 12; though the reverse order appears previously, 13 : 43, 46, 50); and twice, 14 : 4, 14, he shares with Paul the title *ἀπόστολοι*, though he is never called *ἀπόστολος* separately. The Greek and Roman churches designate him as apostle in their martyrologies.—In other places, where the word is used to denote mere fellow-laborers of the apostles, it is to be taken in its wider sense of *messenger, one sent*. In Phil. 2 : 25 Epaphroditus is called *ἀπόστολος*, as the delegate of the Philippian church. So the *ἀπόστολοι τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν*, 2 Cor. 8 : 23, are delegates of particular congregations. When it is said (Rom. 16 : 7) of the Roman missionaries Andronicus and Junias, otherwise unknown to us (some, as Chrysostom and Grotius, take Ἰουνίαν for the accus. of Ἰουνία, and understand by it the wife of Andronicus), that they were *ἐπίσημοι ἐν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις*, it is to be referred to the good credit in which they stood with the (proper) apostles. So Beza, Grotius, Meyer, and others of the best commen-

the nature of their office and its significance for the church. 'They are the representatives and vicegerents of Christ; the bearers and infallible organs of the Holy Ghost; the founders and pillars of the whole church.¹ The fact, that Peter calls himself a "fellow-elder,"² by no means proves that the apostles were merely presbyters, and therefore congregational officers, any more than the address of the Roman general to his soldiers as "commilitones" shows that they were both of the same rank. The apostles were, indeed, deacons and bishops; but they were also much more. Their office looked, and through their writings still looks, both in doctrine and in discipline, to all Christendom. After the Lord withdrew his visible presence from the world, they formed the highest tribunal of appeal, the supreme, all-sufficient authority, as the inspired interpreters of the divine economy of salvation; and to this day their writings, those records of the Christian revelation in its primitive purity and freshness, remain the infallible rule of faith and practice. So far as doctrine is concerned, the apostles could challenge for their teaching unconditional obedience; for the Spirit of God gave them mouth and wisdom, and spoke through them in an infallible manner;³ and it is not at all to be imagined, that they suffered themselves here to be corrected or interfered with in any point by the congregations, which in fact owed to them their very existence. Their writings are addressed in the first instance, indeed, to particular churches or persons, but through these also to all Christians in all ages. As to church government and discipline, they had the oversight and care of all the churches, as Paul himself distinctly says (2 Cor. 11 : 28, 29): "Beside those things that are without, that which cometh upon me daily, the care of all the churches. Who is weak, and I am not weak (by sympathy and common interest)? Who is offended, and I burn not?" When Peter calls himself co-presbyter, he implies also, that, though absent in the body, he still took part in the government of the several congregations, to which he wrote (1 Pet. 5 : 1). The nature of the case required, indeed, that the apostles in their missionary work should take different parts of the vast field. Paul made it his rule to labor in regions where none of his colleagues had yet preached the gospel (Rom. 15 : 20 sq. 2 Cor. 10 : 13-16); and according to the agreement made at the apostolic council, A. D. 50, he and Barnabas gave themselves chiefly to the Gentiles; while James, Peter, and John went to the Jews.⁴ But

¹ Comp. such passages as Matt. 16 : 18, sq. 18 : 18. Jno. 20 : 22 sq. 14 : 26. 16 : 13. Acts 1 : 5. 2 : 4. 2 Cor. 5 : 20. Eph. 2 : 20. Gal. 2 : 9. Rev. 21 : 14.

² *συμπρεσβύτερος*, 1 Pet. 5 : 1. Comp. 2 Jno. 1 and 3 Jno. 1.

³ Matt. 10 : 19 sq. Mk. 13 : 11. Lu. 12 : 11 sq. 21 : 15

⁴ Gal. 2 : 7-9. This fact perhaps gave rise to the old story, that the apostles a

this destroyed not the rightful official relation of each to the entire field. For in every city Paul addressed himself first to the Jews; Peter wrote to Paul's churches in Asia Minor, which consisted mostly of Gentile Christians;¹ both met at last, according to unanimous tradition, in Rome, where they doubtless exercised joint oversight; and after their death John entered into the labors of Paul in Asia Minor.

In virtue of this universal vocation, the apostles were not only evangelists for the whole unconverted world (Matt. 28 : 20), but at the same time the living bonds and the personal representatives of the inward and outward unity of the churches already organized.² The council at Jerusalem, already so often noticed, is the most perfect outward exhibition of the unity of the apostolic church, and at the same time a sanction by primitive Christianity of the *synodical* form of government, in which all orders of the church are represented, to transact business and discuss questions of general concern, and to give final decisions.

With all this comprehensive authority, however, with all their personal independence in their respective spheres, by virtue of which Paul, for example, once even rebuked the distinguished apostle, Peter, much his senior in office,³ the apostles still regarded themselves always as a collegiate body, and exercised their power as organic members of such a body and under a sense of responsibility to it. They did not stand apart, but blended their several gifts and peculiarities into a complete, harmonious whole. And as they were thus united with one another, so were they united also with the church, whose unity they personally represented. We have already seen (§ 128), that, with all the authority committed to them immediately by Christ, they never forced any measure upon the churches, but administered the government in active sympathy with them, and by their full consent. Hence the summoning of the council in the great controversy respecting the admission of the Gentiles to the church, that the decision might proceed from the whole body. They demanded no acknowledgment of their authority, which did not rest in free conviction and love on the part of the people; no obedience to their orders, which did not spring from the actual experience of the power of divine truth in the hearts of the people themselves. From all tyranny over conscience, from all arbitrary hierarchical despo-

Jerusalem divided themselves among the different countries of the earth. Comp. Socrates : *Hist. Eccl.* I. 19. Rufinus : *H. E.* I. 9, and Theodoret, *ad Ps.* 116.

¹ Comp. § 91 above.

² Comp. Rom. 16 : 16 : "The churches of Christ salute you." 1 Cor. 16 : 19 : "The churches of Asia salute you." V. 20 : "All the brethren greet you." Heb. 13 : 24, etc.

³ Comp. § 70 above.

tism, they were infinitely removed. They regarded the object of the church as one to be attained, not by some governing and others being governed, but by the active coöperation and mutual fraternal assistance of all under the common Head, the Redeemer of the whole body (Eph. 4. 1 Cor. 12). In feeding the flock they had the highest regard to the rights, freedom, and dignity of the humblest soul committed to their care. In every believer, even in a poor slave like Onesimus, they recognized a member of the same body and a beloved brother in Christ. In the whole company of saints they saw a family of free children of God a holy people and a royal priesthood, to show forth the praises of Him who had called them out of darkness into his marvellous light (1 Pet. 2 : 5, 9).

With the destination of the apostles for the whole church is connected also their mode of life. They did not station themselves at any fixed point, nor confine themselves to a particular diocese, but spent almost all their time in tours of missionary labor and of visitation. The only exception to this was the case of James the Just, who, for all that we know of him,¹ made the theocratic capital his permanent residence; and for this reason was almost always styled in the ancient church from the time of Clemens Alexandrinus, the first *bishop* of Jerusalem.² Yet this does not require us to place him precisely in the same category with the proper bishops of a later day. He stood in the mother church as the representative of the apostolic college, and acted in its name.³ On him devolved, as it seems, after the apostolic council, the superintendence of all the Jewish-Christian churches in Palestine and the surrounding countries; and his epistle, accordingly, is addressed to all believing Israelites.

NOTE.—The discussion of the interesting question lately renewed by the modern Montanists, the English sect of *Irvingites* (which has recently spread also in Germany and the United States) concerning the continuance or revival of the apostoli-

¹ Comp. Acts 12 : 17. 15 : 13–21. 21 : 18.

² See the quotations from the fathers in R. Rothe, l. c. p. 264 sqq. Indeed, this very position of James, in contrast with the missionary life of the apostles generally, is one of the arguments against his identity with the younger apostle of this name, and in favor of considering him merely an apostolical man (like Barnabas), whose great credit rested partly on his own character and partly on his relationship to the Lord. Comp. § 95 and the monograph on this subject there referred to.

³ See Rothe, p. 267 sqq., and the statement of Hegesippus in *Euseb.* II. 23, at the beginning of which it is said of James : διαδέχεται δὲ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν μετὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων; which we are not to translate, with Jerome "*post Apostolos*," but "*in connection with the apostles*." Hegesippus does not call James himself bishop, but applies this title to James' successor, Simeon, the son of Cleopas and kinsman of Jesus in *Euseb.* IV. 22 : μετὰ τὸ μαρτυρῆσαι Ἰάκωβον τὸν δίκαιον . . . Σομεὼν . . . καθίσταται ἐπίσκοπος, ὃν προέθεντο πάντες, ὄντα ἀνεψιὸν τοῦ Κυρίου δευτέρου.

cal office, does not properly fall within this historical sketch, and the subject can, therefore, be but briefly touched upon here by way of appendix. We may apply to this case, what we have said above (§ 116) on the perpetuity of the charisms. For gifts and offices are closely connected, like soul and body. Here, as there, we must distinguish between form and essence. The apostles occupy in several respects a position altogether peculiar, in which none can rival or supplant them, first as called by Christ *in person*, without human intervention; secondly, as the *inspired* and *infallible* bearers of the Christian revelation; thirdly, as the *founders* of the church; and fourthly, as the *representatives* not only of the Jews, or of the church of their day, but of *all* Christendom. As the Lord himself called only twelve, and promised them, that they should hereafter sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel (Matt. 19 : 28); so also the last book of the Bible knows of but "twelve apostles of the Lamb," whose names are written on the twelve foundations of the heavenly Jerusalem (Rev. 21 : 14, comp. 12 : 1, the twelve stars on the crown of Christ's bride). Under these aspects their office is intransmissible. Accordingly we find that the number was not replenished after the death of any one (as the elder James, for instance, Acts 11 : 2); and during the last ten years of the first century John was the only surviving member of the original college.—On the other hand, however, we may very properly speak of an *unbroken continuation* of the apostolate. For, in the first place, the *apostle* originally appointed by our Lord *still live and work*, not only personally in the church above, which stands in mystical union with the church below, but also, through their normative *word* and their *spirit*, in the church militant itself, every day and every hour teaching, encouraging, exhorting, strengthening, and comforting. Then secondly, *every regularly called minister* (and not the bishops alone, according to the Catholic and Anglican doctrine) is, as to the essential character of his office, in the wide sense a *successor* of the apostles; since he also stands as an ambassador in Christ's stead, and in his name and as his organ administers to penitent sinners all the benefits of redemption through the word and sacraments, which are to this day a savor of life unto life or of death unto death. For though much that is human and worldly has crept into the whole administration of the church, yet, in the language of the pious Rieger, "the blessed God is still as earnest in upholding the gospel of his Son at this day, as he was when it was first preached; and therefore men may still rejoice as much as they might at first in the institution of the ministerial office; in the call to it, the qualifications for it, and the blessings of it." Finally, as we find even in the beginning *apostolical* men, such as Barnabas and James the Just, along with the proper apostles and bearing their name, at least in its wider sense; so the Lord of the church continues to send, from time to time, altogether extraordinary instruments, in the persons of great *national missionaries* and genial *reformers*, who exercise over a large part of the Christian world, if not over the whole, a kind of apostolical influence, and enjoy a corresponding distinction. We may say in general, that almost all the epoch-forming movements in history proceed from highly gifted, influential individuals, in whom a great idea assumes flesh and blood, and presents itself to the age in concrete and, as it were, palpable life and freshness. That our own age too needs some such heroes in religion, to remedy, theoretically and

practically, the disorders of the church as it now stands, and by some creative act to prepare the way for the second coming of Christ, and thus to introduce the church of the future, we are firmly convinced; and we hold it to be the duty of Christians to pray, that the Lord would raise up such instruments, and fit them for the work. But that they have already appeared in the so-called Irvingite "apostles" we must be allowed, with all respect for the honesty and earnestness of their efforts, to hold in great doubt, even after perusing the apostle Carlyle's tract on the Apostolic Office, which Dr. H. Thiersch has translated into German. The Lord has never forsaken his church, nor left himself without a witness in it. Just so far as one gives up the reasonableness of history, he denies also the precious fundamental truths of the universal providence of God and of the perpetual and real presence of Christ in the church, which is "his body, the fullness of him that filleth all in all."

§ 130. *Prophets.*

The second class of officers, named immediately after the apostles, in Eph. 2 : 20. 3 : 5. 4 : 11. 1 Cor. 12 : 28 sq., are the *prophets*. By this term we are to understand inspired teachers and enthusiastic preachers of divine mysteries.¹ They were not confined to any particular place, but appeared in the different churches, teaching, exhorting, and encouraging, as they were moved by the higher impulse of the Spirit. They seem also to have exercised a special influence in the election of officers, by directing attention to those persons, whom the voice of Revelation in connection with prayer and fasting pointed out as superior instruments for spreading the Gospel, or for any other service in the kingdom of God.² Among the prophets the book of Acts incidentally names Agabus, who meets us first at Antioch (11 : 28), afterwards in Cæsarea (21 : 10); the missionary Barnabas (comp. 4 : 36); Simeon, Lucius (not to be confounded with Luke), Manaen, and Saul (the apostle), at Antioch (13 : 1); Judas, and the Evangelist, Silas, known as Paul's companion (15 : 32). But first of all, the apostles themselves are to be considered prophets. When it is said of Christians (Eph. 2 : 20), that they are built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets (τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ προφητῶν), the omission of the article before the second substantive shows that the two ideas, as in the parallel passage 3 : 5, must be closely joined together, so as to mean the apostles, who are at the same time prophets.³ For the apostles, in fact, as organs of the Holy Ghost, as receivers of the Christian revelation (comp. Gal. 1 : 12), proclaimed the whole plan

¹ Comp. above, § 117, where we have already spoken of the *gift* of prophecy.

² Acts 13 : 1 sq. 16 : 2. Comp. 1 Tim. 1 : 18. 4 : 14.

³ To make it refer to the Old Testament prophets is utterly inadmissible. The order of the terms itself is against this; but chiefly the parallel passages Eph. 4 : 11 and 3 : 5, where the ὡς ἡμεῖς ἀπεκαλύφθη shuts us up to the New Testament revelation. Comp. also Stier's exposition of the passage, *Comment.* I., p. 384 sqq.

of salvation, and disclosed what was before a mystery. And in this view their words and their writings were, in a higher sense than the Old Testament Scriptures, prophetic.¹

§ 131. *Evangelists.*

The third rank is assigned by Paul (Eph. 4 : 11) to the *evangelists* or itinerant missionaries.² The name itself indicates, that their chief business was to proclaim the glad tidings of salvation ; primarily among nations yet unconverted ; but not exclusively ; for believers also need to have the Gospel repeatedly presented to them anew. The discourses of the evangelists were, therefore, historical in their matter, and turned chiefly upon the main facts of the Saviour's life, especially his resurrection.³ This easily gave rise to the later application of the term to the authors of our written Gospels. We find the evangelists commonly in the immediate neighborhood, or at least in the service, of the apostles, as their "helpers" and "fellow-laborers."⁴ They were most needed by Paul in his extended sphere of labor ; and on his last journey to Jerusalem he had with him no less than seven such attendants (Acts 20 : 4-5). To this class of church officers belong Philip, originally one of the seven deacons of Jerusalem, but afterwards promoted to a wider sphere of activity, in which he appears first preaching the Messiah to the Samaritans, then baptizing the Ethiopian on the way from Jerusalem to Gaza, and finally laboring in Cæsarea ;⁵ Timothy (comp. 2 Tim 4 : 5 : *ἔργον ποιήσων εὐαγγελιστοῦ*), whom Paul specially loves, and whom he names along with himself in the superscriptions of several of his epistles ; Titus, a Gentile convert, perhaps a native of Corinth ;⁶ Silas, or Silvanus, a prophet of the church of Jerusalem (Acts 15 : 22, 32), who accompanied the apostle of the Gentiles on his second missionary tour,⁷ and appears finally in

¹ Comp. Rom. 16 : 26. 2 Pet. 1 : 19. 3 : 15, 16, and Stier's remarks, l. c. p. 389 sq.

² So Theodoret : *ἐκείνοι περιόοντες ἐκήρυττον*. Comp. also Neander, I. 258. The present use of the term is too limited.

³ On Eph. 4 : 11 Bengel well remarks : "Propheta de *futuris* (but not exclusively), evangelista de *praeteritis* infallibiliter testatur ; propheta totum habet a spiritu, evangelista rem visu et auditu perceptam memoriæ prodiit, charismate tamen majori ad munus maximi momenti instructus, quam pastores et doctores."

⁴ *Συνεργοί, συνδοῦλοι, κοινωνοί*, Phil. 4 : 3. Col. 1 : 7. 2 Cor. 8 : 23. Hence Calvin (*Inst.* IV., 3. § 4) describes the evangelists as those, "qui quum dignitate essent apostolis minores, officiotamen proximi erant adeoque vices eorum gerebant, quales fuerant Lucas, Timotheus, Titus et reliqui similes, ac fortassis etiam septuaginta discipuli, quos secundo ab apostolis loco Christus designavit (Luc. 10 : 1)."

⁵ Acts 8 : 5 sqq., 26 sqq. 21 : 8, where he is called "evangelist."

⁶ Gal 2 : 1. 2 Cor. 8 : 23. 7 : 6, 14. 12 : 18. Tit. 1 : 5.

⁷ Acts 15 : 40. 16 : 19, 25. 17 : 4. 18 : 5. 1 Thess. 1 : 1. 2 Thess. 1 : 1, where he is put before Timothy, probably as being older.

the vicinity of Peter (1 Peter 5 : 12) ; Luke, the author of the third Gospel and of the Acts of the Apostles (in which he does, indeed, not mention his name expressly, but includes himself, where he speaks in the first person plural), who was also a physician (Col. 4 : 14), and one of Paul's most faithful companions, not forsaking him even in his last imprisonment (Philem. 24. 2 Tim. 4 : 11) ; John Mark of Jerusalem, missionary assistant of Paul, then of his uncle Barnabas, afterwards again in company with Paul, and finally (perhaps also at times before) with Peter, to whom he probably owed his conversion, and whom he served as interpreter ;¹ Clement (Phil. 4 : 3) ; Epaphras, founder of the Colossian and other churches in Phrygia, whom we meet at last with his imprisoned teacher in Rome (Col. 1 : 7. 4 : 12, 13) ; Epaphroditus, the delegate of the Philippians, whom some commentators groundlessly take to be the same as Epaphras (Phil. 2 : 25) ; perhaps also Tychicus (Tit. 3 : 12) ; Trophimus, Demas, Apollos, and other co-laborers of the apostles.²

These examples suffice to show that the evangelists also were not *congregational* officers,³ nor stationed like the presbyters and later bishops at particular posts, but that they travelled about freely wherever their services were needed. The apostles employed them as messengers for various purposes to all points of their vast field ;⁴ sending them, now for the further propagation of the Gospel ; now to carry letters ; now to visit, inspect, and strengthen congregations already established ; so that the evangelists also, like the apostles themselves, served as living bonds of union and promoters of fraternal harmony among the different sections

¹ Acts 12 : 25. 13 : 5, 13. 15 : 39. Col. 4 : 10. Philem. 24. 2 Tim. 4 : 11. 1 Pet. 5 : 13.

² Several of these men are, in the later tradition, made bishops. To Timothy is assigned, as a diocese, Ephesus ; to Titus, Crete (in the *Const. apost.* VII. 46, by Euseb. *H. E.* III. 4, Jerome, *catal. sub Tim. and Tit.*, and others) ; to Epaphroditus, Philippi (by Theodoret on Phil. 1 : 1 and 2 : 25, on account of the title ἀπόστολος, to Apollos Cæsarea (*Menolog. Graec.* II. p. 17) ; to Tychicus, Chalcedon ; and Paul's *συνεργός* Clement, is generally held to be the same as the well-known Roman bishop of that name. But, the last case out of view, some of these traditions can with great difficulty be reconciled with New Testament facts. Timothy, for example, down to the last imprisonment of Paul, had no fixed residence ; and after Paul's death it was John rather who presided over the church at Ephesus. That Titus had no local attachment to Crete appears from 2 Cor. *passim* and from Tit. 3 : 13. The later system of church government exhibits no exact parallel to the offices here in question.

³ According to the distinction made above (§ 125) between these and church officers. This distinction is entirely overlooked by the author of the articles : *The apostleship a temporary office*, in the "Princeton Review" for 1849 and '50, which make Timothy and Titus to have been no more than common presbyters.

⁴ Hence Rothe (p. 305) not improperly styles them *apostolical delegates*. We prefer, however, the title evangelists, as it is used by Paul himself.

of the church. In short, they were, in some sense, the vicegerents of the apostles, acting under their direction and by their authority, like the commissioners of a king. Thus we find Timothy soon after his conversion in the missionary service (Acts 16 : 3 sq.) ; then at Ephesus, to complete the organization of the church and repress the growth of errors during the absence of Paul (1 Tim. 1 : 3. 3 : 14, 15. 4 : 13). Afterwards he is sent by Paul to Corinth (Acts 19 : 22. 1. Cor. 4 : 17 sq. 16 : 10) ; falls in with him again in Macedonia (2 Cor. 1 : 1) ; accompanies the apostle on his last journey to Jerusalem (Acts 20 : 4) ; is with him in his confinement at Rome (Col. 1 : 1. Philem. 1. Phil. 1 : 1) ; goes as a delegate with an epistle to the church at Philippi, to inquire into its state (Phil. 2 : 19-23) ; must have been, when Paul wrote his second epistle to him, in the neighborhood of Ephesus, whence he is summoned by the apostle, shortly before the latter's death, to Rome (2 Tim. 4 : 9, 21) ; and finally the epistle to the Hebrews informs us of his liberation from prison and his intention to travel east (13 : 23). So with Titus, whom we meet at one time in Jerusalem (Gal. 2 : 1), at another in Ephesus, at another in Corinth (2 Cor. 7 : 6, 14), again in Crete (Tit. 1 : 5), then in Nicopolis (Tit. 3 : 12), and finally in Dalmatia (2 Tim. 4 : 10).

CHAPTER III.

CONGREGATIONAL OFFICES.

§ 132. *Presbyter-Bishops.*

AFTER these three offices, which relate to the whole church, the apostle mentions, Eph. 4 : 11, *pastors and teachers*; denoting by these terms the regular overseers of *single congregations*, in their twofold capacity. These officers are undoubtedly the same with those elsewhere in the New Testament commonly called presbyters, and four times bishops (viz., in Acts 20 : 28. Phil. 1 : 1. 1 Tim. 3 : 2. Tit. 1 : 7), whose business is expressly declared to be the feeding of the flock.²

First, as to the meaning of these terms and their relation to one another. The name *presbyter*, or *elder*, is no doubt of Jewish-Christian origin,—a translation of the Hebrew title *saken*, *sekenim* (זְקֵנִים), applied to the rulers of the synagogues, on whom devolved the conduct of religious affairs. It refers, therefore, primarily to age and the personal venerableness, which goes with it;³ then derivatively to official dignity and authority, since these are usually borne by men of age and experi-

¹ That the words *ποιμένας καὶ διδασκάλους*, Eph. 4 : 11, on account of the absence of *τοὺς δέ*, must be referred to one and the same office, as is done by Jerome and Augustine, and most modern commentators, Rückert, Harless, Meyer, Stier (Calvin, however, Beza and De Wette dissenting), we have before remarked (§ 125). Their restriction to a small sphere is noticed already by Theodoret when he speaks of them as *τοὺς κατὰ πόλιν καὶ κώμην ἀφορισμένους*. There is also, it is true, a pastorate and doctorate for the whole church; but this belongs to the apostles, who, as before observed, united all offices in themselves. (The distinction of pastors and teachers as two separate officers, which is made in several Calvinistic church constitutions, for instance in the Book of Discipline of the Scotch Kirk, however good it may be in itself, cannot be based upon Eph. 4 : 11, as was first done by Calvin.)

² *Ποιμαίνειν*, Acts 20 : 28, so also 1 Pet. 5 : 1, 2. Comp. also the close collocation of *ποιμήν* and *ἐπίσκοπος*, 1 Pet. 2 : 25, where both terms are applied to Christ.

³ It would seem to be in this sense, and not in the official, that John styles himself "the elder," or presbyter, 2 Jno. 1, and 3 Jno. 1. Even in the second and third cen-

ence.¹ The term *bishop*, or *overseer*, is, in all probability, borrowed from the political relations of the Greeks.² Hence it came later into ecclesiastical use, and made its first appearance too among the Gentile Christians; as in fact it occurs in the New Testament, only in the writings of Paul and his disciple, Luke. It refers, as the term itself signifies, to the official duty and activity of these congregational rulers.³

But aside from this immaterial difference in origin and signification, the two appellations belong to *one and the same office*; so that the bishops of the New Testament are to be regarded not as diocesan bishops like those of a later period, but simply as congregational officers. This is placed beyond question by every passage in which we meet with this title. For in Acts 20 : 28 Paul addresses as "bishops" the very same rulers of the Ephesian church, who had just before (v. 17) been called "presbyters." Again, in the superscription of his epistle to the Philippians (1 : 1) he salutes the saints in Philippi, "with the bishops and deacons (σὺν ἐπισκόποις καὶ διακόνοις), without mentioning the presbyters; which can be explained only by supposing the latter to have been identical with the bishops. And then the plural form here used is, as was observed already by Jerome, further evidence of the same fact; since there cannot be more than one bishop, in the later sense of the term, in any one church. A third proof we have in the *usus loquendi* of the Pastoral Epistles. In Titus 1 : 5 the apostle directs his disciple to ordain "presbyters" in the churches of Crete; then, speaking of the qualifications to be regarded in the choice, he suddenly brings in the

turies the name *πρεσβύτεροι* is still met with in what may be termed the school of St. John, as an honorary title of the earlier church teachers (the ancients, the fathers), even where they were proper bishops in the Catholic sense. Comp. § 106 and 107 above, and the quotations from Irenæus in Rothe, p. 414 sqq.

¹ Precisely so with the Greek *γερονσία*, and the Latin *senatus*, official titles of magistrates derived from age and dignity.

² The delegates appointed to organize states dependent on Athens, as also other persons in authority, were called *episcopoi*; comp. Suidas, s. v. *ἐπίσκοπος*, *Scholia on Aristophanes, Aves* v. 1023. Cicero also uses the word in a letter to Atticus (*Ep.* VII. 11): "Vult me Pompejus esse, quem tota hæc Campana et maritima ora habeat ἐπίσκοπον, ad quem delectus et summa negotii reletur;" and in a somewhat different sense the old Roman jurist, Arcadius Charisius, in a fragment of his work *De muneribus civilibus* (*Digest.* lib. IV. Tit. 4, leg. 18, § 7), where it is said: "Episcopi, qui præsent panem et caeteris venalibus rebus, quæ civitatum populis ad quotidianum victum usui sunt." The terms *ἐπίσκοπος* and *ἐπισκοπή*, moreover, occur several times in the LXX., as the translation of פִּקְדָּן, פִּקְדֻן, פִּקְדָּה, Nu. 4 : 16. 31 : 14. Jud. 9 : 28. 2 Kings 11 : 16. Neh. 11 : 9, 14. Is. 60 : 17.

³ Substantially the same distinction was perceived by Jerome, *Epist.* 82, *ad Oceanum*. "Apud veteres iidem episcopi et presbyteri, quia illud nomen *dignitatis* (he says more properly, on Tit. 1 : 7, *nomen officii*) est, hoc *ætatibus*."

name "bishop," while, as is shown at once by the causative particle "for" (v. 7, *δεῖ γὰρ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον*, etc.), he is still plainly speaking of the same persons. In 1 Tim. 3 : 1-7 he sets forth the requisites for the episcopate, and then (v. 8-13) passes immediately to those for the diaconate, without mentioning the presbyterate either here or afterwards. Yet it is evidently his intention to instruct Timothy respecting the qualifications for *all* the congregational offices; hence the offices of bishop and presbyter must have been the same. Finally; Peter (1 Ep. 5 : 1, 2) addresses himself to the "presbyters" of the congregations, to which he wrote (and not the bishops, as he must have done in this connection, had they been a higher class of officers), as "also an elder," a "co-presbyter," and describes it as their business to "feed the flock of God" and "take the oversight of it" (*ποιμάνετε τὸ ἐν ὑμῖν ποίμνιον τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐπισκοποῦντες*, κ. τ. λ.) ;—a clear proof, that here also the presbyterate and episcopate coincide; the former term denoting the honor and dignity, the latter the duty, belonging to one and the same office.¹

This identity of presbyters and bishops in the apostolic church was also acknowledged by the most learned church fathers, on exegetical grounds, even after the Catholic episcopal system (which was supposed to have originated in the *apostolate*) had become completely established.²

¹ The same form of expression we find in the apostolic father, Clement of Rome, when he says in his first epistle to the Corinthians, c. 42, that the apostles ordained the first fruits (*τὰς ἀπαρχάς*) of the Christian faith in new congregations as *ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους*, without mentioning *πρεσβύτεροι* at all. He chose the other term, which is here evidently synonymous, because he had in his eye the passage, Is. 60 : 17, where the LXX. translate : *καὶ δώσω τοὺς ἀρχοντάς σου ἐν εἰρήνῃ, καὶ τοὺς ἐπισκόπους σου ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ*.

² See Rothe, l. c. p. 207-217, where the passages from the fathers are given at large; also Gieseler, *Kirchengesch.* I. 1, § 30, note 1 (p. 115 sqq. of the 4th ed.). We confine ourselves to the most important, and add some English authorities. Jerome says, *Ad. Tit.* 1 : 7 : "Idem est ergo presbyter qui episcopus et antequam diaboli instinctu studia in religione fierent . . . communi presbyterorum consilio ecclesiae gubernabantur." Then he adduces as proof all the passages of Scripture noticed above. Again, *Epist.* 85, *ad Evagrium* (in later copies *ad Evangelum*) : "Nam quum apostolus perspicue doceat, eosdem esse presbyteros et episcopos," etc. Finally, *Ep.* 82, *ad Oceanum* (al. 83) : "In utraque epistola (the first to Timothy and the one to Titus) sive episcopi sive presbyteri (quamquam apud veteres iidem episcopi et presbyteri fuerint, quia illud nomen dignitatis est, hoc ætatis) jubentur monogami in clerum eligi." So Ambrosiaster. *ad Ept.* 4 : 11, and the author of the pseudo-Augustinian *Quæstiones V. et N. T.* qu. 101. Among the Greek fathers, Chrysostom, *Hom. I. in Ep. ad Philipp.*, says : *Συνεπισκόποις* (so he reads Phil. 1 : 1, instead of *σὺν ἐπισκόποις*) καὶ διακόνοις. τί τοῦτο; μῶς πόλεως πολλοὶ ἐπίσκοποι ἦσαν; Οὐδαμῶς· ἀλλὰ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους οὕτως ἐκάλεσε· τότε γὰρ τέως ἐκοινῶνουν τοῖς ὀνόμασι, καὶ διάκονος ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ἐλέγετο, κ. τ. λ. Still plainer is the language of Theodoret, *ad Phil.* 1 : 1 : . . . ἐπισκόπους δὲ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους καλεῖ, ἀμφότερα γὰρ εἶχον κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καὶ ὄν, ὅν τὰ ὀνόματα, for which he quotes the proof texts already given. So *ad Tim.* 3 : 1

As to the time and manner of the introduction of this office we have, unfortunately, no such information as is given respecting the diaconate (Acts 6). The demand for the office unquestionably arose very early; since, notwithstanding the diffusion of gifts, which were not necessarily confined to official station, provision had to be made for the regular instruction and government of the rapidly multiplying churches. The historical pattern for it was presented in the Jewish synagogue, in the college or bench of elders (πρεσβύτεροι, Lu. 7 : 3; ἀρχισυνάγωγοι, Mk. 5 : 22. Acts 13 : 15), who conducted the exercises of public worship, prayer and the reading and exposition of the Scriptures. Christian presbyters meet us for the first time, Acts 11 : 30, at Jerusalem, when the church of Antioch sent a collection to their brethren in Judea. Thence the institution passed over not only to all the Jewish-Christian churches, but also to those planted by Paul and his co-laborers among the Gentiles. From the example of the family of Stephanas at Corinth (1 Cor. 16 : 15) we learn, that the first converts (the ἀπαρχαί) were usually chosen to this office;—a fact explicitly confirmed also by Clement of Rome.¹

ἐπίσκοπον δὲ ἐν ταῦτα τὸν πρεσβύτερον λέγει, κ. τ. λ. This view was maintained even still later by theologians of the Middle Ages, one of whom, Pope Urban II. (1091), expressed himself in a remarkable way: "Sacros autem ordines dicimus diaconatum et presbyteratum. Hos siquidem solos primitiva legitur ecclesia habuisse: super his solum praeceptum habemus apostoli." Among the modern Roman Catholic expositors, Mack (*Commentar über die Pastoralbriefe des Ap. Paulus*, Tüb. 1836, p. 60 sqq.) fully concedes the identity of the New Testament presbyters and bishops; he sees in them the later presbyters, and takes the later bishops, on the contrary, as the successors of the apostles and their immediate assistants. This is undoubtedly, on Catholic ground, the only proper derivation of the episcopate. By Protestant interpreters and historians this identity has always been asserted; and that too by several learned Episcopalians. Dr. Whitby, for instance, on Phil. 1 : 1, admits: "Both the Greek and Latin Fathers do, with one consent, declare, that Bishops were called Presbyters, and Presbyters Bishops, in apostolic times, the names being then common." Also, to quote a recent critical authority, Dr. Bloomfield, on Acts 20 : 17 (*Greek Test. with English Notes*, etc. vol. I. p. 560. Philad. ed.), remarks on the term πρεσβυτέρους: "As these persons are at v. 28 called ἐπισκόπους, and especially from a comparison of other passages (as 1 Tim. 3 : 1), the best Commentators, ancient and modern, have with reason inferred that the terms as yet denoted the same thing;" though he adds immediately, but without proof, that one of the presbyters was set over the rest as a bishop in the modern sense. The same view is expressed in Conybeare and Howson's work on St. Paul, I. p. 465. When some Anglican divines deny the original identity of presbyters and bishops, and pretend to derive their system of church government from the name and office of the *New Testament* bishop, they can be, indeed, easily refuted. But this by no means settles the question of church polity. The Episcopal and Presbyterian controversy turns ultimately on the decision of the question, whether the office of the apostles and their delegates has a *permanent* or merely a *temporary* character.

¹ In the passage already quoted, 1 Cor. c. 42.

After the pattern of the synagogues, as well as the ancient municipal governments, where the power was vested, aristocratically, in a senate or college of *decuriones*, every church had a number of presbyters. They appear everywhere in the plural, and as a corporate body ;—at Jerusalem, Acts 11 : 30. 15 : 4, 6, 23. 21 : 18 ; at Ephesus, 20 : 17, 28 ; at Philippi, Phil. 1 : 1 ; at the ordination of Timothy, 1 Tim. 4 : 14, where mention is made of the laying on of the hands of the presbytery ; and in the churches, to which James wrote, Jas. 5 : 14 : “ Is any sick among you ? let him call for *the presbyters of the congregation*, and let them pray over him,” &c. The same is implied also in the statement (Acts 14 : 23), that Paul and Barnabas ordained elders (several, of course) for *every* church ; and still more clearly in the direction given to Titus (Tit. 1 : 5), to ordain elders, that is a presbytery, in *every* city of Crete.¹

Some scholars have imagined, indeed, that in the larger cities there were several churches, with only one presbyter or bishop to each ; that, consequently, the government of congregations was from the first in principle, not democratic, nor aristocratic, but monarchical.² But this atomic theory of a multitude of independent churches is refuted by the passages just quoted, in which the presbyters appear as a college ; and by the tendency towards organized association, which entered into the very life of Christians from the beginning. The *household* churches (*ἐκκλησίαι κατ' οἶκον*), frequently mentioned and greeted,³ indicate merely the fact, that the Christians, where they had become very numerous and lived far apart, as in Rome particularly (the population of which then exceeded that of Paris now), were accustomed to meet for edification at different places. Such an arrangement was perfectly consistent with the organic union of these congregations as one whole, under the superintendence of a common presbytery. Hence, also, the apostolical epistles are never addressed to a separate part of the congregation, an *ecclesiola in ecclesia*, a conventicle, but always to the whole body of Christians at

¹ Ἴνα . . . καταστήσῃς κατὰ πόλιν πρεσβυτέρους. Dr Baur, indeed (in his work against the genuineness of Paul's Pastoral Epistles, Stuttg. and Tübingen. 1835, p. 81), takes the plural to refer to the collective idea implied in κατὰ πόλιν, so that Titus was to place only one presbyter in each city. But in this case we should expect either κατὰ πόλεις or πρεσβύτερον. The κατὰ πόλιν is more adverbial than collective equivalent to *oppidum*, by cities. So with κατ' ἐκκλησίαν, Acts 14 : 23. Comp Rothe, l. c. p. 181 sqq.

² So Baur, l. c. ; and in a somewhat different form the Low Dutch theologian, Kist, in his article on the Origin of Episcopacy (Utrecht. 1830), translated in Illgen's

³ Zeitschrift für hist. Theologie,” Vol. II. No. 2, p. 46–90.

⁴ Rom. 16 : 4, 5, 14, 15. 1 Cor. 16 : 19. Col. 4 : 15. Philem. 2.

Rome, at Corinth, at Ephesus, at Philippi, at Thessalonica, &c., as one moral person.¹

Whether now a perfect parity reigned among these collegiate presbyters; or one, say the oldest, constantly presided over the rest; or, finally, one followed another in the presidency, as *primus inter pares*, by some kind of rotation, the New Testament gives us no information, unless we find it in the apocalyptic angels, of whom we shall speak more particularly hereafter. The analogy of the Jewish synagogues leads to no certain result, since it is disputed whether there was a particular presidency, an office of *archi-synagogos* properly so-called, in these as early as the time of Christ.² Respecting the Roman municipal system, on the contrary, we know, that in the senates of the cities out of Italy one of the decuriones, the eldest, acted as president under the title *principalis*.³ Some sort of presidency is certainly indispensable in a well-organized government and in the regular transaction of business, and thus must be presumed to have existed in these primitive presbyteries. But as neither the Acts of the Apostles, nor Paul's, nor the catholic epistles, give us any information respecting it, we have no

¹ Comp. 1 Thess. 1 : 1. 2 Thess. 1 : 1. 1 Cor. 1 : 2. 5 : 1 sqq. 2 Cor. 1 : 1, 23 2 : 1 sqq. Col 4 : 16. Phil. 1 : 1, &c. Even Neander, otherwise comparatively so unchurchly, well observes against Kist and Baur (*Kirchengesch.* I. p. 317, 2nd ed.) : "This unity presents itself not as something yet to arise, but as something original grounded from the first in the very nature of the Christian consciousness; and the divisions, which threaten to destroy it, appear rather as a sickly growth of after times, as in the Corinthian church. If also separate assemblies of some portions of the community may have been formed in the private houses of those who had a suitable room for them, or were specially qualified to edify them by their discourses, this itself was a result of the enlargement of the church, which was already regularly organized; and those, who formed such meetings, did *not* thereby separate themselves from the great whole of the church under its ruling senate." Comp. also Neander's *Gesch. d. Pflanzung*, etc., p. 55 and p. 253, Note.

² As Vitringa, for example (*De synag. vet.* II. 9-11), and Winer (*Reallexikon*, II. p. 550), suppose. But the only passage, where one is directly named ἀρχισυνάγωγος (רִאשׁ הַכְּנֶסֶת) is Lu. 13 : 14. It may very easily be, however, that even then, as was unquestionably the case at a later period, a single person presided over the synagogue in smaller places, instead of a body of rulers; or that Luke means simply the president acting as *primus inter pares* at the time. The last is made probable by the fact, that Luke (c. 8 : 41, comp. v. 49) names Jairus, without qualification. ἀρχων τῆς συναγωγῆς; while Mark in the parallel passage, 5 : 22, describes him as ἐλς τῶν ἀρχισυναγῶγων. In other passages also, as Acts 13 : 15. 18 : 8, 17, as well as Mk. 5 : 22, several ἀρχισυνάγωγοι appear in one and the same synagogue; so that the word is here synonymous with πρεσβύτεροι, except, perhaps, that the former refers to official activity (like ἐπίσκοποι), the latter to official dignity.

³ See Savigny : *Gesch. des röm. Rechts im Mittelalter*, I. p. 80-83.—In the Italian cities *magistratus* stood at the head of the bodies of decuriones.

means of determining its particular form.¹ In the nature of the case also the presbyters must have distributed the various duties of their office among themselves, so as to avoid promiscuous interference and confusion.

§ 133. *Office of the Episcopal Presbyters.*

If now we inquire as to the proper official character of the presbyters, we cannot make them the same with the later diocesan bishops. These last are *church* officers, and claim, justly or unjustly, a position like that of the apostles and their immediate assistants, Timothy, Titus, &c. The idea of episcopacy too, in the usual sense, is essentially monarchical and excludes a plurality of bishops in one and the same place. The presbyter-bishops were rather, as already remarked, officers of *single* congregations; but within these they had charge of all that pertains to the good order and spiritual prosperity of a religious community. Their office then consisted primarily in the general superintendence of the congregation. This is indicated by the very names applied to them and their duties; "pastors" (ποιμένες, Eph. 4 : 11, answering to the Hebrew פִּרְשֵׁי־טוֹרָה, as the rulers of the synagogue were also called), who are to "feed" the flock of God (ποιμαίνειν, Acts 20 : 28. 1 Pet. 5 : 2); "overseers" (ἐπίσκοποι and ἐπισκοπεῖν, 1 Pet. 5 : 2, &c.); "rulers" (προϊστάμενοι, προστῆναι, 1 Thess. 5 : 12. Rom. 12 : 8. 1 Tim. 3 : 4, 5, 12, προεστῶτες πρεσβύτεροι, 1 Tim. 5 : 17, comp. κυβερνήσεις, 1 Cor. 12 : 28); and "leaders" (ἡγούμενοι, Heb. 13 : 7, 17, 24). This superintendence of a congregation included not only the direction of public worship and a vigilant regard to the religious interests of the church—in a word, the whole province of pastoral care and discipline,—but also the management of the property and all the pecuniary concerns of the congregation; as may be inferred from the fact, that the collection of the Antiochian Christians for their brethren in Judea was delivered to the presbytery at Jerusalem, Acts 11 : 30.

But then again, the presbyters were at the same time the regular teachers of the congregation, and can therefore not be put in the same class with the lay-elders of Presbyterian churches. On them devolved officially the exposition of the Scriptures, the preaching of the gospel, and the administration of the sacraments. That this function was closely connected with the other appears from the very juxta-position of "pastors and teachers," Eph. 4 : 11, where the two terms must be re-

¹ Dr. Rothe, l. c. p. 24C and 528, thinks, indeed, that the presbyteries of those days needed no particular president from among themselves, because the apostles and their delegates were their proper presidents. But these could not be present in all the congregations and on every occasion.

ferred to the same person.¹ The same association of ruling and teaching we find in Heb. 13 : 7 : "Remember them which have the rule over you (ἡγούμενοι), who have spoken unto you the word of God (οἵτινες ἐλάλησαν ὑμῖν τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ); whose faith follow, considering the end of their conversation;" comp. v. 17. Particularly decisive, however, are the instructions of the pastoral epistles, where, among the requirements for the office of presbyter, besides irreproachable piety and a talent for the administration of church government, Paul expressly mentions also capacity to teach, 1 Tim. 3 : 2 : "A bishop, then, must be blameless, the husband of one wife, vigilant, sober, of good behavior, given to hospitality, *apt to teach* (διδασκικόν)," etc.; so in Tit. 1 : 9, where it is required of a bishop, that he should "hold fast the faithful word, as he hath been taught (ἀντεχόμενον τοῦ κατὰ τὴν διδαχὴν πιστοῦ λόγου), that he may be able by sound doctrine both to exhort and to convince the gainsayers."

These passages forbid our making two distinct classes of presbyters, of which one, corresponding to the seniors or lay elders in the Calvinistic churches, had to do only with the government, and not at all with the administration of doctrine and the sacraments; while the other, on the contrary, was devoted entirely, or at least mainly, to the service of the word and altar. Such a distinction of *ruling* elders, belonging to the laity, and *teaching* presbyters, or ministers proper, first suggested by Calvin,² and afterwards further insisted on by many Protestant (especially Presbyterian) divines,³ rests, indeed, on a very judicious ecclesiastical policy; and is, so far, altogether justifiable; but it cannot be proved at all from the New Testament or church antiquity, and presupposes also an opposition of clergy and laity, which did not exist under the same form in the apostolic period. The only passage appealed to in support of it is 1 Tim. 5 : 17 : "Let the elders, that rule well, be counted worthy of double honor, *especially they who labor in the word and doctrine*" (μάλιστα δὲ οἱ κοπιῶντες ἐν λόγῳ καὶ διδασκαλίᾳ). This "especially," we are told, implies, that there were presbyters also, who officially had nothing to do with teaching, and that the teaching presbyters were of higher standing.⁴ But this conclusion is by no means so sure, as may at first

¹ Comp. § 125 above.

² *Inst. rel. chr.* IV. 3. § 8 : "Gubernatores fuisse existimo seniores ex plebe delectos, qui censuræ morum et exercendæ disciplinæ una cum episcopis præessent."

³ Comp. for instance, Dr. S. Miller's *Letters concerning the Constitution and Order of the Christian Ministry*, 2nd ed. Philad. 1830, p. 27 sqq., and the language of English theologians there quoted. But many Lutherans also have zealously maintained the distinction; as J. J. Böhmer and Ziegler: comp. Rothe, p. 222, note.

⁴ Thus Dr. Owen, for example (quoted by Dr. Miller, l. c. p. 28), "This would be a text of uncontrollable evidence, if it had anything but prejudice and interest to con-

sight appear. For in the first place, it is questionable, whether the emphasis does not fall rather on *κοπιῶντες*, referring to laborious diligence in teaching, as also on the *καλῶς* in the beginning of the sentence; making the antithesis to be, not that of teaching and non-teaching elders, but that of those who rule well and teach zealously, and those who both rule and teach, indeed, but without any particular earnestness. In this view the passage would tell rather *for* the union of ruling and teaching in the same office. But even according to the other interpretation, it proves, at best, only the fact, that there were presbyters, who did not teach. It by no means shows, that the existence of such presbyters was regular and approved by the apostle; which is here the main point. Nay, unless we would involve Paul in self-contradiction, we must suppose the very opposite. For in 1 Tim. 3 : 2. Tit. 1 : 9 (comp. 2 Tim. 2 : 24) he makes aptness to teach an indispensable qualification for the office of bishop without exception. It has been supposed also, that traces of lay eldership were to be found in the old African church, and from these has been inferred its existence in the apostolic age. But when the relevant documents of the time of the Donatist controversies in the beginning of the fourth century are more carefully examined, it is found, that the "seniores," or "seniores plebis," in North Africa were not ecclesiastical officers at all, but civil magistrates of municipal corporations.²

Nor, finally, can we agree with Dr. Neander, who from Paul's distinction of the gift of government (*κυβέρνησις*) from that of teaching (*διδασκαλία*), Rom. 12 : 8. 1 Cor. 12 : 28, infers, that the presbyters or bishops in general had, at first, nothing at all to do with instruction *ex*

tend with. On the first proposal of this text, *that the Elders who rule well are worthy of double honor, especially they who labor in word and doctrine*, a rational man, who is unprejudiced, who never heard of the controversy of ruling Elders, can hardly avoid an apprehension that there are two sorts of Elders, some that labor in the word and doctrine, and some who do not do so. The truth is, it was interest and prejudice that first caused some learned men to strain their wits to find out evasions from the evidence of this testimony: being so found, some others, of meaner abilities, have been entangled by them." On the other hand there have been distinguished Reformed scholars, even of an earlier day, especially Vitranga (*De synag. vet.* l. II. c 2 and 3, p. 490-500) who have denied this passage any force in favor of lay elders. Comp. also Mosheim: *Comm. de. reb. Christ. a. Const. M.* p. 126 sqq.

¹ So the passage is taken by Dr. Rothe, l. c. p. 224: "The apostle would commend to special respect those of the presbyters, who are laborious in the duties of their office: and more particularly such, as bestow their unwearied diligence mainly on the business of teaching." The latest commentators on the Pastoral Epistles, Dr. Huther (1850) and Wiesinger (1850) also deny that the passage proves the existence of ruling lay-elders as distinct from ministers.

² The proof of this is presented by Rothe, l. c. p. 227-239.

officio, but were mere presidents of the congregations. Teaching, it is supposed, was attached in the beginning to no particular office, but performed by any one who had the proper inward qualification. It was not till the pastoral epistles were written that the apostle found it advisable, on account of the intrusion of false teachers, to require of presbyters ability to teach.¹ But it is here taken for granted, that the pastoral epistles were not written till after A.D. 62—an opinion, which stands or falls with the extremely doubtful hypothesis of a second imprisonment of the author at Rome.² Then again, the circumstance, that ruling and teaching are designated as two separate gifts, is no proof, that they did not belong to one and the same office. Paul connects them closely together (Eph. 4 : 11) : and Neander himself in fact assumes such a union, at least in the latter part of the apostolic period. Finally, there are clear indications, that this union was an original one. The presbyters of Ephesus are exhorted on Paul's last journey to Jerusalem, to guard the purity of doctrine (Acts 28 : 29–31) ; and the epistle to the Hebrews (13 : 7) enjoins upon its readers a grateful remembrance of their teaching rulers, who were then dead and must therefore have belonged to the former generation. The general liberty of teaching amounted by no means to a provision for the *regular* instruction and edification of the churches ; and nothing would be more natural, than that the presbyters, as afterwards, so also from the first, should supply this need, and at the same time administer the sacraments, by virtue of their office. Indeed, there were no other congregational officers, of whom this could be expected.

The conclusion from all this is, that the presbyters or bishops of the apostolic period were the regular teachers and pastors, preachers and leaders of the congregations ; that it was their office, to conduct all public worship, to take care of souls, to enforce discipline, and to manage the church property. Of course, all had not the same talent ; one excelled in teaching, another in pastoral duties, a third in the talent for ruling ; and we may readily suppose, that, where there were several of them, they divided the various duties of their calling among themselves, according to endowments, taste, and necessity. This, however, was always regulated by circumstances, and by no means authorizes us to suppose, that there were two different kinds of presbyters, and two separate offices of government and doctrine.

¹ *Apost. Gesch.* p. 259 sqq. So also in his *Kirch. Gesch.* I. p. 320 sq.

² Comp. on this point § 87 above.

§ 134. *Deacons.*

Of the origin of the *diaconate* or *office of help*, we have a graphic account in the sixth chapter of Acts. The immediate occasion of its institution was the voluntary community of goods adopted by the Christians of Jerusalem (comp. § 114) ; and specially, the complaint of the Hellenists, or Greek Jews, that their widows were neglected in the daily distribution of food and alms, in favor of the Jewish Christians, who were born in Palestine and spoke the Aramaic language—a neglect owing either to the fact, that these widows were not known, being foreigners and somewhat backward ; or perhaps to some jealousy existing between the proper Hebrews and their brethren from other lands. At first the apostles, who had charge also of the common fund (Acts 4 : 35, 37. 5 : 2), attended to this matter themselves, or employed agents, perhaps the younger members of the congregation (5 : 6, 10) ; and these agents had given cause for the complaint in question. As the church grew, however, it became more and more impracticable for the apostles to attend to these outward concerns without wrong to their proper spiritual work. “It is not reason,” said the twelve (6 : 2), “that we should leave the word of God, and serve tables,” i. e. personally superintend the daily love-feasts and the distribution of alms. In order, therefore, to give themselves wholly to prayer and the preaching of the gospel, and to provide against the dissatisfaction just mentioned by a fixed regulation, they proposed the election of seven men, of good repute, full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom, for this particular service ; and these being chosen by the people, the apostles solemnly set them apart by prayer and the laying on of hands. In the Acts, indeed, these officers are styled simply *οἱ ἐπτά*, *the seven* (21 : 8), and not deacons—that is servants or helpers ; but that they were such, we know from the terms *διακονία*, *διακονεῖν τραπεζαίς*, used to describe their office (6 : 1, 2), and from almost universal exegetical tradition.¹ From the Greek names of the persons chosen—Stephen, Philip, Prochorus, Nicanor, Timon, Parmenas, and Nicolas, a proselyte of Antioch—we may infer, though not with absolute certainty, that they were of Grecian descent. The reason for choosing Hellenists would be simply, that the complaint had come from the Hellenists, and the church, in impartial love, was disposed to give them all advantage in the election. Nothing here obliges us to suppose, with some scholars, that Luke in this chapter records only the appointment of deacons for the Hellenistic part of the church, and that

¹ The ancient church even considered itself bound in this case to the sacred number seven ; and at Rome, for example, as late as the third century, there were only seven deacons, though the number of presbyters amounted to forty.

these officers had already existed, perhaps from the first, in the Hebrew portion.¹

From Jérusalem this arrangement spread to other churches. For although others did not adopt the community of goods, yet it was necessary everywhere to provide in some regular way for the poor and the sick, as well as for the external services of the sanctuary. It is true, Acts 14 : 23 (comp. Tit. 1 : 5) speaks only of appointing elders;² but we have express mention of deacons in the churches at Rome (Rom. 12 : 7, *εἴτε διακονίαν, ἐν τῇ διακονίᾳ*), Philippi (Phil. 1 : 1), and Corinth; for the existence of a deaconess, Phebe, at Cenchrea (Rom. 16 : 1) certainly leads us to infer that there were deacons there also, and the gift of "helps" (*ἀντιλήψεις*, 1 Cor. 12 : 28) must be understood particularly as a qualification for this office (comp. § 119). And generally we must presume, that these officers existed in all the churches planted by Paul, as he gives to Timothy and Titus special instructions in regard to their election and qualifications.

The business of these deacons consisted primarily and mainly, according to the account of their institution, in the *care of the poor and the sick*. This is not inconsistent with the statement in Acts 11 : 30, that the money collected at Antioch was delivered to the presbyters at Jerusalem. We must suppose the relation to have been such, that the presbyters were the proper treasurers of the congregation, and that the deacons distributed the contributions under their supervision, and perhaps collected the alms. This external charge, however, naturally came to associate with itself a sort of pastoral care; for poverty and sickness offer the very best opportunities for instruction, exhortation, and consolation, and according to the spirit of Christianity the relief of bodily

¹ Mosheim (*Comm. de reb. chr.*, etc. p. 114 sqq.), Mack (*Commentar über die Pastoralbriefe*, p. 269), Kuinöl, Meyer, and Olshausen (on Acts 5 : 6 and 6 : 1), and also Conybeare and Howson (on the Life and Ep. of St. Paul, I. 467), appeal, indeed, in support of this view, to the "young men" mentioned in Acts 5 : 6, 10 (*οἱ νεώτεροι, οἱ νεανίσκοι*; comp. Lu. 22 : 26, where *ὁ νεώτερος* is used as equivalent to *ὁ διακονῶν*), who attended to the removal and burial of the bodies of Ananias and Sapphira. But this is not enough to show, that the "young men" were regular church officers, who, in distinction from the elders (*πρεσβύτεροι*), had charge of the outward affairs of the congregation. The service here performed may have been very probably a voluntary one, for which the younger members offered themselves from a natural sense of propriety. Comp. also, against Mosheim, Neander : *Apost. Gesch.* p. 47 sqq., and Rothe, p. 163 sq.

² Luke never mentions the deacons, except in Acts 6 : 3 and 21 : 8, and here not by this name. But he frequently speaks of the *πρεσβύτεροι* (11 : 30. 14 : 23. 15 : 4. 6, 23. 20 : 17. 21 : 18). This suggests the conjecture, that he uses the latter term in a wide sense, including the deacons, and making it the common title of the *ἐπισκοποῦντες* and *διακονοῦντες*. This would leave the less reason for referring *νεώτεροι* to the deacons.

wants should serve only as a bridge or channel for the communication of the far more precious benefits of the gospel. The helps or ministrations (*ἀντιλήψεις*), counted by the apostle among the spiritual gifts (1 Cor. 12 : 28), relate perhaps to the whole compass of these works of charity belonging to the deacons. Hence in the appointment of deacons, men were looked for of strong faith and exemplary piety (Acts 6 : 3, comp. 5 : 8); and Paul (1 Tim. 3 : 8 sqq.) requires, that deacons be of good report, upright, temperate, free from covetousness (to which their handling of the public fund might be a temptation), and sound and well instructed in the faith. This last specification, again, looks to their participation in the pastoral work and also in the business of *teaching*. That these helpers at this time also preached the gospel, when properly gifted, follows even from the general liberty to teach (comp. § 128); and is besides explicitly confirmed by the example of Stephen, the enlightened forerunner of the great apostle of the Gentiles (Acts 6 : 8-10. 7 : 1-53), comp. § 58), and of Philip, also one of the seven of Jerusalem (8 : 5 sqq. 26 sqq.). It was very natural, that those, who distinguished themselves in this service by their gifts and zeal, should be advanced to higher offices. So Philip, just mentioned, is afterwards called an "evangelist" (21 : 8); and most expositors refer the passage, 1 Tim. 3 : 13, to promotion from the office of deacon to that of presbyter.

From all this it is clear, that the deacons in the apostolic church had a far higher and more spiritual vocation, than the "ministers" of the Jewish synagogues, the *מְשִׁיבִים*, as they were called (*ὑπηρέται* in Lu. 4 : 20, comp. Jno. 7 : 32), who opened and closed the synagogues, kept them clean, and handed out the books for reading. The Christian diaconate cannot be regarded, therefore, as it sometimes is, as a mere imitation of this Jewish office. The two, however, will certainly admit of some comparison; inasmuch as, even from an early time, there might have been added, as it were spontaneously, to the proper duties of the deacons, certain services also, connected with the administration of the sacraments and other parts of public worship. For though this cannot be directly proved from the New Testament, yet it may with tolerable certainty be inferred from the close connection, in those days, between the common love-feasts, of which the deacons had charge (*διακονεῖν τραπέζαις*, Acts 6 : 2), and the daily celebration of the Lord's Supper; and from later ecclesiastical usage. Some persons must perform these services, and they evidently fell most naturally to the deacons; only they must not be regarded as their only or principal business.

Thus these officers were living bonds of union between the congregation and its presbyters; taken from the bosom of the community;

chosen entirely by the people themselves (comp. § 126); intimately acquainted with their wants; and thus admirably qualified to assist the presbyters² with counsel and action in all their official duties

§ 135. *Deaconesses.*

Besides this class of helpers, we find in the apostolic church the order of female deacons, or *deaconesses*, which was supplementary to the other office, and was kept up in the Greek church down to the thirteenth century. It is commonly regarded as having originated among the Gentile-Christians, where the women lived in greater seclusion, and their intercourse with men was more restricted than among the Jews.¹ But aside from any rules of propriety, the general need required, that for special pastoral service and the care of the poor and the sick among the female part of the congregation there should be a corresponding office. Here was opened to women, to whom the apostle forbade any active part in the public assemblies (comp. § 126), a noble field for the unfolding of their peculiar gifts, for the exercise of their love and devotion, without any departure from their natural and proper sphere. By means of this office they could carry the blessings of the gospel into the most private and delicate relations of domestic life, and, unseen by the world, might quietly and modestly do unspeakable good.—To this care of the widows, of the poor, and of the sick, as in the case of the male deacons, various other services no doubt came to be added, though we have no distinct account of them. Among these we reckon the education of orphans, attention to strangers, the practice of hospitality (comp. 1 Tim. 5 : 10), and the assistance needed at the baptism of females.

The existence of such deaconesses in the apostolic church is placed beyond doubt by Rom. 16 : 1, where Paul commends to the kind interest of the Roman Christians the sister, Phebe, probably the bearer of the letter, describing her as “a servant of the church which is at Cenchreae” (οὐσαν διάκονον τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἐν Κεγχρεαῖς). In all probability Tryphena, Tryphosa, and Persis, who are praised (v. 12) for their labor in the Lord, served the Roman church in the same capacity. On the other hand, it is still a question, whether the widows in 1 Tim. 5 : 9–15 are proper deaconesses;² or female presbyters (πρεσβύτιδες, *viduae*

¹ So Grotius, on Rom. 16 : 1: “In Judæa Diaconi viri etiam mulieribus ministrare poterant: erat enim ibi liberior ad foeminas aditus quam in Graecia, ubi viris clausa γυναικωνῆτις. Ideo duplici in Graecia foeminarum auxilio Ecclesiae opus habuere,” etc. Comp. Rothe, p. 246.

² As is pre-supposed in the *Cod. Theodos.* L. 16. Tit. 2, l. ex. 27: “Nulla nisi emen-
tis 60 annis *secundum praeceptum Apostoli* (comp. 1 Tim. 5 : 9) ad *Diaconissarum* con-
sortium transferatur.” Among modern scholars this interpretation is defended particu-
larly by Rothe, p. 243 sqq. and Wieseler; *Chronol. des apost. Zeitalters*, p. 309 sq.

ecclesiasticae), like those, who in the age after the apostles exercised a certain oversight over the female part of the congregation, particularly over widows and orphans;¹ or finally, according to Neander's view,² merely such widows as were supported by the church, and, though without official character, were expected to set before the rest of their sex the example of a walk and conversation wholly devoted to God. The first interpretation we hold to be the most probable. Provision for destitute widows was, from the first, an important branch of practical charity in the Christian church (comp. Acts 6 : 1). But it was at the same time highly desirable to make this class of persons, if possible, of service to the church, even from regard for the poor themselves, that they might eat their bread with honor and satisfaction, without violating the maxim : " If any would not work, neither should he eat " (2 Thess. 3 : 10). Respecting this Paul now furnishes the necessary instructions (1 Tim. 5 : 3 sqq.). He first speaks of widows in general, and directs, that the church support those who are " widows indeed," i. e. truly solitary and helpless (as the Greek term *χήρα*, *the desolate*, of itself implies), and who lead an honorable and pious life in retired communion with God ; but not those who had children or other relatives to depend on, or who by their irregular conduct had already cut off their spiritual connection with the church (v. 3-8). Then in v. 9 and 10 he distinguishes in the circle of these pious widows a still smaller class of those who were matriculated or enrolled, and demands in them certain qualifications, which it is most natural to refer to the office of deaconess. If we understand *καταλεγέσθω*, v. 9, of an insertion merely in the list of those who were to be supported from the congregational fund, the limitation of this benefit to such as were over sixty years of age and had been but once married, is repugnant to reason and Christian charity ; since younger widows and those of a second marriage might be equally destitute and worthy of assistance. It is also inconsistent with the context ; for Paul himself, v. 14, advises the younger widows to marry again, which, in this view, would have been to cut themselves off from all prospect of help in case of a second widowhood. This interpretation too leaves it inexplicable, why he should speak of a special vow, to which he seems to refer in the words : *ὅτι τὴν πρώτην πίστιν ἠθέτησαν*, v. 12. The difficulty falls away, if *καταλεγέσθω* be understood to mean election and ordination to a particular office. And to this also the

¹ So Chrysostom, and after him especially Mosheim, in his *Exposition of the Epistle to Timothy*, p. 444-446 (who had before, on the contrary, in his *Comment. de reb. chr. a. Const. M.*, referred the passage to the deaconesses), Heidenreich, De Wette, and Wiesinger, ad loc.

² *Apost. Gesch.* p. 265 sq. So also Jerome, Theodoret, and others.

other requisitions mentioned would seem to look. For, in addition to advanced age, securing general respect and constancy in service,¹ and besides monogamy,² which was also required of bishops and deacons (1 Tim. 3 : 2, 12), the apostle demands of such a widow, that she should have an unspotted reputation, experience in the training of children, and some distinction for hospitality, benevolence, and exemplary piety in general. This prescription, however, does not necessarily exclude virgins from the office of deaconess, where they had the requisite moral qualifications; though for many of its duties these were certainly not so well fitted as experienced, venerable matrons.³

§ 136. *The Angels of the Apocalypse. Rise of Primitive Episcopacy.*

Finally, at the close of the apostolic period, we meet with a peculiar class of officers, the *angels* of the seven churches of Asia Minor, to whom the epistles in the Revelation of St. John (c. 2 and 3) are addressed, and who mark the transition from the apostolical to the episcopal constitution in its primitive Catholic form. What these angels were is, however, a matter of controversy. The basis of our interpretation must be the passage, 1 : 20 : "The seven stars are the angels of the seven churches; and the seven candlesticks, which thou sawest, are the seven churches." 1. We must at the outset discard the view, that the angels here correspond to the deputies of the Jewish synagogues (the שְׁלִיחֵי הַקְּבָדִי, *legati ecclesiae*).³ For these had an entirely subordinate place, being mere clerks, or readers of the standing forms of prayers, and messengers of the synagogues; whereas the angels in question are compared to stars, and represented as presiding over the churches; nor have we elsewhere any trace of the transfer of that Jewish office to the Christian church. 2. Nor, on the other hand, can we consider them as proper angels, the heavenly guardians and representatives of the churches; as with Daniel every nation has its tutelar

¹ The church subsequently did not limit itself strictly to the sixty years. The council of Chalcedon reduced the age of service for deaconesses to the fortieth year.

² Many expositors, following Chrysostom, take also the women mentioned in 1 Tim 3 : 11 for deaconesses. But the term *γυναῖκες* is too indefinite for this, and the whole connection gives it much rather a reference to the wives of deacons and bishops.

³ So Vitranga, Lightfoot, even Bengel, and latterly also Winer, who, in the 3rd ed. of his *Reallexik.*, under the article "Synagogen," Part II. p. 550, Note 2, confidently affirms: "The ἄγγελος τῆς ἐκκλησίας, Rev. 2 : 1, is simply the שְׁלִיחֵי הַקְּבָדִי,"—with a reference to Ewald's *Comment.* on the Apoc. p. 104. Against this, De Wette, *ad Apoc.* 1 : 20 (p. 41), justly observes: "No interpretation can be more opposed to the spirit of the book. How could the author, who so often speaks of angels, and of their presiding over particular spheres (7 : 1. 9 : 11. 16 : 5), be led to use the term here in so low and common a sense?"

angel.¹ For it is altogether incompatible with the Biblical idea of angels, that letters should be written to them, with exhortations to repentance, fidelity, and steadfastness, describing them as rich, poor, hot, cold, lukewarm, and as having a particular place of residence. 3. More probable is the view, that the angels here are nothing but a figurative personification of the churches themselves.² In favor of this hypothesis are the facts, that their names are never mentioned; that their persons are left entirely out of view; and that what the Spirit writes to them, is intended for the whole congregation. But it is decisive against this view, that in c. 1 : 20 they are explicitly distinguished from the golden candlesticks or churches; and as these are thus already exhibited under a figure, it would be evidently incongruous and confusing to personify them again under another image in the same connection,—that is, to express one symbol, the candlesticks, by another, the stars. 4. The only true interpretation, as well as the oldest and most generally received, is the one, which makes the angels the *rulers* and *teachers* of the congregations, whom Daniel (12 : 3) also compares to stars. They are styled angels, as being the ambassadors or messengers of God to the churches,³ on whom devolved the pastoral care and government (comp. Matt. 18 : 10. Acts 12 : 15), and who were thus accountable for the condition of their charges (comp. Acts 20 : 28). This term is chosen, therefore, to remind the rulers of their divine mission, their high vocation, and their heavy responsibility. So in Mal. 2 : 7 the priest is called the “messenger (angel) of the Lord;” and in Mal. 3 : 1 it is said of the prophet, the forerunner of the Messiah: “Behold, I will send my messenger” (angel); as also in Matt. 11 : 10, where this prophecy, with its honorary title, is fixed on John the Baptist (comp. also Hagg. 1 : 13 : “Then spake Haggai, the Lord’s angel, in the Lord’s message unto the people.” Is. 42 : 19. 44 : 26).

But this interpretation still leaves room for two different views. Either the angels are concrete individuals; and then they must be regarded as actual bishops, though with very small dioceses, not exceeding the bounds of a moderate pastoral charge, with the only exception perhaps of Ephesus. This is the view of almost all the Catholic expositors, and of most

¹ So some church fathers; and of modern commentators on the Apocalypse, Züllig and De Wette, the latter of whom, however, approaches the third view, making the angels to be the churches themselves in their spiritual, heavenly relation.

² So Arethas, Salmasius, Gœtzer, and others.

³ Not conversely, the messengers of the churches to God, as Dr. Robinson has it in his *Lexic.* (p. 6, new ed. 1850); “The angels of the seven churches are probably the prophets or pastors of those churches, who were the messengers, delegates, of the churches to God in the offering of prayer, service, etc.”

of the English Episcopalians.¹ And we should have here, accordingly, a proof of the existence of the episcopal system, at least in its incipient form, towards the close of the first century, when the Apocalypse was written.² Or they may be the ministry collectively, the whole board of officers, including both the presbyters and the deacons.³ This view has unquestionably in its favor the passages already quoted from the Old Testament, where the name angel is applied to the whole priestly and prophetic order; as also the fact, that certainly not the bishops alone, but all the officers were responsible for the moral state of their churches, and formed the proper representation of them. Compare Acts 20 : 17, 28, which shows that at least in the time of Paul there were a number of elders in Ephesus, to whom *collectively* it belonged to "feed the church of God;" also 1 Pet. 5 : 1-5.

But even in the latter case the impartial inquirer must allow, that this phraseology of the Apocalypse already looks towards the *idea of episcopacy* in its primitive form, that is, to a monarchical concentration of governmental power in one person, bearing a patriarchal relation to the congregation, and responsible in an eminent sense for the spiritual condition of the whole. This view is confirmed by the fact, that among the immediate disciples of John we find at least one—Polycarp—who according to the unanimous tradition of Irenaeus (his own disciple, himself a bishop),⁴ of Tertullian,⁵ Eusebius,⁶ and Jerome,⁷ was, by apostolical ap-

¹ Dr. Thiersch also favors this interpretation in his *Gesch. der apost. Kirche*, p. 278, where he says, "What are the angels of the seven churches, but superior pastors, each at the head of a congregation, and at least similar to the later bishops? The ancients looked on them as bishops. Of all the church fathers who touch upon the matter, not one (?) thinks of any other interpretation."

² Among the ancients the word ἄγγελος, like its grammatical equivalent, ἀπόστολος, sometimes occurs as the designation of a bishop; as in Socrates, *H. E.* IV. 23; and in the Anglo-Saxon church the corresponding expression, *Gods Bydels*, i. e. Dei nuntii et ministri, comp. Bingham's *Orig.* I. 83 and Rothe, l. c. p. 503. Such use of these terms, however, no doubt arose from the above interpretation of the Apocalypse, and hence proves nothing for the antiquity of episcopacy.

³ So, among modern commentators, especially Hengstenberg, *Die Offenb. des h. Joh.* I. p. 153 sq. He refers, not inaptly, to the introduction of Polycarp's epistle to the Philip-pians; "Polycarp and the elders with him (καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ πρεσβύτεροι) to the church of God dwelling at Philippi," and to the superscription of the epistle of Ignatius to the Philadelphians; "Especially if they are one with the bishop, and with the presbyters and the deacons, who are with him." It must be admitted, however, that here, particularly in the epistles of Ignatius, even in the smaller recension, the bishop plainly rises above the presbyters as the chief leader and responsible head of the church.

⁴ *Adv. haer.* III. 3.

⁵ *De praescr. haer.* c. 32: "Sicut Smyrnaeorum ecclesia Polycarpum ab Joanne con-latum refert."

⁶ *H. E.* III. 36.

⁷ *Catal. s. Polyc.*: "Polycarpus, Joannis apostoli discipulus, ab eo Smyrnae epis-copus ordinatus," etc.

pointment, actually bishop of Smyrna, one of the seven churches of the Apocalypse. Add to this the statement of Clement of Alexandria,¹ that John after his return from Patmos appointed "bishops;" the Epistles of Ignatius, of the beginning of the second century, which already distinguish the bishop from the presbytery, as the head of the congregation, and in which the three orders pyramidically culminate in a regular hierarchy, although without the least trace yet of a primacy; and, finally, the fact, that Asia Minor was the very region where the rapid growth of heresies and the pressure of outward dangers urged towards the establishment of a firmly consolidated system of government;—and we assuredly have much in favor of the hypothesis so learnedly and ingeniously set forth lately by Dr. Rothe, that the germs of episcopacy are to be found as early as the close of the first century, and particularly in the sphere of the later labors of St. John. Dr. Thiersch also arrives at a similar result. But even in this case we must still with the latter historian insist on an important distinction between the "angels" of the book of Revelation, and the later diocesan bishops. For aside from the very limited extent of their charges, as compared with the large territory of most Greek, Roman Catholic and Anglican bishops, these angels stood *below* the apostles and their legates, and were not yet invested with the great power (particularly the right to confirm and ordain), which fell to the later bishops after the death of the apostles. For while they lived, they were beyond all question the holders and executives of the supreme authority in doctrine and government, and administered ordination either in person or by their delegates. The latter is expressly affirmed of John, in the statement of Clement of Alexandria above cited. The angels accordingly, if we are to understand by them single individuals, must be considered as forming the transition from the presbyters of the Apostolic age to the bishops of the second century.

In addition to this, however, the episcopal system was simultaneously making its way also in other parts of the church; in Jerusalem, where James held in all respects the position of a bishop, as in fact he is directly styled, even by the oldest fathers, bishop of Jerusalem;² in Antioch and Rome, whose first bishops are said to have been appointed by the apostles themselves, and are known to us by name on the testimony of such men as Irenæus, Origen, Tertullian, Eusebius, and other ancient documents. Indeed almost all the evangelists or delegates of the apostles are in their later years placed by tradition in particular episcopal sees (comp. § 131). If now we consider, in fine, that in the second century the episcopal system existed, as a historical fact, in the

¹ *Quis dives salvus*, c. 42.

² Comp. above, § 95, and the close of § 129.

whole church, east and west, and was unresistingly acknowledged, nay, universally regarded as at least indirectly of divine appointment; we can hardly escape the conclusion, that this form of government naturally grew out of the circumstances and wants of the church at the end of the apostolic period, and could not have been so quickly and so generally introduced without the sanction, or at least acquiescence, of the surviving apostles, especially of John, who labored on the very threshold of the second century, and left behind him a number of venerable disciples. At all events it needs a strong infusion of skepticism or of traditional prejudice to enable one, in the face of all these facts and witnesses, to pronounce the episcopal government of the ancient church a sheer apostasy from the apostolic form, and a radical revolution.¹ But as the clearer data for the rise and character of the episcopal system all lie outside of the New Testament, the more detailed examination of them belongs rather to the second period, than to the history of the apostolic church.

¹ We need scarcely say, that our position here is not dogmatical and sectarian at all, but entirely historical. The high antiquity, the usefulness, and the necessity of the episcopal form of government in the times before the Reformation does not necessarily make it of force for all succeeding ages. For we have no passage in the N. T. which prescribes three orders, or any particular form of church-government (excepting the ministry itself), as essential to the existence of the church; and history abundantly proves, that Christian life has flourished under various forms of government. Presbyterians (of the Scotch *jure divino* school) and Episcopalians in this controversy very frequently become equally one-sided and pedantic. While the former set up the apostolic church under a particular traditional view as the absolute standard, too little regarding even many important facts of the New Testament, and either entirely rejecting or distorting the weighty testimony of church antiquity; the latter likewise attribute an undue importance to their opposite system of government, and make the question of outward ecclesiastical organization, what it evidently is not, the great central question of the church. The ancient church before and after the Nicene council,—the age to which Anglican Protestantism is so fond of appealing, and with which it imagines itself identical,—held with the same earnestness to many other doctrines and practices, which are far more Catholic than Protestant, and are discarded even by the English Episcopal church. Think for instance of the early views on the primacy, on celibacy, on ascetic and monastic life, on the meritoriousness of good works, on the eucharistic sacrifice, etc. In the great controversy between Catholicism and Protestantism the question between Episcopalianism and Presbyterianism holds an altogether subordinate place. Anglicanism, which acknowledges the thirty-nine articles as its symbol, differs from the other churches of the Reformation, not in kind, but only in degree, and in its principle stands or falls with Protestantism as a whole. Hence the Roman church treats Anglican converts, even though they be priests and bishops, just as she treats those who come from Lutheran, Presbyterian, or Puritan ranks, and does not even acknowledge their confirmation, much less their ordination.

BOOK FOURTH.

CHRISTIAN WORSHIP.

CHRISTIAN WORSHIP.

§ 137. *Import of the Christian Worship, and its Relation to the Jewish.*

WORSHIP has a twofold significance. It is designed, first, to awaken the Christian life, especially by preaching and baptism; secondly, to sustain and increase the life already existing, to present it as an offering to God,¹ and to celebrate the marriage of the church with her heavenly Bridegroom. This also is done partly by preaching and the exposition of the Scriptures, partly by prayer, singing, confession of faith, and participation in the Lord's Supper. It has reference exclusively to believers; it is worship in the strict and proper sense, not limited to the church militant, but continued in heaven, forming an essential constituent of the eternal bliss, of which it is on earth a foretaste. Public adoration and praise of the triune God is the highest and holiest act which the congregation can perform. Christ, indeed, gave no more complete instructions or binding prescriptions respecting the particular forms of worship, than he did respecting the church constitution. But he sanctioned by his own practice, and spiritualized the essential elements of the Jewish cultus; left a model prayer, and the precious promise of his presence in every assembly of believers (Matt. 18 : 20); and at the same time, by the institution of preaching, and of the holy sacraments of baptism and the supper,² fixed the fundamental elements of the Christian worship, from which it then gradually developed itself under the special direction of the Holy Ghost, and according to the necessities of the apostolic age.

Simultaneously with the rise of the Christian church on the day of Pentecost appeared also the Christian cultus in both its forms, as designed for the edification of the disciples, and for the conversion of unbelievers; and in Acts 2 : 42 the essential parts of this social worship of God are stated as (1) the teaching of the apostles, including preaching and the exposition of the Scriptures, particularly of the prophecies and their fulfillment by Christ; (2) fraternal fellowship, which here embraces no

¹ Comp. 1 Pet. 2 : 5. Heb. 13 : 15.

² Matt. 28 : 19, 20. Lu. 22 : 19. 1 Cor. 11 : 24-26.

doubt also the contributions for the poor ;¹ (3) breaking of bread, that is, the administration of the Lord's Supper in connection with the agapae ; (4) prayer, including petition, intercession, and thanksgiving.

The worship of the primitive church, like its government, was conformed in some measure to the existing institutions of the temple and synagogue ; but these were made to refer to Christ, as their living centre, and were thus spiritualized and transformed. The apostles felt the need to maintain, as long as was at all possible, their connection with the worship of their fathers, especially as the Lord himself had so often visited the temple, and had participated in the solemnities of the great feasts. They used to visit the sanctuary at the accustomed hours : prayer ; Acts 3 : 1 and 2 : 46, where it is said of the Christians in general, that "they continued daily with one accord in the temple." But besides this, they assembled also in private houses, as is shown by the words immediately following—"breaking bread from house to house."² Thus the Lord's Supper and love-feasts were held at the houses of the converts in rotation, making each family a temple.

It may with tolerable certainty be supposed that the Jewish Christians, particularly the congregation at Jerusalem, observed the whole ceremonial law with its weekly and yearly festivals, and did not formally renounce the cultus of the Old Testament theocracy till the destruction of Jerusalem in the year 70. In favor of this view are Paul's controversy with the Judaizing Galatians,³ whom he opposes, not because they kept the Jewish feasts, but because they set up this observance as a condition of salvation, and wished to lay the yoke of the law even on the Gentile Christians, who were not bound to it ; the 14th and 15th chapters of Romans, where the apostle requires indulgence towards pious Jewish Christians, who scrupulously distinguished days, and lived an ascetic life ; the advice which James and his elders gave to Paul in reference to the Nazarite vow (Acts 21 : 20-25) ; the term "synagogue," which James (2 : 2) applies to the worshiping assemblies of Christians ; finally, that old tradition, which makes this James to have daily visited the temple, and prayed on his knees for all the people till his death. Without some such close conformity to the sacred customs of the fathers, there is no accounting for the high reputation of this head of the church of Jerusalem among the proper Jews, and for his being honored with the title of "the Just."⁴

¹ Comp. Rom. 15 : 26. 2 Cor. 8 : 4. 9 : 13.

² Κατ' οἶκον we must translate with Beza, *domatim, per singulas domos*, like κατὰ πόλιν, Tit. 1 : 5, in the sense of *oppidatim*.

³ Gal. 4 : 10. 5 : 1 sqq. Comp. Col. 2 : 16.

⁴ Comp. above § 95

Not only the Jewish Christians, however, but even the liberal apostle of the Gentiles, the enemy of all spiritual bondage and mechanical ceremonialism, like a genuine conservative, conformed, as far as possible, to the law, and endeavored to be to the Jews a Jew, that he might make them Christians; while, on the other hand, he bravely defended the freedom of the Gentiles, to whom the external law had not been given. On his missionary tours, as we have already seen, he always went first into the synagogues, connected his preaching of the gospel with the usual reading and exposition of the Old Testament, and made it his rule to continue in this communion, until thrust out by obdurate unbelief. To this course he faithfully adhered in spite of all the hostilities of particular synagogues. He employed on his own person also, not merely out of accommodation, but from a real sense of its usefulness, the venerable ascetic discipline of the Jews to "keep his body under," and strengthen his spiritual life. For even to the regenerate, so long as they remain in the body, the law is a means of salutary discipline, of regulating the passions, and strengthening the will. Witness Paul's vow at Cenchreae (Acts 18 : 18, 21); his earnest desire to keep the feast of Pentecost in Jerusalem (18 : 21. 20 : 16); and his joining the Nazarites of the church in that place (21 : 18-21; comp. § 82). It is asserted, indeed, by Baur and his followers, that these traits are irreconcilable with Paul's anti-Jewish position as set forth particularly in the epistle to the Galatians; and to be therefore attributed to the effort of the author of the Acts, to reconcile the Jewish and Gentile Christians. But all that is true in this is, that Luke exhibits with special predilection the conservative aspect of Paul's course without thereby doing any violence to history. For Paul was opposed not to the law itself, but only to making salvation depend on the observance of the law or on any human work; thus laying a yoke of slavery on the redeemed spirit, placing the essence of morality and piety, not in the disposition, but in something outward and mechanical, and consciously or unconsciously repudiating the fundamental principle of the gospel, Christ the only fountain of salvation. And with opposition to this there might very well be united a high conception of the importance of the law in proper dependence on the gospel, as also of form in due subordination to spirit. Then again Paul admitted, that the Jewish-Christian position was entitled to regard. He explicitly enjoined charity towards the weak, who had not yet been able fully to comprehend the freedom of the gospel;¹ and, in general, he had no desire to do away the national anta-

¹ Rom. 14 : 1-6 1 Cor. 8 : 5-13.

gonism between Jews and Gentiles (which entered also into matters of religion) by any violent or premature measures.¹

When at last the divine judgment broke upon obdurate Judaism and destroyed the temple, the centre of the theocratic cultus, then also came forth the Christian worship in full independence from behind the veil. The Jewish and Gentile-Christian systems were reconciled by retaining, indeed, in the church the essential elements of the Old Testament service, but divesting them of their narrow legal character and regenerating them by the peculiar spirit of the gospel. The Jewish Sabbath was lost in the Christian Sunday. The ancient passover and pentecost were exchanged for the feasts of the death and resurrection of Christ and of the outpouring of the Holy Ghost, to which they had typically pointed. The bloody sacrifices gave place to the thankful commemoration of the one offering on the cross, which wrought out an eternal redemption. The temple made with hands was demolished, but was rebuilt by the crucified and risen Messiah in far greater glory, as a worship of God in spirit and in truth (comp. Jno. 2 : 19. 4 : 23 sq.).

§ 138. *Sacred Places and Times.*

In opposition to the superstitious restriction of the worship of God to a particular *place*, whether Jerusalem or Gerizim, Christianity teaches the purely spiritual and therefore immaterial and omnipresent nature of God, and a corresponding worship of God in spirit and in truth (Jno. 4 : 24). The whole world is his temple. Heaven is his throne ; earth his footstool ; and everywhere, even in deserts and in caves, may his presence be fully enjoyed. This of course, however, does not forbid the setting apart particular localities for exclusively religious purposes. Such consecration, on the contrary, is required by our finite, sensuous nature and the need of *social* worship. The Christians in Jerusalem, as we have already remarked, visited the temple at the usual hours of prayer ; but besides this they assembled also in private houses for devotional purposes, and especially for celebrating the Lord's Supper.² Out of the capital, the synagogue, where the Lord,³ and after his example the apostle Paul,⁴ were accustomed to teach, was the most natural place for the first preaching of the missionaries ; and where the whole Jewish population of a city went over to the true faith, the synagogue of itself

¹ 1 Cor. 7 : 18-20. Comp. what we have said on former occasions (§ 67, 71, 76 82) respecting the conduct of this truly free apostle towards his brethren of the *circumcision*.

² Lu. 24 : 53. Acts 2 : 46. 3 : 1. 5 : 42.

³ Matt. 4 : 23. 9 : 35. Mk. 1 : 39. Lu. 4 : 15. 44. Jno. 18 : 20

⁴ Acts 13 : 5, 14. 14 : 1. 17 : 10, 17. 18 : 19. 19 : 8.

became a Christian church. But this was probably very rarely the case, or at any rate can have occurred only in the smaller communities. Commonly the new converts were thrust out by the unbelieving majority, and had no alternative but to hire some public place,¹ or to meet for mutual edification in the private houses of their more prominent brethren, as in the house of Lydia at Philippi (Acts 16 : 15, 40), of Jason at Thessalonica (17 : 5, 7), of Justus at Corinth (18 : 7), of Aquila and Priscilla at Ephesus (1 Cor. 16 : 19). In the larger cities and congregations there were several such places of meeting, and the assemblies of Christians, which held their regular devotional exercises in them, were for this reason called the churches of such and such a *house*.² That separate church edifices were erected during this period, is of course not to be supposed ; because the Christians were too poor, but especially because they had as yet no legal existence as a body in the Roman empire, and public places of devotion would only have increased the zeal of the Jews and pagans against them. Thus did the greatest teachers preach in the humblest places ! Nay, the Saviour of the world was born in a stable, and the Lord of glory lay in a manger !

With the *time* of divine worship the case was the same as with the place. The absolute spirituality of God, which the Saviour opposes to the narrow, sensuous notions of the Samaritan woman (Jno. 4 : 21 sqq.), implies, that God may and should be worshiped not only everywhere, but also at all times. Christianity has, therefore, in reality abolished the former abstract distinction of sacred and secular seasons, as well as the distinction of clean and unclean beasts and nations (Comp. Acts 10 : 11 sqq.). It redeems man in every respect from subjection to the perishable forces of nature. In idea, the *whole* life of the Christian should be an unbroken Sunday, every day and every hour being devoted to the service of the Lord ; and what here lies before us as the grand moral problem of our lives, will one day find its full solution in the eternal sabbath of the saints, which is promised to the people of God !³ But as the limitation of our earthly life by space requires particular places of worship, so the temporal character of our existence and the

¹ Here may perhaps be cited Acts 19 : 9, if by Tyrannus we understand not a Rabbi, but, as is more probable, a heathen rhetorician (Suidas mentions a sophist of this name), and by his "school," in which Paul taught for two years, a philosophical lecture-room.

² Ἐκκλησίαι κατ' οἶκον. Rom. 16 : 4, 5, 14, 15. 1 Cor. 16 : 19. Col. 4 : 15. Philem. 2. Comp. § 132.

³ Com. Heb. 4 : 1-11. Rev. 14 : 13. This ideal point of view Dr. Neander in his articles : *Ueber die christliche Sonntagsfeier* (in the "Deutsche Zeitschrift für christliche Wissenschaft und christliches Leben," 1850, No. 26-28) holds too exclusively, and allows therefore, of no satisfactory vindication of the Sabbath.

nature of our avocations demand, even for the sake of order, the separation of certain hours and days for exclusively religious purposes. While the where and when, not indeed of the more spiritual Old Testament worship, yet of the popular Jewish as well as pagan cultus, stood opposed to the everywhere and always of the Christian system; the latter, on the other hand, can and does without prejudice to its spiritual and universal character accommodate itself to place and time, and will do so, till the earthly order of things shall be wholly transformed into a heavenly and eternal. So in fact with prayer. We should be always in the spirit of prayer. Our whole life should be an unbroken intercourse with God (1 Thess. 5 : 17). Nevertheless we are obliged to pray in the strict sense, to pour out our souls in petition, intercession, and thanksgiving before God, at certain times.

The apostle Paul seems indeed at first sight to repudiate all separation of days, months, and years as times of special solemnity.¹ He censures it in the Galatians as a falling back to the elementary religion of carnal Judaism and to the bondage of the law, nay, as a pagan nature-worship, that after being converted from heathenism to Christianity they suffered the observance of Jewish sabbaths and fast-days (*ἡμέρας*), new moons (*μῆνας*), yearly feasts, such as the passover, pentecost, and the feast of tabernacles (*καιρούς*), the sabbatical year and the year of jubilee (*ἐνιαυτούς*), to be imposed upon them by Judaizing errorists. But we have to remember, that Paul here has in view a slavish, superstitious observance of these feasts, as though the salvation of all, Gentiles as well as Jews, depended on it; an observance, which, therefore, in reality sinks to the level of the pagan nature-worship, since the sun, moon, and planets produce those divisions of time, and are for this reason worshiped by the heathen as divine. This carnal, superstitious, and self-righteous sabbatism, which we observe also in the Colossian errorists (Col. 2 : 16), stands undoubtedly in conflict with the fundamental doctrine of justifying, sanctifying, and saving faith in Christ as the only Redeemer, and with evangelical freedom. That Paul, however, did not condemn the observance of sacred times in themselves and under any circumstances, is proved by his indulgence towards the scrupulous Jewish Christians in Rome (Rom. 14 : 5, 6), and by his own practice, his ardent desire to keep the feast of Pentecost in Jerusalem.² It is with this as with the law in general. In its temporal and national form and as a yoke of bondage, it is abolished by the gospel, but in its inmost spirit and essence it is fulfilled, preserved, and transformed into the internal, free, living power of love (Matt. 5 : 17); and as Christ is

¹ Gal. 4 : 8-11. Comp. Col. 2 : 16.

² Acts 18 : 21. 20 : 16. Comp. 1 Cor. 16 : 2, 8.

on the one hand, the end of the law and the prophets, so on the other, He himself is the supreme lawgiver and prophet, and His life and Spirit are the absolute rule and guide of the new, regenerate existence.¹

From this point of view the sacred times of the church are to be looked upon, not as a Jewish yoke, but as a salutary and indispensable ordinance of evangelical freedom, in which the Christian acquiesces with joy and gratitude, rises above the din of every-day life and business to the enjoyment of a heavenly, spiritual feast, and consecrates all his pursuits to the service of God. They are not a quittance for all other times, so that a man may confine his piety (as alas! many Christians do even to this day in their carnal Jewish notions) to Sunday and the hours of prayer, and then, so to speak, clear his account with God for a whole week, that he may during the week devote himself the more uninterruptedly to the world. They are a means for the gradual attainment of the power to "pray without ceasing," and for bringing about that state of things, in which all distinction of times shall disappear, and we shall be at all times before the throne of God, serving Him day and night (Rev. 7 : 15).

In the division of the *day* the apostles and first Christians freely conformed to Jewish usage, and were accustomed to offer their prayers either in the temple or at home, especially in an upper chamber and upon the roof, at the third, sixth, and ninth hours, or, according to our reckoning, at nine o'clock, the hour of morning sacrifice, at twelve, and at three, the time of evening sacrifice.² To this they added the regular thanksgiving before and after meat,³ as well as their private devotions after rising in the morning and before retiring to their rest.

As to the celebration of particular days of the *week*; we might infer, indeed, from the universal practice of the second century, that already in the first century Wednesday, and especially Friday, the day of Christ's death, were celebrated by a half-fast (*semijejunia*) ; for such customs cannot spring into vogue suddenly. But no proof of this can be cited from the New Testament. That Sunday was observed by the apostles, however, as the day of Christ's resurrection, is certain, and its importance demands for it a more minute examination.

¹ Comp. Rom. 3 : 27, where the apostle speaks of a "law of faith;" Gal. 6 : 2 where he speaks of a "law of Christ;" and Rom. 8 : 2, where he speaks of a "law of the Spirit of life."

² Acts 2 : 15. 3 : 1. 10 : 9, 30.

³ Comp. Matt. 15 : 39. Jno. 6 : 11. Acts 27 : 35. 1 Cor. 10 : 30 sq. 1 Tim 4

§ 139. *The Christian Sunday.*

For *weekly* worship the Mosaic law, and in fact the original order of the creation, appointed the seventh day, as a day of holy rest ; not for slothful inactivity, but for the adoration of God, the highest and happiest work of the soul. The Christians, indeed, taking pattern from the daily morning and evening sacrifices in the temple, were accustomed to meet every day for social edification and the celebration of the Lord's Supper. The book of Acts expressly tells us (2 : 46), that they continued "daily" with one accord in the temple, and broke bread from house to house ; and (19 : 9) that Paul preached the gospel "daily" in the school of Tyrannus at Ephesus. But with this the believers united from the first the special consecration of one day in the week to the worship of God, and thus, even when the daily meetings could not be uniformly kept up, they devoted at least the seventh part of their lifetime exclusively to the interest of the immortal soul. The Jewish Christians, as already remarked, adhered to the Old Testament Sabbath, especially in Palestine ; but with it they celebrated also the first day of the week in memory of the Saviour's resurrection, and that too, it would appear, from the very day of the resurrection onward (comp. Jno. 20 : 19, 26), which they looked upon as sanctioned for such purpose by Christ himself. For the assertion of some moderns (even Neander), that the observance of Sunday arose first in Paul's churches (some twenty years afterwards) and thence passed to the others, is altogether gratuitous and extremely improbable in view of the scrupulous adherence of the Jewish converts to the traditional forms of piety, and their jealousy of any innovation, especially those which originated with the Gentiles. The Gentile Christians, for whom the ceremonial law had no authority, distinguished in this way only the first day of the week, as the day of the completion of the new creation. After the destruction of Jerusalem this became the prevailing practice of the Christian church, and gradually supplanted the observance of the Jewish sabbath.¹

The apostolical origin of the Christian sabbath may be inferred with tolerable certainty from several passages of the New Testament, especially if we add to them the unequivocal testimony of tradition from the end of the first century and the beginning of the second, according to which Sunday was at that time already universally observed in the church.² The first clear trace of the celebration of

¹ In some single Jewish-Christian communities in the East, however, the Jewish sabbath was retained for a long time *together with* the Christian Sunday. *Euseb.* III. 27

² See the *Epistle of Barnabas*, c. 15 ; Ignatius, *Ep. ad Magnes.* c. 9 : ("The Christians celebrate no longer the Sabbath, but the Lord's day, on which their life arose to them

Sunday we meet in Acts 20 : 7. From this we see, that the Christians assembled on the first day of the week for mutual edification and for the administration of the Lord's supper, and that Paul waited in Troas till this particular day, that he might enjoy a long and cordial talk with them "until midnight" respecting the kingdom of God. Again, it appears from 1 Cor. 16 : 2, that Sunday was the day appointed by the apostle, for the Christians to lay by their charitable contributions for the poor. Still weightier is the testimony of the Revelation of St. John, of later date. For while in the two cases cited from Paul's history this day bears no distinctive, sacred name, but is called simply the first day of the week, the first day after the sabbath,* it appears in Rev. 1 : 10 already under the significant appellation : "the Lord's day" (*ἡ κυριακὴ ἡμέρα*); that is, the day of Christ, to whom John refers everything. In the same sense the paschal supper is styled in 1 Cor. 11 : 20 "the Lord's supper." This expression plainly points to the religious observance of Sunday, on which the holy seer received the revelation of the future triumphs of Christ and His church; and it shows at the same time the place which that day held in the minds of the primitive Christians.² Sunday was the day which the Lord had made and given to His church, and which, therefore, in an altogether peculiar manner belonged, and should be devoted, to Him; the day of His *resurrection*, of the finishing and sealing of the new creation and the triumph over sin, death, and hell. The resurrection of Christ is the centre of our faith and the ground of our hope; and we have every reason to suppose, that He himself intended to consecrate the day of His resurrection in the view of his disciples when he re-appeared to them, not only on that day itself, but exactly on the eighth day after for the sake of Thomas; when he blessed them on it with his divine peace; and when he poured out His Holy Spirit upon them on the fiftieth day after, which was likewise a Sunday (comp. § 54), thus at the same time consecrating it as *the birth-day of the Christian church*. In these facts is to be found the objective divine by Him"); the famous letter of the younger Pliny to Trajan, *Epist.* X. 97; Justin Martyr, &c. It is absolutely inconceivable, that so important an institution as the Christian sabbath could have come into perfectly universal observance in so short a time, and supplanted the Jewish sabbath enjoined by the Mosaic Decalogue, *without the sanction of the apostles*.

² *Μία τῶν σαββάτων* (comp. Matt. 28 : 1. Mk. 16 : 2. Lu. 24 : 1). This phrase Luther has wrongly translated, taking *σαββάτα* in the strict sense, whereas it means in this connection the sabbath-week.

³ Weitzel, *Die christliche Passafest der drei ersten Jahrhunderte*, p. 170, justly observes : "Why did the prophet receive his visions on this particular day? Because the *κυριακὴ* is the day of unusually absorbing intercourse with the Lord, the day of uncommonly deep intuition; because on this day men even in primitive times were very peculiarly favored with revelations of Christ."

sanction of the observance of Sunday. From them the observance necessarily developed itself. And they give us at the same time a hint as to the *idea* and *import* of Sunday in distinction from the sabbath.

For as this new creation, the resurrection of Christ and the founding of his church, is greater than the first creation of the heavens and the earth, and brings it to its perfection, so does the Christian Sunday transcend the Jewish Sabbath. The Sabbath commemorated the natural creation (Ex. 20 : 11. 31 : 17), and at the same time (what should not be overlooked) the typical redemption, the exodus of Israel from his Egyptian bondage (comp. Deut. 5 : 15).¹ Sunday, on the contrary, is the festival of the moral creation, of the regeneration of humanity to a holy and blissful life, and of the perfect redemption through Christ, the Prince of life and peace. The former is only a type and prophecy of the latter ; the latter is at once the anti-type and fulfillment of the former, and a precious pledge of the promised eternal rest of God in man and man in God, the unbroken spiritual feast of the heavenly Canaan.² By the humiliation of Christ in the tomb, by the rejection of the Saviour of the world, the Jewish Sabbath was desecrated,³ and made a day of mourning. But from its ruins arose, with the bursting of the first-fruits of the new creation from the grave of the old, the idea of a day of the eternal Sun of Righteousness ; of victory over all the powers of darkness ; of holy spiritual freedom, of divine joy, the "joy in the Holy Ghost," which should sanctify all earthly happiness. The temporary, unessential *form* of the Mosaic sabbatical institution was stripped away, but its substance preserved, spiritualized, and fully unfolded. From the evangelical Christian point of view the observance of this day appears not as a yoke or as a matter of constraint, but as an invaluable privilege, a precious gift of God, a weekly season of refreshing and of delightful communion with God and with saints, a foretaste of eternal bliss. In fact, the Old Testament sabbath was in its deepest import not merely a duty, but also a right to rest in the midst of unrest ; a privilege of freedom in earthly bondage. It was not merely a binding statute, but at the same time a gracious release from the accompanying and equally binding command to labor ; a memento of the blessed rest of God and the redemption of his people ; a gospel, therefore, in the law, a "little refreshing paradise on

¹ It is worthy of remark, that this Exodus took place in the night of the fourteenth upon the fifteenth. of Nisan ; therefore not on the seventh, but on the first day of the week, on Sunday, as appears from a comparison of Ex. 12 : 1-6 with Ex. 16 : 1 and 5 sqq.

² Comp. Heb. 4 : 1-11. Rev. 14 : 13.

³ In the same sense, in which the temple was destroyed by his crucifixion ; that is the whole temple worship became invalid, comp. Jno. 2 : 19.

the cursed soil of the world." This merciful design of the sabbatical institution is especially manifest in the express reference of the fourth commandment to man-servant and maid-servant, to the stranger, and even to the beast of burden, and in such passages as Ex. 23 : 12 and Num. 10 : 10, where the sabbath and all the festival days are represented as days of joy and refreshment. Here we discern the connection of the sabbath with the original Eden of innocence, as well as with the future Eden of redemption, when the groaning creation shall be freed from subjection to vanity, and brought into the glorious liberty of the children of God (comp. Rom. 8 : 19 sqq.). This sweet kernel of the gospel, hid beneath the shell of the Old Testament law, reached its perfect growth in *Christ*. Hence He calls himself also in this sense the Lord of the sabbath (Matt. 12 : 8), as conversely Sunday is called *His* day. For Christ has become the end of the law by fulfilling it. He is our peace (Eph. 2 : 14), our rest from all the anxious works of the law, the refreshment of all the weary and heavy laden (Matt. 11 : 28); and as the true light of the world, as the eternal spiritual sun, He makes the first day of the week a real *Sunday*, giving light and heat to its planets, the days of labor.

This direct derivation of the church festival of Sunday from the living centre of the gospel, Jesus Christ, the risen Prince of life, is certainly the primitive Christian view of it, and the one which best answers particularly to Paul's system of doctrine; whereas the *exclusively legal* view, which bases the institution primarily and directly on the fourth commandment, in the first place affords no sufficient explanation of the transfer of the sabbath from the seventh to the first day of the week, and secondly is utterly irreconcilable with the clear declarations of the New Testament. For our Lord more than once condemns the carnal, narrow-minded scrupulousness of the Jews in regard to the sabbath, as in Matt. 12 : 1-8, 9-14. Mk. 2 : 27. Jno. 7 : 22, 23; as also does the apostle Paul in Gal. 4 : 8-11. Col. 2 : 16, 17, where he represents the sabbaths and other Old Testament festivals as mere shadowy types, and points from them to Christ, the living, bodily substance.¹ In our view, the seventh day, being the day of the Lord's abode in the tomb, was not at all suitable

¹ There is only one passage in the New Testament, which seems to favor the legal Jewish view, viz. Matt. 24 : 20—"Pray ye that your flight be not in the winter, neither on the sabbath-day." In the first place, however, the reference here is not to the Christian sabbath, but to the Jewish; and secondly, the sabbath here comes into view as carrying at that time a restraining force, being thus a parallel to winter. (comp. Hengstenberg's "Kirchanzeitung," 1851, p. 47). Otherwise the passage would prove too much. It would sanction the legalism and stiff formalism of the Pharisees in the outward observance of the law; which however, the Lord in the passages above cited most unequivocally denounces.

for the Christian weekly festival. The day of His resurrection is the only proper one for this. And it is genuinely evangelical to begin with thanksgiving for the gift of divine grace, with the solemn commemoration of redeeming love, to which we owe every thing ; and on this to build our own work. "We love Him, because He *first* loved us." It is to be remembered besides, that even the Old Testament sabbath, though the seventh day of God's labor, was not the seventh of man's ; that, on the contrary, it was to the original pair the first day after their complete creation, a holy day, which they spent under the smiles of God before beginning their daily labor in the garden.¹ The essential point in the fourth commandment is not the appointment of the seventh day, for in the sight of God all days are alike ; but the general requisition, that every six days be devoted to labor, and every seventh to rest for the good of both body and soul ; or that the seventh part of our earthly life be withdrawn from earthly employments and devoted exclusively to God and to our spiritual interests. Then again, the Old Testament sabbath should not be placed in an abstract opposition to the other days ; it must be regarded as the head of the whole Jewish system of worship. For the law, in fact, requires, besides the observance of this day, the celebration also of yearly festivals and the offering of daily morning and evening sacrifices (Num. 28 : 3-8). The separation so often made between the ceremonial law and the moral has very little support from the Scriptures. The former appears, on the contrary, as simply the expansion or continuation of the decalogue. Anna, who "departed not from the temple, but served God with fastings and prayers night and day," (Lu. 2 : 37), fulfilled the real spirit of the Mosaic institution of the sabbath.

On the other hand, however, with the *merely* legal view we must also, and in fact far more decidedly, reject the opposite and much more injurious extreme of a lax latitudinarian or *antinomian* view of Sunday, which deprives it of its divine foundation, bases it on mere utilitarian grounds, and leads invariably to a greater or less profanation of it. Against this the legal view, provided only it exclude not the evangelical, maintains its full authority, as grounded in the relation of the sabbath to the original order of the creation and in its organic place in the decalogue amongst the eternally binding moral commands of God. There is also a dangerous pseudo-Pauline extravagance of evangelicalism, which mistakes the import and the perpetual necessity of the divine law, and degenerates into licentiousness. The law is still a schoolmaster to bring the unconverted to Christ, and for believers themselves it is the expres-

¹ Comp. on this point an interesting article in the "Evang. Kirchenzeitung," 1856 p. 720

sion of the holy will of God and the rule of moral conduct. Hence also is the observance of Sunday not merely a privilege, but also a duty enjoined upon all Christians, a salutary means of discipline and of grace for a people, an indispensable preserver and promoter of public morality and religion, a mighty barrier to the flood of infidelity, a brazen wall around the word of God, and a source of incalculable blessing to family, state, and church.¹

Thus, therefore, is the keeping of the Christian Sunday, that "pearl of days," grounded in the creation, in the giving of the law, and in redemption, in the wants of nature as well as of faith; a blessed privilege and a holy duty; a gift and a means of grace; a heavenly rest amidst the unrest of earth; an antepast and pledge of the saints' eternal sabbath in the kingdom of glory, when God shall be all in all.

§ 140. *The Yearly Festivals.*

Finally, as to the yearly festivals; of these we have very few traces in the New Testament. But substantially the same is true of them as of the sabbath, viz., that the Jewish feasts are in their temporary, national, and typical form abolished, but in their essence preserved, and, by being referred to Christ, spiritualized and transformed, or exchanged for others which are better calculated to express and to embody the facts and ideas of the new creation. The yearly festivals, the passover,² the feast of weeks, or pentecost,³ the feast of tabernacles,⁴ and the great day of atonement,⁵ are likewise, it is well known, of divine institution; and it is arbitrary to discard them entirely, at the same time that we maintain the perpetual validity of the command to keep the sabbath. The moral and ritual laws cannot be separated in any such abstract way; and Paul in fact looks upon *all* festival seasons as alike, where he comes out against the Judaistic, self-righteous, and superstitious observance of them.⁶ Besides, the Jewish feasts had a typical reference to the main facts of the gospel history; the Passover, to the

¹ This is incontrovertibly proved especially by the examples of England, Scotland, and the United States. Hence the Anglo-American realism and the Reformed legalism certainly have their claims over against the German idealism and Lutheran evangelicalism. Though the former cannot be pronounced wholly free from the danger of Pharisaism, the latter, on the other hand, only too often degenerates into practical Sadducism; and, as to the observance of Sunday in particular, undue strictness is assuredly less dangerous, and far more beneficial to public morals than undue laxness.

² Ex. 12 : 1-28. 23 : 15. Lev. 23 : 4-8. Deut. 16 : 1-8.

³ Ex. 34 : 22. Lev. 23 : 15, 16. Deut. 16 : 10.

⁴ Ex. 23 : 34-42. Deut. 16 : 12-15.

⁵ Ex. 23 : 26-30. Lev. 16 : 1-34.

⁶ Gal. 4 : 10. Col. 2 : 16. Comp. Rom. 14 : 5, 6.

death and resurrection of Christ, the true paschal Lamb and the Redeemer of His people from the spiritual bondage of sin ; and Pentecost, to the founding of the Christian church and the gathering of the first-fruits into the garner of eternal life.

These two feasts, Easter and Pentecost, as transformed by Christianity into the feasts of the resurrection of the Lord and of the outpouring of His Holy Spirit, were accordingly the first which were celebrated by the church. As early as the second century we find them universally and without opposition observed ; and this gives strong presumptive evidence of their existence in the apostolic age. It is asserted, indeed (by Neander for instance), that in the New Testament, at least in Paul's writings, no Christian yearly festivals come to view. But we hold, that the indications of the observance of Easter by the primitive Christians are almost as strong as those of the apostolic observance of Sunday, and that in connection with reliable documents from the period immediately following they sufficiently prove the existence of that festival in the apostolic church. Christ crucified and risen was from the first the substance and the all-absorbing object of the Christian consciousness. Sunday derived its significance as a specifically Christian festival entirely from the fact of the resurrection, and was, as it were, a weekly Easter of rejoicing, as Friday was the day of Christ's death and therefore a day of fasting and spiritual mourning. Of the Jewish Christians it could not but be expected, that, with the sabbath and circumcision and the whole ceremonial law, they should also, after the example of the Lord, who was accustomed particularly to keep the passover in Jerusalem,¹ observe all the annual feasts appointed by God through Moses, and put into them a Christian meaning. The distinction of days Rom. 14 : 5, certainly refers, not merely to the sabbath, but to the feasts in general. Paul made the crucified and risen Saviour so much the centre of his whole faith and life, that he must undoubtedly have attached peculiar importance to the annual commemoration of this great fact. "He glories," says Weitzel,² "in knowing nothing but Jesus Christ and Him crucified. 'If Christ be not risen,' exclaims he, 'your faith is vain ; ye are yet in your sins.' The Holy Ghost is with him the seal of adoption, the earnest of a joyful resurrection, the living bond of Christian fellowship, the fountain of spiritual gifts. The death and the resurrection together with the outpouring of the Spirit are the founda-

¹ Jno. 2 : 13. 5 : 1. 6 : 4. 11 : 55. 12 : 1. 13 : 1. 7 : 2. 10 : 22. It is very remarkable that St. John makes the Jewish festivals, especially the passover, so prominent in the public life and ministry of Christ. He evidently considered them significant types of the leading facts of the Gospel history.

² In his work : *Die christliche Passafeier der drei ersten Jahrhunderte*, 1848, p. 180.

tion stones of his whole Christian system. With the original apostles the anniversaries of those events were sacred festival seasons. Why should they not have been important commemorative occasions also for Paul, who indeed was most solicitous to maintain fellowship with the older apostles and with the primitive church?" It is true, there is dispute as to the meaning of 1 Cor. 5 : 7, 8, where Paul calls Christ the "passover sacrificed for us," and demands that the feast be kept "with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth," i. e. in the Spirit of Christ, who has purged us from all the old leaven of sin. This may possibly refer to the continual observance of the passover in the heart and by a holy walk. But since according to 1 Cor. 16 : 8 the epistle was written shortly before Easter, it is altogether natural and most probable, that the apostle here alludes to that feast, and distinguishes the Jewish from the Christian, the existence of which he thus implies. It is certainly not accidental, that he waited for Pentecost in his own Gentile-Christian congregation of Ephesus, and esteemed it a privilege to spend it with them (*ἐπιμενω δὲ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἕως τῆς πεντεκοστῆς*) ; as also he tarried in Troas till the next Sunday (Acts 20 : 6). But besides this we have the explicit and conclusive statement of the Acts of the Apostles, that Paul spent Easter of the year 58 in the Gentile-Christian congregation of Philippi, not departing till the feast was over ; and that he then hastened his journey, and even sailed by Ephesus, in order to keep Pentecost in Jerusalem (Acts 18 : 21. 20 : 6, 16).

But finally, the testimonies from the second century are here worthy of all attention.

In the well known paschal controversies, which related to the *time* of the festival of Christ's death and resurrection, not to the festival itself (for as to this there was even at that early period perfect unanimity) a host of the most credible witnesses, the Ephesian bishop, Polycrates, with his seven predecessors, and the bishops Melito, Thraseas, Sagaris, in behalf of their Asiatic custom of celebrating the Christian Passover according to the Jewish chronology always on the fourteenth of Nisan (whether this fell on Friday or any other day of the week), expressly appealed to the authority of the apostle John. Nay, the venerable Polycarp of Smyrna, John's personal disciple and friend, assured the Roman bishop in the year 160, that he himself had celebrated Easter with this apostle in the Oriental way, and that the other apostles also, with whom John had intercourse (Philip, perhaps, in Hierapolis, agreed with him. On the other side, the Roman church, in support of its custom (afterwards universally adopted) of celebrating Easter not on a particular day of the month, but on a certain day of the week,—the death of Christ always on a Friday, and his resurrection on a Sunday,—

appealed with the same confidence to its oldest bishops and to the order of the apostles, Peter and Paul. These controversies in all probability had their ultimate ground in an unessential difference, which already existed, with all unity of spirit, in the practice of the various apostles and apostolic churches, according as they were ruled either by regard for the Jewish type, the Old Testament passover, which always began on the 14th of Nisan, whatever day of the week this might be, or by regard to the proper days of Christ's death and resurrection, Friday and Sunday.¹

Easter and Pentecost, however, are the only feasts, which can be traced back to the apostolic age. Of the observance of other festivals, Christmas for instance, we find not the least hint in the New Testament. It was only at a later period that the church went back from the centre of her faith, the crucifixion and resurrection of Christ, to the beginning of his theanthropic life, and appointed a special feast for the mystery of the incarnation.

§ 141. *The Several Parts of Worship.*

The regular exercises of the apostolic worship were preaching, exposition of the Scriptures, prayer, singing, confession of faith, and administration of the sacraments. To these were added such extraordinary acts as prophesying, speaking with tongues, and interpreting of tongues, which have already been considered in the sections on spiritual gifts.² These, moreover, belong also under the general heads of preaching and prayer.

1. The *sermon* appears in the apostolic church mainly in the shape of a *missionary* discourse, designed to kindle life, and raise up churches; a simple historical testimony respecting Christ, the crucified and risen Saviour of the world. It was altogether practical, but pregnant with the profoundest ideas; unadorned, yet forcible; natural, yet ingeniously adapted to the circumstances; clear and deliberate, yet borne along on the wings of inspiration and holy enthusiasm; knowing nothing but the divine foolishness of the cross (1 Cor. 2 : 2), but with this torch shedding a hallowing light upon all the relations of life. Poured forth from the fullness of the heart, it also went to the heart, and kindled the sacred fire of faith and love. It was the communication of the moral and religious life of the speaker to the susceptible hearer. This is especially true of the prophetic awakening and consolatory discourses, of which we

¹ On this whole controversy about Easter, which we shall have occasion to discuss more minutely in the second volume, compare the thoroughly learned and valuable work of Weitzel just quoted.

² Comp. above. § 117 sqq.

have already treated above. That the apostles and evangelists read their discourses is of course not to be supposed ; nor that they studied, wrote, and memorized them in our modern style. But their whole life was an uninterrupted study of the word, a constant living and moving in communion with God. Besides, there was of course a difference of gifts among them. Some planted ; others watered ; and the Lord followed both with his blessing (1 Cor. 3 : 6). Judged by their discourses in the Acts and by their epistles, Peter and Paul must have been powerful revival preachers ; while John and Apollos were best fitted to carry forward churches already established, the latter having also the gift of rhetorical elegance. Yet Paul also was equally endowed for watering and building up churches, as his epistles, which may be called sermons to believers, sufficiently show.

2. The *reading* of a portion of *Scripture*, with which was connected a practical exposition and exhortation, was an ancient custom of the synagogue (comp. Acts 13 : 15. 15 : 21), which the Christians certainly appropriated from the first, as we find it universally prevalent in the second century. Paul declared all the Scriptures of the Old Testament to be *theopneustic*, i. e. pervaded by the Holy Spirit, and therefore always fitted for the spiritual instruction and correction of the church (2 Tim. 3 : 16, 17). The Christians, however, after the rise of the New Testament literature, added to the Jewish *Parasch'oth* and *Haphtoroth* (the lessons from the law or Pentateuch, and the prophets) the reading also of the Gospels and the apostolic epistles, or substituted the latter for the former ; the *Evangelium*, according to the oldest division of the New Testament, corresponding to the law, and the *Apostolos* to the prophets, of the Old Testament. Most of the apostolic epistles, moreover, were, like the Gospels, addressed not to single individuals, but to a whole congregation or to several congregations, as appears from 1 Thess. 5 : 27 and Col. 4 : 16, and were originally designed to be used in public worship. They took the place of the oral preaching of the apostles, and became of course doubly important, when their authors passed off the stage.

3. *Prayer*, which bears the same relation to faith, as exhalation to inhalation, is indispensable to the maintaining and promoting not only of individual piety, but also of the religious life of the congregation and its direct intercourse with the God of all grace and mercy. It expresses itself partly in supplication of temporal and spiritual blessings ; partly in intercession for all classes and conditions of man, first for fellow-Christians and then for those who are without, even for enemies and persecutors ; and finally in thanksgiving for all benefits received, espe-

cially for redemption through Christ.¹ That, which gives prayer its peculiarly Christian character, and secures an answer in all cases, though not always in the form desired by the supplicant, yet frequently in one altogether unexpected and in fact much better, is its being offered in the name of Jesus, that is, in perfect submission to the holy will of the Lord, and in the spirit of childlike, unconditional, and unwavering confidence (Juo. 16 : 24. Matt. 21 : 22). The apostolical Christians united in prayer previous to entering upon any important business, as the election of the new apostle (Acts 1 : 24) and of the deacons (6 : 6), at the sending out of Paul and Barnabas into the heathen world (13 : 3), also in times of need and danger, as during the imprisonment of Peter, when the church at Jerusalem "made prayer without ceasing unto God for him" (12 : 5), at parting, as when Paul took leave of the elders of Ephesus (20 : 36), after the experience of divine aid, as after the liberation of the apostles from prison, in which case the psalm-like thanksgiving is reported to us, with a statement of its striking effect (4 : 24-31). With prayer was often united fasting, as a means of promoting devotion,² though it is nowhere in the New Testament strictly enjoined as an indispensable duty (comp. Matt. 9 : 15).

In general the pastors prayed in the name of all,³ and the congregation testified its concurrence and priestly co-operation after the Jewish custom by an audible amen (1 Cor. 14 : 16).

That the first Christians besides pouring forth in prayer the free effusions of the heart, one of which is given us in Acts 4 : 24 sqq., and which corresponded to the circumstances of each particular occasion, also used standing forms, is nowhere told us, indeed, in the New Testament, but is probable from the analogy of Jewish usage and from the most natural view of Matt. 6 : 9. Lu. 11 : 1, 2. At all events, it was the opinion of the oldest church fathers, that Christ intended to give his disciples in the Lord's Prayer, not only an idea of the true *spirit* of prayer, but at the same time a general *form*, like the baptisma formula

¹ Comp. Acts 2 : 42. 6 : 4. 16 : 16. Rom. 12 : 12. Phil. 4 : 6. 1 Tim. 2 : 1, where four kinds of prayer are enumerated (*δεήσεις*, petitions particularly for the averting of evil; *προσευχαί*, petitions for favors from God; *εντεύξεις*, intercessions; *ειχαριστίαι*, thanksgiving); Ja. 5 : 15 sq. 1 Pet. 4 : 8. 3 : 12. Rev. 5 : 8. 8 : 3.

² Acts 13 : 2, 3. 14 : 23, at the election of congregational officers; comp. 1 Cor. 7 : 5. 2 Cor. 6 : 5. Matt. 17 : 21.

³ In Acts 4 : 24 it is said indeed, of the congregation: *Ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἤραν φωνὴν πρὸς τὸν θεόν, καὶ εἶπον*. But by this is unquestionably to be understood, that one gave expression to the thoughts and feelings of all, and in this case that person was no doubt Peter, as may be inferred from the term *παῖς* twice applied to Jesus, v. 27, 30 comp. Acts 3 : 13, 26.

in Matt. 28 : 19, 20.¹ That this model prayer is in fact peculiarly fitted for such a use, no one will deny, who can appreciate its inexhaustible contents, embracing in few words the whole compass of religious wants.

Respecting the posture in prayer we find nothing prescribed. In the cases of our Lord's agony in Gethsemane (Lu. 22 : 41), of Peter's prayer before the raising of Tabitha (Acts 9 : 40), and of the sorrowful parting of Paul and the Ephesian elders (20 : 36), kneeling is mentioned. And this is best suited to express that, which here of course has chief prominence, viz. the humble submission and reverence of the heart before the holy God, and the sense of entire dependence on Him ; while the erect posture and the lifting up of the hands (comp. 1 Tim. 2 : 8) are peculiarly proper for thanksgiving and the expression of solemn joy, and were accordingly used in the ancient church on Sunday, the joyous day of the Lord's resurrection.²

4. The *song* is in reality distinguished from prayer, particularly from thanksgiving, only by its form, its stately garb of poetry, its elevated language of festival enthusiasm, on the wings of which the congregation rises to the highest pitch of devotion, and joins in the celestial harmonies of saints and angels. Thus we have here the two noblest and most spiritual arts—music and poetry, consecrated to religion ; as in fact all art is destined ultimately to become worship, and to minister to the praise of God, from whom it proceeds, and to the delight of his people. The song passed immediately from the temple and synagogue into the Christian church along with the Psalms ; as the doxologies, antiphonies, collects, and the whole psalmody of Eastern and Western antiquity show. The Lord himself sang with his disciples at the institution of the holy supper (Matt. 26 : 30. Mk. 14 : 26), probably the hallelujah Psalms (113–118) used at the Jewish passover ; thus consecrating the singing of psalms as an act of the new Christian worship. Paul (Eph. 5 : 19. Col. 3 : 16) expressly enjoins the use of psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, for social edification. The Christians em-

¹ The testimonies of Tertullian, Cyprian, and Origen place the universal use of the Lord's Prayer by the church, at least in the second and third centuries, beyond all doubt. Comp. on this point Augusti : *Handbuch der christl. Archäol.* Vol. II. p. 62 sqq.

² Calvin on the *θεῖς τὰ γόνατα*, Acts 20 : 36, finely observes respecting these forms : "Primus quidem in precibus obtinet interior affectus, sed externa signa, genuflexio, capitis relectio, manuum levatio. duplicem habent usum. Prior est, ut membra omnia exerceamus in Dei gloriam et cultum ; deinde ut hoc quasi adminiculo exorcitetur nostra pigritia. Accedit in solenni et publica prece tertius usus, quia pietatem suam hoc modo profitentur filii Dei, et alii alios mutuo accendunt ad Dei reverentiam. Sicut autem manuum levatio fiducia et ardentis desiderii symbolum est. ita humilitatis testandae causa in genua procumbimus."

ployed song also privately and in small circles, as appears from the advice of James (5 : 13) : "Is any among you afflicted? let him pray. Is any merry? let him sing psalms;" and from the fact (Acts 16 : 25), that Paul and Silas at midnight, in the dark dungeon, joined in a hymn to the Lord, and thus rose above their troubles and pain.

The Psalms of the Old Testament, which in the light of their fulfillment in the New are even to this day an inexhaustible source of edification and spiritual refreshment, were undoubtedly the first used by the apostolic churches, especially by the Jewish Christians. But besides these, even in that period, particularly among the Gentile converts, peculiarly Christian songs sprang forth from the inspiration of the first love, like flowers beneath the vernal sun.¹ Several sections of the Gospel of Luke, which in its first two chapters is highly poetical and liturgical, passed, perhaps, as early as the first century, into public use as songs; the anthem of the heavenly hosts, for instance (Lu. 2 : 14, the so-called "Gloria"), the parting words of Simeon (2 : 29, the "Nunc dimittis"), the sublime songs of Mary (1 : 46 sqq., the "Magnificat"), and Zacharias (1 : 68 sqq., the "Benedictus"). The short thanksgiving in Acts 4 : 24-30 has a psalmodic character (comp. Ps. 2), and is easily put into metrical form. In all probability, too, the epistles in several instances contain fragments of such primitive Christian songs; as is indicated by the poetical, and sometimes metrical, form of expression. See for example Eph. 5 : 14 ;² 1 Tim. 3 : 16 (especially if, according to the best authorities, we here read $\delta\epsilon$; for this reading is most naturally explained on the supposition of the passage being a fragment of a hymn, which, in six parallel stanzas in melodious rhythm, contains a christology *in nuce*); 2 Tim. 2 : 11 (where the $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$ indicates a quotation, and the parallel and rhythmical structure of the passage a poetical quotation); and Jas. 1 : 17 (where the words from $\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha$ to $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu$ form a hexameter). Then the Apocalypse contains a number of lyric pieces, songs of the glorified saints in praise of the Lamb, which breathe upon us the peaceful air of eternity. This whole book is full of doxologies and antiphonies.³ Finally, as we have already seen, speaking with

¹ Perhaps these Christian songs are intended by the "hymns and spiritual songs," Eph. 5 : 19, in distinction from the "psalms."

² On this quotation Stier well remarks (*Comment.* I. p. 285), after refuting the erroneous references of it to several passages of Isaiah : "The apostle here quotes with as much honor as Scripture, from a hymn-book then existing distinct from the Bible, the words of a liturgical song, which flowed from the Scriptures and the Spirit—the prophetic Spirit, which reigned in the church." Theodoret already gives it as the opinion of several interpreters, that Paul in Eph. 5 : 14 quotes a fragment of a hymn.

³ Comp. Rev 1 : 4-8. 5 : 9-14. 11 : 15-19. 15 : 3 sq. 21 : 1-8. 22 : 10-17, 20

tongues according to Paul's description, was nothing but a peculiar kind of prayer and song in the language of ecstatic inspiration.¹

5. All the acts of worship now mentioned are at the same time *confessions of faith*. Whether there was besides these a special confession—say at baptism—we shall consider in the following section, in which we take up the last element of worship, the administration of the sacraments.

§ 142. Baptism. (Note on Immersion.)

6. Finally, an essential constituent of the Christian worship is the administration of the *sacraments*. These are sacred acts, by which, on the ground of an express command of Christ, under visible signs an invisible grace is not only represented, but also communicated and sealed to the worthy recipients.² They are *baptism* and the *Lord's supper*. These in the New Testament take the place of their Old Testament types, circumcision and the paschal feast, as efficacious signs, pledges, and means of grace. They are related to one another in general as regeneration and sanctification, as the rise and the growth of the Christian life. The supper, therefore, is to be repeated; baptism is not.

Baptism, which our Lord instituted at his departure from the earth,³ meets us in the Christian form on the first pentecost in intimate connection with the preaching of the gospel. As to its *nature* and *import*, it appears as the church-founding sacrament and the outward medium of the forgiveness of sins and the communication of the Holy Ghost (Acts 2 : 38). It is the solemn ceremony of reception and incorporation into the communion of the visible church and of Jesus Christ, its Head. Hence Paul calls it a putting on of Christ (Gal. 3 : 11), a union into one body by one Spirit (1 Cor. 12 : 13), a washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost (Tit. 3 : 5, comp. Jno. 3 : 5), a being buried with Christ and rising again with him to a new and holy life (Rom. 6 : 4). In its idea, therefore, and divine intent, baptism coincides with regenera-

¹ Α προσεύχεσθαι, or ψάλλειν τῷ πνεύματι, 1 Cor. 14 : 15, 16; comp. above, § 117.

² The term *sacrament*, by which the Vulgate frequently translates the Greek *μυστήριον*, *mystery* (as in Eph. 3 : 3, 9. 5 : 32. Rev. 1 : 20. 17 : 7), was received into the theological language of the church from the time of Tertullian; but the compass of the conception, and consequently the number of the sacraments, long remained very indefinite. Catholics and Protestants agree in requiring three elements for a *sacramentum* in the strict sense; ■ *signum visibile*, a *gratia invisibilis*, and a *mandatum divinum*; but the former find these three elements in *seven* sacred usages of the church: the latter only in baptism and the Lord's supper, because in the Protestant view a *mandatum divinum* is not constituted by the mere judgment of the church, but requires an express command of Christ or his apostles in the words of Scripture.

³ Matt. 28 : 19. Comp. Mk. 16 : 16. Jno. 3 : 5.

tion. It marks the beginning of the renewing work of the Holy Ghost, who is fitly symbolized by the pure and purifying water. In practice, however, the outward act is not always accompanied by the inward change. And in this case the general principles hold, that the exception does not set aside, but confirms, the rule, and that the unfaithfulness of man cannot subvert the faithfulness of God. The communication of the promised sacramental grace is not magical or mechanical, but is dependent, as well in baptism as in the supper, on certain conditions, viz., a scriptural mode of administration on the part of the officiating minister, and repentance and faith on the part of the recipient. Where the latter condition is wanting, the blessing turns into a curse. The sacrament is accordingly, like the word of God, a savor of life unto life to believers, but to the unworthy a savor of death unto death (comp. 1 Cor. 11 : 29). In Acts 8 : 13, 16, 18 sqq., we have in the hypocrite, Simon Magus, an example of a merely outward baptism with water, without the inward baptism with the Holy Ghost and with fire ; while, on the other hand, Cornelius and his company received the Holy Spirit in the midst of Peter's sermon before they were baptized (10 : 44 sqq.). Nevertheless, in this last case the outward act was added, and that not as an empty ceremony, but as the objective confirmation and divine seal of the grace received. Though God is absolutely free, and though his Spirit blows as and whither it will (Jno. 3 : 8), yet is the church bound by his ordinances, and therefore adheres with good reason to the principle, that baptism—of course not without faith—is in general necessary to salvation ; while, on the other hand, she asserts with the same right, that not the defect of the sacrament (which may be the result of unavoidable circumstances, as in the case of the penitent thief on the cross, or of a conversion in an unwatered desert), but the conscious contempt of it, condemns. Both these principles are involved in our Lord's expressions, Jno. 3 : 5, where He represents the being born again of water and the Spirit as the indispensable condition of entrance into the kingdom of God ; and Mk. 16 : 16, where He pronounces not the baptized as such, but only the believing recipients of baptism, saved, and not the unbaptized as such, but only the unbelieving, damned : "He that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved ; but he that believeth not shall be damned."

The full *formula* of baptism, as prescribed by Christ (Matt. 28 : 19), is in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost ; signifying a sinking of the subject into the revealed being of the triune God, a coming into living communion with Him, so as thenceforth to be consecrated to Him, to live to Him and serve Him, and to experience His blessed redeeming and sanctifying power. In practice, however, we find

the apostles always using the abbreviated form: "into the name," or "in the name, of Jesus Christ," or "of the Lord Jesus," or simply "into Christ."¹ Of course this included the other, binding the subject to receive the whole doctrine of Christ, and consequently what He had taught concerning the Father and the Holy Ghost.²

The act of baptism was preceded by brief *instruction* respecting the main facts of the Gospel history, and an injunction of repentance and faith in Jesus as the promised Messiah and the Saviour of the world. But the more thorough indoctrination in the apostolic truth came after.³ Subsequently, when the reception of proselytes demanded great caution, the time of instruction and probation was extended.

It was probably the custom even in the times of the apostles to require of the candidate, before administering the holy ordinance, a simple *confession* of his penitent faith in Jesus Christ. Of this we have hints in Acts 8 : 37, where the eunuch, before being baptized, answered to Philip's question: "I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God;" in 1 Pet. 3 : 21, where the apostle says of baptism, that it is "not the putting away of the filth of the flesh (like common washings), but the answer of a good conscience toward God (συνειδήσεως ἀγαθῆς ἐπερώτημα εἰς θεόν)," referring to the questions and answers of the solemn contract of the candidate with God;⁴ and finally in 1 Tim. 6 : 12, where many com-

¹ Acts 2 : 38. 10 : 46. 19 : 5. Rom 6 : 3. Gal. 3 : 27.

² Others think, that these passages do not contain the baptismal formula at all, but only thus briefly designate the Christian baptism in distinction from the baptism of John, and perhaps from the baptism administered to Jewish proselytes (i. e. if this is as old as the Christian era: which is well known to be doubtful, as no older testimony exists for it than that of the Gemara). This suits Acts 19 : 5 very well. It is certain that immediately after the time of the apostles the formula given by Christ was in general use (comp. e. g. Justin's *Apol.* I. 80), but also that the abridged form, in the sense above given, was acknowledged valid as far down as the third century (comp. Neander: *Kirchengesch.* I. 535, and especially Hüfling: *Das Sacrament der Taufe*, etc. I. p. 37 sqq.).

³ Comp. Acts 2 : 41, 42. 8 : 12, 36 sqq. 9 : 19. 10 : 34-48. Heb. 6 : 1 sq.

⁴ It must be observed, however, that in the oldest codices, A B C (D has a chasm here), and in several versions, this verse is wanting, and has hence been suspected as a later interpolation.

⁵ Ἐπερώτημα, properly *question*, may by metonymy (like the Latin *interrogatio* in Seneca, *De benef.* III. 15) signify either *sponsio*, *promissio*, as this was called forth by the question of the minister, or both together, the whole catechetical process and solemn engagement. Winer explains it: inquiry after God, i. e. a turning to God: but then we should rather expect ἐπερώτησις. Comp. the commentaries, and Neander: *Apostelgesch.* I. p. 277. It is possible, however, that the ἐπερώτημα contains an allusion to the high-priest's inquiring of God through the breastplate, with which, after washing himself, he went into the sanctuary. Taken then as met. consequentis pro causa, the term would mean: Qualification for inquiring of God, for free access to God.

mentators, following Chrysostom, refer the "good profession before many witnesses," of which Paul reminds Timothy, to his baptism; while to others these words suggest a solemn vow at ordination to the pastoral office. The first confession of Peter (Matt. 16 : 16) and then the baptismal formula itself (28 : 19) would very naturally be taken as the basis of this baptismal confession, and from it grew in the course of the second and third centuries, in a truly organic way, and from the consciousness not of an individual, but of the whole church, the so-called Apostles' Creed. This symbol, though not in form the production of the apostles, is a faithful compend of their doctrine; comprehends the leading articles of the faith in the triune God and His revelation, from the creation to the life everlasting, in sublime simplicity, in unsurpassable brevity, in the most beautiful order, and with liturgical solemnity; and to this day is the common bond of Greek, Roman, and Evangelical Christendom.

Baptism, being the sacrament of regeneration, cannot, in the nature of the case, be repeated, any more than the natural birth. The re-baptism of the disciples of John, Acts 19 : 5, is not a case in point. For these persons had received only the baptism of John, which could not impart the Holy Ghost (comp. v. 2), and after the first Christian Pentecost lost even its provisional significance. Nor on the other hand can it be inferred from this fact, that the apostles also were re-baptized; for in their case the outward act was compensated for by the miraculous baptism with the Holy Ghost and with fire on the day of Pentecost (comp. Acts 1 : 5). The earlier baptism of the disciples (Jno. 4 : 2), previous to the glorification of Christ, and therefore before the Holy Ghost was given (Jno. 7 : 39), was not essentially different from John's baptism of repentance. The peculiarly Christian baptism first appeared at the founding of the church on the day of Pentecost.

Finally, as to the outward *mode* of administering this ordinance; immersion, and not sprinkling, was unquestionably the original, normal form. This is shown by the very meaning of the Greek words βαπτίζω, βάπτισμα, βαπτισμός, used to designate the rite. Then again, by the analogy of the baptism of John, which was performed *in* the Jordan (ἐν, Matt. 3 : 6, compare 16; also εἰς τὸν Ἰορδάνην, Mk. 1 : 9). Furthermore by the New Testament comparisons of baptism with the passage through the Red Sea (1 Cor. 10 : 2), with the flood (1 Pet. 3 : 21), with a bath (Eph. 5 : 26. Tit. 3 : 5), with a burial and resurrection (Rom. 6 : 4. Col. 2 : 12). Finally, by the general usage of ecclesiastical antiquity which was always immersion (as it is to this day in the Oriental and also the Graeco-Russian churches); pouring and sprinkling being

substituted only in cases of urgent necessity, such as sickness and approaching death.¹

NOTE.—²It may be proper here to add a note on the disputed question of *immersion* and *sprinkling*. Βαπτίζω (εἰς τι, ἐν τινι, also πρὸς τι)—the frequentative of βάπτω, but synonymous with it, except that the latter, besides the sense “to immerse,” has the derivative one “to color”—denotes in the classics, not by any means every mode of applicatio aquæ, thus including infusio and aspersio, regardless of the quantitative relation of the water to the object, to which it is applied; but always an entire or partial immersio. Compare on this point the classical lexicons and especially the full exhibition of this philological argument by the learned Baptist divine, Dr. Alex. Carson: *Baptism in its Mode and Subjects*, ch. 2, p. 18–168 (5th Amer. ed. 1850). The advocates of the mode of baptism by sprinkling urge against the Baptists the following exegetical points:

1. In the later *Hellenistic* usage, and therefore in the LXX. and N. T., βαπτίζειν sometimes has the general sense “to wash,” “to cleanse” (So also Dr. Robinson in the new edition of his *Gr. and Engl. Lexicon*, p. 118.) In support of this a confident appeal can assuredly be made to several passages, viz. Lu. 11 : 38 (comp. with Mk. 7 : 2–4), where βαπτίζειν is used of the washing of hands before eating (Mark has for this, v. 3, νίπτειν τὰς χεῖρας), which in the East was performed by pouring (comp. 2 Ki. 3 : 11); Mk. 7 : 4, 8, which speaks of βαπτισμοί, i. e. cleansing of cups, pitchers, and tables; Heb. 9 : 10, where the διάφοροι βαπτισμοί must be taken to include all sorts of religious purifications among the Jews, bathing (Lev. 14 : 9. Num. 19 : 7); washing (Num. 19 : 7. Mk. 7 : 8), and sprinkling (Lev. 14 : 7. Num. 19 : 19); the figurative phrase βαπτ. ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ καὶ πυρί, Matt. 3 : 11. Lu. 3 : 16. Mk. 1 : 8. Jno. 1 : 33. Acts 1 : 5. 11 : 16, where the notion of immersion is hardly admissible, as the Holy Ghost is rather poured out; finally, several passages of the LXX., as 2 Ki. 5 : 14, 10 (where βαπτ. is synonymous with λούειν), Judith 12 : 7 (καὶ ἐβαπτίζετο ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ ἐπὶ τῆς πηγῆς τοῦ ὕδατος). It must be conceded, however, that in all these cases at least a copious application of water is intended, as the design of the ablution requires a wetting of the whole object.

2. The improbability of 3000 persons during the feast of Pentecost (Acts 2 : 41), and soon after 5000 (4 : 4), having been baptized by immersion at Jerusalem in one day, since there is no water in the neighborhood of the city in summer

¹ Indeed some would not allow even this baptismus clinicorum, as it was called, to be valid baptism; and Cyprian himself in the third century ventured to defend the aspersio only in case of a necessitas cogens and with reference to a special indulgentia Dei (*Ep. 76 ad Magn.* Comp. Höfling, l. c. I. p. 48 sqq.). There were ecclesiastical laws, which made persons baptized by sprinkling ineligible to church offices. These were grounded, however, not so much in the notion of the imperfection of their baptism, as in the fact, that they frequently received it from fear of approaching death, and hence might not have been so thoroughly prepared for it as others. Not till the end of the thirteenth century did sprinkling become the rule and immersion the exception; partly from the gradual decrease in the number of adult baptisms, partly from considerations of health and convenience,—all children having now come to be treated as infirmi.

but the springs and the brook Siloam, and the houses are supplied from cisterns and public reservoirs, so that there, as in all Palestine, private baths in dwellings are very rare. In these cases we must give up the idea at least of a total immersion, and substitute perhaps that of a copious affusion upon the head.

3. Dr. Robinson, l. c. and in his *Bibl. Researches in Palest.* II. 182, III. 78, further adduces, that the baptismal fonts found among the ruins of the oldest Greek churches in Palestine, as at Tekoa and Cophna, are not large enough for the immersion of adults, and were evidently not intended for that purpose.

These arguments assuredly serve in some measure to justify from exegesis the now prevalent form of baptism by affusion. Yet the ordinary use of βαπτίζειν, βάπτισμα, βαπτισμός, in connection with the passages respecting baptism adduced in the text, the clear testimonies of antiquity, and the present prevailing usage of the Oriental churches, puts it beyond all doubt, that entire or partial immersion was the general rule in Christian antiquity, from which certainly nothing but urgent outward circumstances caused a deviation. Respecting the *form* of baptism, therefore (quite otherwise with the much more important difference respecting the *subject* of baptism, or *infant* baptism, comp. § 143), the impartial historian is compelled by exegesis and history substantially to yield the point to the Baptists, as is done in fact (perhaps somewhat too decidedly and without due regard to the arguments just stated for the other practice) by most German scholars, e. g. Neander: *Apostelgesch.* I. p. 276; Knapp: *Vorlesungen über die christliche Glaubenslehre*, II. p. 453; Höfling: l. c. I. p. 46 sqq.; also by the Anglican divines, Conybeare and Howson, *Life of St. Paul*, I. 471: "It is needless to add that baptism was (unless in exceptional cases) administered by immersion, the convert being plunged beneath the surface of the water to represent his death to the life of sin, and then raised from this momentary burial to represent his resurrection to the life of righteousness. It must be a subject of regret, that the general discontinuance of this original form of baptism (though perhaps necessary in our Northern climates) has rendered obscure to popular apprehension some very important passages of Scripture." With this we entirely concur. It is well known, that the reformers, Luther and Calvin, and several old Protestant liturgies, gave the preference to immersion; and this is undoubtedly far better suited than sprinkling to symbolize the idea of baptism, the entire purifying of the inward man, the being buried and the rising again with Christ. But the Baptists go too far in making immersion, after the fashion of Jewish legalism, the *only* valid form of baptism. The application of *water* is necessary to this sacrament; but the quantity of it, as also the quality (whether sea, spring, or river water, whether cold or warm), is certainly not essential. Otherwise we should in fact bind the efficacy of the Holy Ghost to what is material and accidental. Here difference of climate, state of health, and other circumstances, may certainly claim some regard; and hence the ancient church made exceptions at least in reference to sick catechumens and children, and applied to them the water by sprinkling.

§ 143. *Infant Baptism.*

In consequence of the missionary character of the apostolic church adult baptism in this period predominated. Infant baptism can have no significance, save on the ground of a mother church already existing, and in view of a Christian education, which heathen and Jewish parents of course can not be expected to give. So also at this day, a missionary will not begin his work with baptizing children, but with instructing adults.

But here arises the question: Was there not at that day, in churches already established, along with the baptism of adults, which in the nature of the case was most frequent, a Christian infant baptism, corresponding to its type, circumcision, which, administered first to the patriarch Abraham as the seal of his righteousness of faith (comp. Rom. 4 : 11), was immediately afterwards performed on his son, Isaac, on the eighth day after his birth (Gen. 21 : 4), and made the sign of the covenant for all his male posterity (Gen. 17 : 10 sqq.)? This question we must answer decidedly in the affirmative, though we here encounter not only the Baptists, but also the authority of many celebrated pedobaptist divines, and among them the venerable Dr. Neander, who denies the existence of infant baptism in the apostolic church.⁴ It is very often asserted, indeed, even by friends of infant baptism, that no direct authority for it can be shown in the New Testament, not excepting the passages in Acts, where the baptism of whole families is spoken of, as c. 10 : 2, 44-48. 16 : 15, 30-33. 18 : 8. 1 Cor. 1 : 16. 16 : 15. In none of these places, it is said, are children expressly mentioned, and the families concerned might possibly have consisted entirely of adults. But this is, even in itself, exceedingly improbable, since we have here, not one case only, but five, and these given merely as examples, whence we may readily infer that there were many others. A glance at any neighborhood will show, that families without children are the exceptions, not the rule. But besides, it is hardly conceivable, that all the supposed adult sons and daughters in these five cases so quickly determined on going over with their parents to a despised and persecuted religious society; whereas, if we suppose the children to have been still young and therefore entirely under paternal authority, the matter presents no difficulty at all. Moreover we need not insist on any particular passage. We here rest the case, rather, as we must do with so many other articles of faith, even the doctrine of the Trinity, mainly on the

⁴ *Apostelgesch.* I. 278 sqq. Here, however, we must not overlook the essential difference, that, while the Baptists pronounce infant baptism an unscriptural and unchristian innovation. Neander, on the contrary, represents it as proceeding from the genuine spirit of Christianity, though not till towards the end of the second century

whole tone and spirit of the Holy Scriptures, which involve infinitely more than the letter directly declares. And if it can be proved, that infant baptism holds a necessary place in the entire structure and design of apostolical Christianity, we may certainly infer from this with tolerable confidence, in the utter want of evidence to the contrary, that it was actually practised.

The ultimate authority for infant baptism in the bosom of a regular Christian community and under a sufficient guarantee of pious education—for only on these terms do we advocate it—lies in the *universal import of Christ's person and work*, which extends as far as humanity itself. Christ is not only able, but willing, to save mankind of all classes, in all circumstances, of both sexes, and at all stages of life, and consequently to provide for all these the necessary means of grace (comp. Gal. 3 : 28) Before the Saviour of the world these distinctions are all lost in the common need and capability of redemption. A Christ, able and willing to save none but adults, would be no such Christ as the gospel presents. The exclusion of a part of our race from the blessings of the kingdom of heaven on account of age has not the slightest warrant in the holy Scriptures, and our noblest impulses, our deepest religious feelings, rise against such a particularism.¹ In the significant parallel, Rom. 5 : 12 sqq., the apostle earnestly presses the point, that the reign of righteousness and life is in its divine intent and intrinsic efficacy fully as comprehensive as the reign of sin and death, to which children among the rest are subject ; nay, far more comprehensive and availing ; and that the blessing and gain by the second Adam far outweigh the curse and the loss by the first. Hence he emphatically repeats the

¹ And yet this is the inevitable consequence, nay, in fact the principle, of the Baptist theory. Dr. Alex. Carson, its most learned advocate, openly declares (*Baptism in its Mode and Subjects*, p. 173), that children cannot be saved by the gospel nor by faith : "The Gospel has nothing to do with infants, nor have Gospel ordinances any respect to them. The Gospel has to do with those who hear it. It is good news; but to infants it is no news at all. They know nothing of it. The salvation of the Gospel is as much confined to believers, as the baptism of the Gospel is. None can ever be saved by the Gospel who do not believe it. Consequently, by the Gospel no infant can be saved." When, however, the Baptists suppose, as they commonly do, that infants are saved, and saved without baptism, without faith, without the gospel, they reject the fundamental principle of the gospel, that out of Christ there is no salvation, that faith in Him alone can save. "Infants who enter heaven," says Carson, l. c., "must be regenerated, but not by the gospel. Infants must be sanctified for heaven, but not through the truth as revealed to man." (Is there then another truth besides the revealed; and could this be anything else than an untruth; and can such an extra and anti-evangelical truth save?) "We know nothing of the means by which God receives infants: nor have we any business with it." Fine consolation for Christian parents, especially at the grave of their beloved child!

"much more" (πολλῷ μᾶλλον) in the second clause (v. 15, 17). The church, like Christ himself, is above all limitations of nation, language, sex, or age. The parable of the leaven (Matt. 13 : 33) penetrating and pervading the whole mass, is expressly intended to illustrate the power of the kingdom of God to work in, and diffuse itself through all the relations and conditions of life ; and when the Lord, after solemnly declaring, that all power is given to him in heaven and in earth, commands his apostles to make *all nations* disciples (μαθητεύειν) by baptism in the triune Name and by instruction in His doctrine, there is not the least reason for limiting this to those of maturer age. Or do nations consist only of men, and not of youth also, and children ? According to Ps. 117 : 1 "all nations," and according to Ps. 150 : 6 "everything that hath breath," should praise the Lord ; and that these include babes and sucklings, is explicitly told us in Ps. 8 : 2 and Matt. 21 : 16.

With this is closely connected the beautiful idea, already clearly brought out by Irenaeus, the disciple of Polycarp, and the faithful medium of the apostolical tradition descending from John's field of labor—the idea that Jesus Christ became for children a child, for youth a youth, for men a man, and by thus entering into the various conditions and stages of our earthly existence sanctified every period of life, infancy as well as manhood.¹ The Baptist view robs the Saviour's *infancy* of its profound and cheering significance.

If now Christ is really the Saviour of infants as well as of adults, the means of this salvation must be available for both. Christ can not will an end without willing at the same time the way which leads to it ; and we must therefore either deny baptism as a means of saving grace, or grant it to all whom Christ would save, if the proper conditions are at hand.

Most certainly, however, is *faith* necessary on our part, as the indispensable condition of salvation, the organ by which we appropriate Christ and receive his blessings ; and here we meet the main exegetical and dogmatical argument of the Baptists. Christian baptism, say they,

¹ "Omnes enim," says Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* III. 22, with a profound view of the mystery of the incarnation, "per semetipsum venit salvare. omnes, inquam, qui per eum renascuntur in Deum, infantes et parvulos et pueros et juvenes et seniores. Ideo per omnem venit aetatem et infantibus infans factus, sanctificans infantes, in parvulis parvulus, sanctificans hanc ipsam habentes aetatem, simul et exemplum illis pietatis effectus et justitiae et subjectionis. in juvenibus juvenis, exemplum juvenibus fiens et sanctificans Domino." That Irenaeus, in the words "renascuntur in Deum" has in mind baptism as the sacrament of regeneration, whereby even the infant is consecrated to God, is conceded by Neander in his *Kirchengesch.* vol I. p. 537, where he says of this expression of the church father : "Thus from this idea, which lay deep in the essence of Christianity and ruled all minds, proceeded the practice of infant baptism."

requires the gospel to have been preached to the subject, and the subject to have exercised repentance and faith ; but infants can neither understand a sermon, nor repent and believe ; therefore neither can they be baptized. The major premise is in the main correct ; the minor is, in such a broad application, false ; hence the conclusion falls to the ground. The connection of baptism with preaching and with faith is placed beyond dispute by the words of the institution of this sacrament, Matt. 28 : 19, and especially Mk. 16 : 16—"He that (first) believeth and (then) is baptized, shall be saved ;" and by the examples in the book of Acts, according to which the act of baptism was always preceded by the preaching of the missionaries and the faith of the hearers.² But even here we have to consider what the Baptists overlook, that in all these cases the instruction, which preceded this rite of initiation into the church, was very brief and general, touching only the main facts of gospel history, and accompanied, therefore, by only a small degree of faith ; and that the complete communication of the apostle's doctrine, and growth in the faith, took place after the person was in full communion with the church. The primitive Christian baptism was neither a forced act, like the baptism of the Saxons, for instance, at the order of Charlemagne, nor a ceremony in the usual Baptist sense, which imparts nothing new at all, but merely seals the faith already possessed. The apostles never demanded full and formal regeneration *before* baptism, but simply an honest longing for salvation in Christ ; which salvation was then actually administered and sealed to them by baptism, and afterwards nourished and developed by the other means of grace. "Repent," says Peter to the three thousand, who were baptized on the day of Pentecost after anxiously listening to one short sermon, "Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost ;" thus placing these two blessings, the negative and the positive, the remission of sins and the bestowment of the Spirit, as the effect, not the condition, of baptism. This view is corroborated by the oft mistaken passage, Matt. 28 : 19, which, to give the true sense, should be translated, "Go ye, therefore, and make disciples (*μαθητεύσατε*) of all nations (by) baptizing them (*βαπτίζοντες*) in the name of the Father and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, (and by) teaching them (*διδάσκοντες*) to observe all things whatsoever I have

¹ Or more accurately : "Qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit, salvus erit," as the Vulgate translates the original.

² Acts 2 : 37 sqq. 8 : 5 sqq., 35-38. 9 : 17 sq. 10 : 42-48. 16 : 15, 33. 18 : 8. 19 : 5. Full use is made of these passages in the Baptist sense by R. Pengilly : *The Scriptural Guide to Baptism*, p. 27 sqq. ed. of Philadelphia, 1849 (also translated into German) and by Js. Taylor Hinton : *History of Baptism from inspired and uninspired Writing* (Philad. 1846), ch. III. p. 88 sqq.

commanded you." Here plainly the "making disciples" (of Jesus, *i. e.* true Christians) is not one and the same with the "teaching,"¹ but a more general idea, denoting the object to be attained by the double means, first of baptism, and then of teaching.² Were it possible to be a complete Christian before baptism, therefore out of the church, baptism were useless, or at least unnecessary. And to this the Baptist theory virtually comes.³ It always more or less mistakes the nature and the pedagogical character of the church, as an indispensable saving and sanctifying institution, and regards it in reality merely as a community of the saved. Besides the demand of regeneration and conversion, as a necessary prerequisite for baptism, makes the latter, properly speaking, impossible, or indefinitely postpones it; for God has not endowed the ministers or congregations with the gift of infallible discernment of spirits. Even a Philip was deceived by the hypocritical profession of Simon Magus.

But now, as to the second proposition of the Baptist argument, the incapacity of children for faith, whence follows their exclusion from baptism: this is granted, if by faith we understand a *self-conscious, free* turning of the heart to God. This cannot take place till the dawn of intelligence (for which, by the way, no certain period can be fixed), and in view of this infant baptism needs to be completed in the subject, according to ancient custom, by catechetical instruction and by confirmation, in which the Christian, arrived at the age of spiritual discretion, ratifies his baptismal confession, and of his free determination gives himself to God. For this reason also the baptism of the children of unbelieving, though nominally Christian, parents, is in reality unmeaning, or rather a profanation of the holy transaction; since there is here a hypocritical profession of faith, and no guarantee of an education answering to the baptismal vow. But the grand error of the proposition before us is, that the conception of faith in general, and with it the agency of the Holy Ghost, is limited to, and made to depend on, a particular stage in the development of the human mind, and that the various forms and phases of divine operation and of faith are overlooked. The ground and the conditions of salvation lie not at all in the subject or creature, but in the depths of the divine mercy; and in faith itself we must observe

¹ Luther's translation of this is inaccurate, and calculated to mislead; he renders *μαθητεύειν* also by "lehren," to teach. So also the common English version.

² Not without reason, therefore, says the Danish divine, Dr. H. Martensen (*Die christl. Taufe und die baptistische Frage*, Hamburg, 1843, p. 24): "The more infant baptism prevails in the world, the more are the words of the Lord fulfilled, that *the nations* should be made disciples by baptism and teaching."

³ With the exception of the "Disciples of Christ," or "Campbellites," who identify immersion with regeneration.

different stages, from the germ to the perfect fruit. The Holy Scriptures speak of a little and weak faith,¹ of a growing, a strong, and a firmly rooted faith,² of a struggling and overcoming faith,³ and of a perfected faith.⁴ Faith begins with religious susceptibility, with an unconscious longing for the divine, and a childlike trust in a higher power. It is not a product of human thought, understanding, feeling, or will, but a work of grace and of the Spirit of God, who is bound to no age or degree of intelligence, but operates, as the wind blows, when and where He will.⁵ Faith does not produce the blessings of salvation, but simply receives them, and only in this aspect, as a receptive, not a productive organ, is it saving; otherwise salvation would be the work of the creature.

Now this receptivity for the divine, or faith in its incipient form and slumbering germ, may be found in the child, even purer than in the adult. In virtue of its religious constitution and endowments, the child is susceptible to the influences of grace, and may be actually regenerated. If a man deny this, he must, to be consistent, condemn all children without exception to perdition. For they, like all men, are conceived in sin (Ps. 51 : 5), flesh born of flesh (Jno. 3 : 6), and by nature children of wrath (Eph. 2 : 3; comp. Rom. 3 : 22-24); and except a man be born again of water and of the Spirit, according to our Lord's unequivocal declaration, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God (Jno. 3 : 5) "He that believed not shall be damned" (Mk. 16 : 16). When Baptist, and some other theologians, therefore, admit at least some infants into heaven without regeneration or faith, they either deny original sin and guilt after the manner of Pelagianism, or open a way of salvation unknown, nay, directly opposed, to the gospel. There are also, however, explicit passages in the Scriptures, which leave no doubt respecting the capacity of childhood and infancy for the divine. Not to mention the extraordinary case of John the Baptist, who even in his mother's womb was filled with the Holy Ghost (Lu. 1 : 15, 41), we know from Matt. 18 : 2-5. 19 : 14, 15. Mk. 10 : 14, 15. Lu. 18 : 16, 17, that the Saviour himself took children into his arms, blessed them, and adjudged them meet for the kingdom of heaven; nay, He required all adults to become children again, to cultivate the simple, unassuming, confiding, susceptible disposition of the child, if they would have part in that kingdom. Should the church refuse baptism, that is the sign and seal of entrance into Christ's kingdom, to the tender age, which the

¹ Matt. 17 : 20. Lu. 22 : 31 sq.

² 2 Thess. 1 : 3. 1 Cor. 16 : 13. Col. 2 : 7

³ 1 Tim. 6 : 12. Eph. 6 : 10. 1 Jno. 5 : 4.

⁴ 2 Tim. 4 : 7 sq.

⁵ Comp. such passages as Rom. 12 : 3. Gal. 5 : 5. 1 Cor. 12 : 3, 9. 2 Cor. 4 : 13. Eph. 2 : 8. Col. 2 : 12. Phil. 1 : 29. Jno. 3 : 8.

Lord himself pressed to his loving heart? Should she hold off from her communion as incapable and unworthy the infants, whom the Head of the church presented even as models to all who would be His disciples? Rather must we conclude from this, strange as it may appear, that *every baptism, even in the case of adults, is really an infant baptism*; because Christ makes the childlike spirit an indispensable condition of entrance into His kingdom, and because baptism in general, as the sacrament of regeneration, demands of every candidate the renunciation of his former sinful life in repentance, and the beginning of a *new*, holy life in faith.

All the objections, which are made against the Christian baptism of infants, are of equal force against the Jewish institution of *circumcision* on the eighth day. For this was not an unmeaning ceremony, but a sacred sign and seal of the covenant, admitting the circumcised person to its privileges and blessings, and binding him also under its obligations (comp. Gal. 5 : 3), which, strictly speaking, he could only assume at the age of discretion and by a voluntary act. As, however, the circumcision of the Israelitish children rested undeniably on a divine command (Gen. 17 : 12. Lev. 12 : 3), we may draw from this typical rite an inference in favor of infant baptism. For the latter has in some sense taken the place of the former, and hence is called the "circumcision of Christ" (Col. 2 : 11); with the grand difference, indeed, that the old covenant with all its institutions was but a shadow of good things to come, while the new covenant of grace is the antitype and substance (Heb. 10 : 1. Col. 2 : 17). This difference, however, is all in *our* favor. If the former, according to the promise of Jehovah, Gen. 17 : 7 sqq., embraced the whole posterity of Abraham, much more does the latter, which is in fact distinguished from the other by its very largeness, depth, and fullness. In this comprehensive sense, after the analogy of the ordinance of circumcision, must the apostles, being Jews, have undoubtedly taken the command of the Lord to baptize *all nations*; and had Christ intended to exclude children, he would have somehow signified it. In fact Peter, on the day of Pentecost, in calling upon his hearers to be baptized, explicitly announces this extension of the blessings of the gospel to children : "For the promise (of the remission of sins and of the Holy Ghost) is unto you, *and to your children*,¹ and to all that are afar off, even as many as the Lord our God shall call" (Acts 2 : 39).

This important idea of an *organic connection between Christian parents and their children*, by virtue of which the latter are included in the covenant obligations and privileges of the former, meets us also in the

¹ If we take this in the wide sense, as meaning posterity in general, still we in no case exclude children.

apostle Paul. He considers children as already belonging to the church, and requires them to obey their parents "in the Lord" (Eph. 6 : 1 Col. 3 : 20); which is possible, properly speaking, only on the ground of their vital union with the church, the body of the Lord, and this union is formed by baptism. In 1 Cor. 7 : 14 the apostle makes an important distinction between the children of heathen parents and those of Christian, calling the former unclean (*ἀκάθαρτα*), but the latter holy (*ἅγια*), by virtue of their organic union with a believing mother or father.¹ As, in a mixed marriage, of which he just before speaks, the power of the divine life in the Christian parent is mightier than the power of darkness in the heathen partner, so also its influence on the offspring is predominant. For God is stronger than Satan. How much greater must be the influence of the divine life over the child when both parents walk in the fear of God and are imbued with the spirit of faith! Paul does not here mean, of course, to deny the natural corruption of the children of Christian parents; but he does unequivocally teach, that the blessing of the covenant is transmitted to them and the curse of nature so far removed, that those, who were by nature unholy, are by grace consecrated to God and brought under a sanctifying influence. Infant baptism itself is here not expressly mentioned indeed, but the idea and authorization of it is most assuredly implied.² For if, by virtue of their birth from believing parents, the children are already included in the covenant of grace, why should they be excluded from the sacrament which puts the divine seal on this covenant and alone makes it, so to speak, valid and available in law? This passage, however, at the same time restricts the right to and the qualification for baptism to those children, whose parents, at least on one side, are believers; because it is only in connection with a Christian family, that the *διδάσκειν*, which the command of Christ, Matt. 28 : 19, annexes to the *βαπτίζειν*, and consequently the preservation of the baptismal grace and the development of it to the independent life of faith, can be expected.³

¹ In like manner Paul says of the relation of the patriarchs to the Jewish nation, which sprang from them (Rom. 11 : 16): "For if the first-fruit be holy, the lump (the bread prepared from the fruit) is also holy; and if the root be holy, so are the branches."

² This Neander also virtually concedes, when he says of the above passage (*Apostelgesch.* I. p. 282 sq.): "The view here taken by Paul, though it goes against the actual existence of infant baptism at that time (?), yet includes the fundamental idea, from which infant baptism was afterwards necessarily developed, and by which it would be justified in the mind of Paul, viz., the idea of a pre-eminence belonging to children born in a Christian communion; of a consecration for the kingdom of God thereby granted them; of an immediate sanctifying influence, to be brought to bear on their earliest development."

³ With good reason, therefore, do the so-called *Apostolic constitutions* place infant bap-

John also, like Paul, regards the children of believers as members of the Christian church. After addressing his readers, 1 Jno. 2 : 12, as τέκνιά he turns, v. 13, to those in the several stages of life, fathers, young men, children ; and he dwells longest upon the latter (v. 15), because they are encountering seasons of temptation, and because they are mainly the hope of the church. In his second epistle the same apostle salutes the children of Cyria, and conveys to her a salutation from the children of her sister ; nay, in v. 4 he expresses his joy to find some of Cyria's children walking in the truth ; which can be said only of those who have part in Christ, the way, the truth, and the life.

If, according to what has now been said, authority for infant baptism is to be found in the universal import of Christ's person and redeeming office, in the original idea of Christianity, in the extent of the covenant of grace, in the analogy of circumcision, and in the organic relation, spiritual and bodily, of believing parents to their offspring ; it is altogether probable, that the introduction and exercise of this ordinance is as old as the independent existence of any Christian community. And under these circumstances we have every reason to believe, that it was *actually practised* in those five instances, recorded in the New Testament without the least qualification (which the Baptist theory would lead us to expect), where whole households were baptized,—the cases of Cornelius, of Lydia, of the jailer at Philippi, and of Crispus and Stephanas in Corinth ; especially since these, as before remarked, are recorded only as examples, leaving us to infer the existence of many similar ones, while yet it would be contrary to all experience to suppose all the families to have been without small children.

It is true, a witness has been brought from the end of the second century to overthrow this exegetical conclusion and to prove a comparatively late introduction of the ordinance in question. We mean *Tertullian*, in his well known attack upon infant baptism.¹ But this very testimony of Tertullian, which is placed even by such distinguished scholars as Neander, Gieseler, and other pedobaptist historians, in a distorted posture and made to furnish unwarrantable inferences, proves most decidedly the *existence* of infant baptism, at that time, as well as of the custom, closely connected with it, of having god-parents (sponsors). Nay more, Tertullian is aware, that the practice of the whole church is against him, and he comes out, though unsuccessfully, as a reformer. Had he been able to appeal to antiquity and to oppose infant

tism and *Christian education* in immediate connection, VI. 15 : Βαπτίζετε δὲ ὁμῶν καὶ τὰ νήπια, καὶ ἐκτρέφετε αὐτὰ ἐν παιδείᾳ καὶ νοῦθεσίᾳ θεοῦ. "Ἀφετα γὰρ κ. τ. λ. Mk. 10 : 14.

¹ *De baptismo*, c. 18.

baptism as an innovation, he would certainly have taken advantage of this position. But he does not question the apostolical origin of this ordinance, nor even its propriety and legality. Of an assertion of the invalidity of infant baptism and the necessity for a repetition of the sacrament, there is not the slightest trace either in Tertullian or in any other ancient Christian writer. Tertullian's objections relate solely to its *expediency* and *judiciousness*, and arise partly from his notion of the magical operation of the baptismal water, and partly from a kind of Christian policy, which in the third and fourth centuries led many distinguished men, as the emperors Constantine and Theodosius, the church teachers Gregory of Nazianzen, his brother Caesarius, and Augustine, while admitting the lawfulness and validity of infant baptism, to put off their own baptism to the age of maturity and strong faith, or even to the death-bed ; though Augustine at the same time explicitly declares, that he considers this a false view, and that it had been better for him, had he in tender youth been taken under the maternal care of the church. Tertullian holds an early baptism to be dangerous, because according to his Montanistic notions a mortal sin committed after baptism excludes forever from the communion of the church, and probably incurs eternal damnation. On this ground he advises not only children, but even *adults* also, who are yet unmarried and under no vow of chastity, to put off baptism until they are secure against temptation to gross carnal indulgence.¹ This whole argument of Tertullian then rests on false premises, which were not admitted by the church. It comes before us simply as an individual private opinion against an already prevailing theory and practice, and goes strongly, therefore, to prove the contrary of what it has been often used to prove. All that can with any certainty be deduced from it is, that the baptism of children was not yet at that time *enjoined*, but left to the option of Christian parents.

¹ "Non minore de causa," says he, l. c., "*innupti quoque procrastinandi*, in quibus tentatio praeeparata est tam virginibus per maturitatem, quam viduis per vacationem, donec aut nubant aut continentiae corroborentur." So Tertullian would limit baptism to decrepit and married persons, monks and nuns ! And yet he asserts, on the other hand, that a man can be saved only by being baptized with water, *De bapt.* c. 1. "Nec aliter quam in aqua permanendo salvi sumus." The vast difference of Tertullian's position in this whole controversy from that of the Baptists of our days must be clear to every one who has any historical or critical judgment. And for this reason is it so preposterous for the Baptists, who otherwise concern themselves mighty little about tradition and ecclesiastical antiquity, so zealously (and honestly no doubt) to appeal to the African church father. But they feel themselves greatly encouraged by the authority of some great German historians, especially Neander, who although a paedobaptist himself, was yet too latitudinarian on this, as on some other points, and suffered his latitudinarianism unconsciously to influence his historical representation of the apostolic and post-apostolic practice.

Otherwise Tertullian would hardly have contested it with so much decision. But as he had the spirit of the age against him in this matter, his protest, which, moreover, was inconsistent with some of his own principles, had no influence whatever. It fell, without an echo.

This is incontestibly shown by the next age. The African church itself, in the year 246, at a council in Carthage, decided, that the baptism of infants need not be deferred even to the eighth day, like circumcision, but might (not must) be administered on the second or third day after birth; and Cyprian († 248), who in other matters had the greatest respect for his teacher, Tertullian, advocated this view.¹ So completely had all signs of opposition to infant baptism then disappeared, that the only question was, whether the ordinance should not, according to the analogy of circumcision, be deferred at least eight days! About the same time the most learned representative of the Greek church, Origen of Alexandria, who was himself baptized soon after his birth (A. D. 185), and was at the death of Tertullian (about 220) some thirty-five years of age, speaks in the most unequivocal terms of infant baptism as an apostolical tradition, and the universal practice of the church.² And those, who interpret the silence of ecclesiastical writers before Tertullian respecting infant baptism unfavorably to it, do not consider, in the first place, that we have very few written memorials of any kind from this age, and are left wholly in the dark on many other points; and in the second place, that at that time the great missionary zeal and the rapid spread of the church made the baptism of proselytes still the most frequent and, in the nature of the case, most thought of. Finally, even in Clement of Alexandria, Irenæus, and Justin Martyr, there is no lack of hints, which indicate with more or less certainty the existence of infant baptism, but which we here pass over, as we shall have to return to them in the history of the second period.

§ 144. *The Lord's Supper.*

The holy supper, or, as it is called in the New Testament, the "Lord's supper"³ or "breaking of bread,"⁴ has reference to the preservation and

¹ *Epist.* 59, *ad Fidum*.

² *Hom. in Levit.* 8; *Hom. in evang. Luc.* 14; *Ad Rom.* 5 : 9 ("The church has received it from the apostles, that she should allow baptism to little ones"), and other passages. Comp. Höfling: *Das Sacrament der Taufe*, etc. I. p. 108 sq.

³ Κυριακὸν δεῖπνον, 1 Cor. 11 : 20, or what amounts to the same, τράπεζα κυρίου, 1 Cor. 10 : 21 (comp. ποτήριον κυρίου, *ibid.*), i. e. the meal which the Lord has appointed, which is eaten in honor of Him, and gives us the enjoyment of His spiritual and eternal blessings.

⁴ Κλάσις τοῦ ἄρτου, Acts 2 : 42, comp. 20 : 7, 11. 1 Cor. 10 : 16. This term, which perhaps includes the agapæ or feasts of brotherly love, is derived partly from the Jew

growth of the Christian life. It, therefore, pre-supposes faith and regeneration. It is the solemn festival for the thankful commemoration of the atoning death of Jesus,¹ for the believing appropriation and sealing of the fruits of this death, and for renewing and strengthening the vital union of believers with the ever-living, divine-human Redeemer, as well as with one another. It is thus the sacrament of the unio mystica, and of the communio sanctorum resting upon it.² In it is the deepest mystery of our faith, as it were, continually embodied. In it the church, with thanksgiving and prayer, celebrates and enjoys the highest and closest union, she can ever enjoy on earth, with her heavenly Head, who, though sitting at the right hand of God, and thus partaking of his almighty and omnipresent power, is still, and in fact for this very reason, invisibly and yet truly present with her in the Spirit. Hence this sacrament forms the culminating point, the "holy of holies," of the Christian worship; and so it has been regarded by the church in all ages.

In the apostolic period the Lord's supper was celebrated daily, at least where the circumstances allowed daily worship.³ After the manner of its institution and the analogy of the Jewish feast of the passover, it was connected with a simple meal of brotherly love, which afterwards (first in Jude 12) came to be called "agape," or love-feast. Originally this arrangement was connected in the church at Jerusalem with the community of goods, the Christians considering themselves as one household (comp. § 114). The celebration of the communion, it is commonly supposed, was the closing act of the daily social feast, and the earthly food was thus sanctified by the heavenly bread of life.⁴ Yet it is possible, that even in the apostolic church, as in the second century, the communion took place in the morning and the love-feast in the evening. Then the profanation of the latter in the Corinthian congregation, of which we are about to speak, can be better explained; whereas, on the supposition of the immediate union of the two, it would be doubly strange.

We find a similar custom, however, also among the Gentile Christians, who did not adopt the community of goods. In Corinth the Jewish custom of breaking the bread and asking a blessing before the meal by the head of the family (Matt. 14 : 19. Lu. 24 : 30, 35. Acts 27 : 35), partly from the symbolical reference of the breaking of the bread to the crucifixion of Christ.

¹ Lu. 22 : 19 : "This do in remembrance of me." 1 Cor. 11 : 24-26. Comp. the name *εὐχαριστία*.

² Matt. 26 : 26 sqq. 1 Cor. 10 : 16, 17. 11 : 27, 29. Jno. 6 : 47-58.

³ Acts 2 : 46, *καὶ ἡμέραν*, etc. Comp. 6 : 1.

⁴ The term, *δείπνον κυριακόν*, no doubt primarily denotes these two acts considered as one.

lievers celebrated these agapae, in which differences of rank, talent, and education were supposed to be forgotten in the equal relation of all to the Redeemer and in the enjoyment of communion with Him; in which all were to feel themselves members of one divine family. But here a gross abuse made its appearance, arising probably from the influence of an old Grecian custom of having sacrificial feasts and public entertainments, in which each participator, according to his ability, brought with him the provision for his own use.¹ This custom the Corinthian Christians adopted. But, instead of obliterating all inequalities by Christian love, they obtruded even here their social distinctions. The rich members sometimes indulged immoderately at the love-feast, while the poor were left in want. Of course the apostle most emphatically rebuked this horrible profanation, by which the celebration of the holiest love was made to minister to the spirit of discord, pride, envy, and revelry.² As these and similar abuses could hardly be prevented in the larger churches, it is not strange, that in the second century (perhaps even in the first) the love-feasts were disjoined from the communion, and by degrees entirely given up, having been, in fact, nowhere expressly commanded.

As a preparation for the Lord's supper Paul requires (1 Cor. 11 : 28) self-examination on the part of the communicant, earnest inquiry as to whether he possesses faith, which receives the blessing of the sacrament, and without which the ordinance becomes a curse, and draws down upon the unworthy partaker the heavy judgment of God. On this prescription of the apostle is founded the appropriate custom of holding special exercises of divine worship preparatory to the communion.

§ 145. *Other Sacred Usages.*

Besides baptism and the Lord's supper, mention is made in the apostolic literature of other sacred usages, which come at least very near to sacraments, and may, therefore, be designated as in a certain sense sacramental acts.

1. The *washing of feet*, as described in Jno. 13 : 4-16, seems to answer fully the conception of a sacrament, combining all the three elements; an outward sign, the visible act of washing feet; the promise of an interest in Christ, connected with this act, v. 8; and the express command, "I have given you an example, that ye should do as I have

¹ Comp. Xenophon, *Memorab.* III. 14.

² 1 Cor. 11 : 17 sqq. Jude attacks a similar abuse, when he says of the false teachers, v. 12: "These are spots in your feasts of charity (*ἀγάπαις*), when they feast with you, feeding themselves without fear." So 2 Pet. 2 : 13, if, with Lachmann's authorities, we read *ἐν ταῖς ἀγάπαις αὐτῶν*, which gives a better sense than the reading of the text us rec., *ἀπάταις αὐτῶν*.

done to you" (v. 15).¹ The main design of this symbolical act, however, evidently was, in the first place, to set forth the necessity of daily repentance and purification from the pollution, which still cleaves to the baptized and regenerate; and secondly, not so much to impart to the disciples a special gift of grace, as to enforce upon them an important virtue, namely, the duty of humble, self-denying charity. Hence also the injunction of imitation relates not so much to the outward act as to the inward disposition. At least so it was understood by the ancient church, which never received the washing of feet into the number of sacraments, though it occasionally practiced the ceremony as a holy usage, mostly as an appendage to the administration of baptism.² In the New Testament it never appears again, except in 1 Tim. 5 : 10, where it is required of widows, as a qualification for the office of deaconess (comp. § 135), that they have washed the saints' feet. Here the act is plainly not a sacrament but a proof of a self-denying kindness and hospitality to Christian strangers, which, according to the necessity and custom of the East, showed itself particularly in the washing of their feet.³

2. The *laying on of hands*. This is in general the symbol of blessing (Gen. 48 : 14); but, in a special sense, the medium of the communication of the Holy Ghost and His gifts, mainly for a particular office in the kingdom of God.⁴ In the apostolic church it was performed :

a. On all baptized persons, being, as it were, a solemn consecration to the universal priesthood. In the case of proselytes it was commonly united with the act of baptism itself, as in Acts 19 : 5, 6. Yet Acts 8 : 17 shows that it was occasionally deferred till some time after the baptism (as would naturally be the case in infant baptism). The evangelist Philip had baptized the Samaritans (v. 12), and afterwards the apostles Peter and John, who were commissioned for the purpose by the church at Jerusalem, laid their hands on them, and thereby imparted to them the Holy Ghost. Commentators generally regard this as the bestowment of the extraordinary spiritual gifts—speaking with tongues,

¹ Hence W. Böhmer of Breslau has recently endeavored to vindicate the washing of feet as a proper sacrament (though without any new arguments) in the "Studien und Kritiken," 1850. No. 4. p. 820 sqq. It is so observed by the Mennonites, and to some extent by the Moravian Brethren.

² In the church of Milan and some African churches. Comp. Böhmer, l. c. p. 839, and Bingham, *Orig. eccl.* IV. 394 sqq.

³ It is well known, that in the hot countries of the East bodily impurity is more frequent, on account of the freer perspiration, than in colder climates, and very easily induces dangerous diseases—such as leprosy. Hence also the greater necessity and importance of frequent washings, even from physical considerations. Comp. the article "Reinigkeit" in Winer's *Reallexikon*, II. p. 312 sqq.

⁴ Acts 8 : 17. 1 Tim. 4 : 14. 2 Tim. 1 : 6. Heb. 6 : 2. Comp. Num. 27 : 18, 23. Deut. 34 : 9.

propnesying, &c ; comp. Acts 10 : 46. 19 : 6. These, however, do by no means exclude, but rather presuppose, the communication of the ordinary spiritual gifts, which every Christian is to possess. This apostolic practice is the basis of the rite of *confirmation*, which is in a certain sense required by infant baptism, as the completion and solemn ratification of that act on the part of the subject. For in it (according to the beautiful custom of several evangelical churches) the baptized person, having come to years of discretion, deliberately ratifies upon himself the vow which his parents, as his responsible representatives, had made, and voluntarily, before the whole congregation, gives himself up to the service of God, and enters upon the full enjoyment of the privileges of church membership. But of course confirmation, to answer its full import, must be only the crowning act, the practical completion of the whole course of catechetical instruction and religious education at home and in the church, which infant baptism sacredly enjoins, and by which alone it can be saved from utter frustration, and be made, as divine seed in a good soil, to bear blossom and fruit.

b. At the inauguration of church and congregational officers ; being here the consecration to the special priesthood, if such can be spoken of under the new dispensation. This is what afterwards came to be called *ordination*, of which we have already sufficiently spoken in § 126.

c. In the miraculous *healing* of the sick and infirm, Acts 9 : 12, 17. 28 : 8. Comp. Mk. 16 : 18. Matt. 9 : 18, &c.

3. Finally, mention is made in two places in the New Testament, of another sacred usage, *anointing with oil*, on which the Greek and Roman churches found their sacrament of extreme unction. In Mk. 6 : 13 it is recorded of the disciples of Jesus, that they (no doubt at the direction of their Master, who had just given them instructions, v. 7 sqq.) “anointed with oil many that were sick, and healed them.” And James in his epistle, 5 : 14, 15, gives the general advice : “Is any sick among you ? let him call for the elders (presbyters) of the church ; and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord. And the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up ; and if he have committed sins, they shall be forgiven him.” Here again all three requisites for a sacrament seem to meet. Yet in Mark bodily healing is most prominent,¹ and even James has in view perhaps mainly such

¹ Whereas in the extreme unction of the Roman church the forgiveness of remaining sins is the great thing, and bodily recovery something accessory, which may not, and rarely does, follow ; this sacrament being administered only on the apparent approach of death. The *εὐχέλαιον* of the Greek church comes nearer the original rite as enjoined by James, inasmuch as it is administered for bodily and spiritual strengthening not only to the dying, but to all sick persons, when they request it.

sins, as had been followed by some particular disease by way of punishment. Then at any rate the context requires us to refer the first passage to the *miraculous* healing of diseases, with which gift the apostolic church was endowed. For this the anointing served as a preparation and auxiliary ; as in fact oil, it is well known, was and is in the East frequently applied to mollify and strengthen. Hence in the Old Testament it is used as an emblem of the Holy Ghost and His regenerating, new-creating power.¹ At all events these testimonies leave not the least doubt about the high antiquity of the anointing with oil in connection with prayer. And though we leave out of view the power of miraculous healing, as no longer present in the church, and the use of oil as peculiar to the East, there still remains of James' direction thus much applicable to all ages and countries, that members of the church in sickness should send for the ministers, to impart the exhortation and consolation of the gospel, and to commit the bodily and spiritual interests of the patient to the heavenly Physician in prayer.

¹ Comp. Is. 61 : 1. 1 Sam. 10 : 1 sq. Bengel strikingly remarks on Jas. 5 : 14—
 "Erat hæc eccles'æ summa *facultas medica*, ut *juridicam ejusdem habemus*, 1 Cor. 5
 Beata simplicitas! intermissa vel amissa per ἀπιστίαν."

B O O K F I F T H.

DOCTRINE AND THEOLOGY OF THE CHURCH

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CHAPTER I.

THE APOSTOLIC LITERATURE AND THEOLOGY IN GENERAL.

§ 146. *Rise of the New Testament Literature.*

CHRISTIANITY entered the world not as a written letter, like the Mosaic law, but as a creative fact, as life-giving spirit. It is primarily the manifestation of the eternal Son of God in the flesh for the salvation of the world. "And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us, and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth" (Jno. 1 : 14). This *personal* Word, the God-man, the source of all light and life, communicated himself through the *oral* or *spoken* word, the most appropriate and perfect medium of thought and the best representation of spirit; and this was then committed to *writing* by the apostles and their disciples for the preservation of pure Christianity, and for the instruction and edification of all succeeding ages. Thus arose the seven-and-twenty books, which form the volume of the New Testament.

The spoken word of God, however, was not transformed into the written by one sudden act. Christ himself wrote nothing.¹ He had something far more important to do. It was his great object to perform acts, as matter for writing, yet never to be fully written or sung. The

¹ The pretended letter of Jesus to king Abgar Bar Manu at Edessa in Mesopotamia, of which Eusebius speaks (*H. E.* I. 13), is assuredly spurious, though latterly Rinck has undertaken (in Illgen's "*Zeitschrift für hist. Theologie*," 1843, No. 2) to establish the contrary, particularly from Moses of Chorene († 470). It is a mere compilation of passages from the Gospels: and it is not presumable, that a genuine letter of the Redeemer could have remained in obscurity till the fourth century. Still less can the pretended work of Jesus on the observance of Sunday, said to have fallen from heaven (vid. Thilo: *Acta Thomae*, prolegg. p. 85), for a moment stand the test of criticism.

religious wants of man demand not a letter-writing, literary Saviour, but one working miracles, bearing the cross, blotting out sin, rising from the dead, ascending into heaven, sitting and reigning at the right hand of God ; though assuredly such a Saviour is at the same time the inexhaustible theme of holy thoughts, discourses, writings, and deeds. Nor did the apostles begin with literary labor ; having in fact received no direct instruction on this point from their Master. They preached in the fullness of the Spirit and of life, as the bearers and interpreters of the divine revelation ; and with their words the new life itself streamed into those who earnestly listened. All the expressions which they use, "preaching," "gospel," "tradition," "testimony," "word," &c., show that the truth was first promulgated altogether by word of mouth.¹ The oldest book of the New Testament was probably not written before the year 50, or some twenty years after the founding of the church.² The New Testament, therefore, as a book or written volume, is not the principle, but the inspired record of Christianity ; not the ground, but the product of the church of Christ, then already firmly established. But on the other hand it may be justly said, that the *substance* of the Scriptures, the saving truth, the word of God, was present at the beginning, and was, as the living utterance of the personal Word, Jesus Christ and His Spirit, the seed of the church (1 Pet. 1 : 23. Ja. 1 : 18). It is one and the same word of God, which was *heard* on the day of Pentecost, and which is *read* to-day. For *us* the written word with the Spirit, which reigns in it, holds the place of the personal presence and oral preaching of the apostles, and is at the same time the only infallible guide to their pure and original doctrine ; while the church tradition, as a source of knowledge, derives all its value from its agreement with the Scriptures, and is, therefore, subordinate to them.

The apostolic writings, which, as such, are inspired and canonical, i. e. furnish the infallible rule of Christian faith and practice, fall into three classes : (1) The *historical* books, embracing the four Gospels and the

¹ *Κήρυγμα, εὐαγγέλιον, παράδοσις, μαρτυρία, λόγος, λόγος τῆς ἀκοῆς, κηρύσσειν, εὐαγγελίζεσθαι, παραδίδόναι, μαρτυρεῖσθαι, λαλεῖν* ; and on the part of the hearers : *παραλαμβάνειν, ἀκούειν, ἀκροῦσθαι, δέχεσθαι, πίστις ἐξ ἀκοῆς*. Comp. Rom. 10 : 14-17. 2 Tim. 2 : 1, 2. Heb. 2 : 1-4. Gal 3 : 2, 5, &c.

² The oldest written document of the Christian church is perhaps the epistle of the apostolic council at Jerusalem to the Gentile Christians in Syria and Cilicia, settling the dispute between them and the Jewish Christians respecting the continued validity of the Mosaic law, Acts 15. One argument for its antiquity and genuineness is also the seemingly trifling circumstance, that the name of Barnabas is placed before that of Paul, v. 25. For to the church of Jerusalem Barnabas appeared at that time (a. 50) the more important person, while Luke from ch. 13 places Paul first.

Acts of the Apostles ; (2) the *didactic* books, comprising twenty-one apostolical epistles ; and (3) the *prophetic* book of the Revelation of St John.

§ 147. *Historical Books. The Gospels.*

The demand for a written record of the life and doctrine of Jesus and his apostles arose from two causes ; (1) the nature and fate of all oral tradition, which, as it spreads, continually gathers legendary additions and embellishments, till it becomes at last impossible to distinguish with certainty the original substance ; (2) the danger of willful distortion, with which Judaizing and Gnostic errorists threatened the gospel even during the life-time of the apostles, as the warnings in the epistles of Paul and John and the many apocryphal gospels afterwards circulated abundantly prove.

Of the four canonical Gospels, or rather representations of one and the same gospel, the first and the last are the work of immediate disciples of the Lord ; the two others, of disciples of the apostles, and thus likewise, though indirectly, of the apostles themselves. They were not intended to be complete biographies of Jesus, but only exhibitions of certain characteristic features of His life and works, such as struck each author with peculiar force and were most interesting to his particular circle of readers. The object was to awaken faith in Jesus as the promised Messiah, the Son of God, and the Saviour of the world, and to lead the readers by this faith to true, eternal, divine life (comp. Jno. 20 : 30).

As to the date of these books ; the first three Gospels appear, both from internal marks and from the testimony of the oldest tradition, to have been written in the seventh decade of the first century ; therefore before the destruction of Jerusalem, which they represent in the prophetic discourses of the Lord as future, but nigh at hand. Single portions of the life of Jesus, however, and collections of his discourses, prepared in some instances by unskilled hands, were in private use before that time in various Christian circles. This we must infer from Luke's preface, 1 : 1-4, which, accurately translated, reads thus : "Whereas many have undertaken to compose a narrative of the things accomplished among us, as those, who were from the beginning eye-witnesses and ministers of the word (that is the apostles), have delivered them to us ; it seemed good to me also, having closely followed everything from the first, to write it out in order for thee, most excellent Theophilus, that thou mightest obtain a sure and reliable knowledge of the things in which thou hast been instructed." The fourth Gospel was written between the years 70 and 100, at any rate last of all ; for it

evidently pre-supposes the others, and exhibits the highest position and maturest development of the apostolical theology (comp. § 105).

The relation of the Gospels to one another is one of the most important, but at the same time most difficult points in the criticism of the evangelical history. We must here of course confine ourselves to the most general outlines. We cannot enter into the confused and confusing hypotheses of modern hypercritics;—the less, since by their wild extravagances and their own mutual contradictions they have already refuted themselves.¹ Each Gospel has its peculiar character, which corresponds to that of its author, of its circle of readers, and of its design. The differences, however, are not contradictions, but simply the various aspects of one and the same picture. The character of the God-man is so sublime and comprehensive, that one hand could not possibly give a full delineation of it. All the Gospels together are required, to furnish a complete picture of His life and works. This is indicated by the ancient comparison of the evangelists with the four symbols of the cherubim, the representatives of creation; to Matthew being commonly (according to the view of Jerome) assigned the man, to Mark the lion, to Luke the ox, to John the eagle.² The apparent contradictions in the whole conception and in the narratives of single events, when carefully examined by the unprejudiced, truth-loving reader, resolve themselves, at least in every point at all essential, into a higher harmony, and go to show the impartiality, honesty, and credibility of the authors. If all fitted together with mechanical precision, it would awaken suspicion of concert and artful calculation.³

¹ The detailed discussion of this matter belongs in the historico-critical introduction to the New Testament. The modern German literature on this subject, especially since the appearance of the notorious “*Leben Jesu*” of Strauss, is so extensive, that one cannot see the forest for the trees, and it is high time to come out of the labyrinth, which men have built around themselves, and get once more into the open air. The lavish expenditure of ingenuity and power of combination, which has gradually piled up a whole mountain of hypotheses respecting the origin and mutual relations of the Gospels, we should have to mourn over deeply as labor lost, had we not the consoling thought, that by calling forth able replies it has involuntarily served to confirm the evangelical history and promoted the cause of truth.

² In like manner Dr J. P. Lange, in the third volume of his spirited *Life of Jesus*, 1847 (in which, however, poetical fancy has almost as large a share as scientific investigation), endeavors to follow out the fruitful thought, that the four Gospels represent the fourfold relation of Christ to the life of the world and the fourfold susceptibility of the world for the life of Christ. He exchanges, however, the symbols assigned to Matthew and Luke, giving to the former the ox and to the latter the man.

³ We may mention also in this connection, as a proof of the watchful care of Providence over the preservation of the Scriptures, that, of the fifty thousand various readings or more hitherto discovered in the New Testament, by far the majority have not the slightest influence on the sense or doctrinal import; and where they touch an im-

The first Gospel was written by the apostle Matthew, in Palestine and for Jewish Christians, originally in Aramaic,¹ and afterwards, most probably by himself, in Greek. The third Gospel is the production of Luke, the disciple and attendant of Paul. It was composed plainly under the influence of Paul's spirit and peculiar theological views, probably during that apostle's confinement in Caesarea and Rome, and for Gentile-Christian readers; primarily, for one Theophilus. The Gospel of Mark, according to a credible account preserved in Eusebius (VI. 14), was written in Rome, and designed, as may be seen from its frequent Latinisms² and explanations of Palestinian peculiarities, in the first instance for Roman readers. It holds a position of mediation between the two others, like that of Peter between James and Paul, between the strictly Jewish-Christian and the Gentile-Christian views. In fact tradition traces it back, at least indirectly, to Peter himself, whose confidential companion Mark was at first in Jerusalem and at last in Rome (1 Pet. 5 : 13), and whose "interpreter" he is stated to have been by the apostolic father, Papias. While it was formerly a current hypothesis, that Mark was a somewhat superficial epitomist of Matthew and Luke, important critics of various schools latterly incline to the opposite view, that the second Gospel is the oldest and forms the basis of the first and third. This furnishes the best explanation of the fact, that Mark's Gospel contains what is common to both the others, while it exhibits neither Matthew's peculiar order of subjects, nor Luke's chronological arrangement,³ and also leaves chasms, particularly in the history of the childhood of Christ and of his appearances after the resurrection; the conclusion, c. 16 : 9-21, being the work of a later hand. It relates the sacred history in its simplest, freshest form, reminding one of the short

portant dogma as in the evidently spurious passage on the Trinity, 1 Jro. 5 : 7, which is to be found in no manuscript before the tenth century, this dogma is unequivocally taught in many other decidedly genuine passages. So in the case just referred to, the doctrine of the Trinity, not only by the baptismal formula and the apostolical benediction, but by all that the New Testament teaches of the divinity of Christ and the Holy Ghost, is more fully and firmly established than it could be by any single expression.

¹ The lost Hebrew original was in our view a complete Gospel, embracing the same historical constituents, and substantially identical, with our Greek Matthew; not a mere collection of sayings, as Schleiermacher ingeniously but erroneously gathered from the *λόγια* in the well-known deposition of Papias in Eusebius III. 39.

² Such as *δηνάριον* denarius, 6 : 37. 14 : 5; *κεντυρίων* centurio, 15 : 39, 44, 45; *κῆνσος* census, 12 : 14; *κορδάντης* quadrans, 12 : 42; *κράββατος* grabbatus, 2 : 4, 9, 11, 12; *λεγεών* legio, 5 : 9, 15; *πραιτώριον* praetorium, 15 : 16; *σπεκουλάτωρ* speculator, 6 : 27; *φραγελλώω* flagello, 15 : 15.

³ To this want of strict chronological order refers the *οὐ μέντοι τάξει*, which Papias uses in his much talked of and variously interpreted testimony respecting the Gospel of Mark (in Eusebius, H. E. III. 39).

but graphic accounts of Peter in the Acts (10 : 36-42). "Thus would the first evangelist stand connected with the first apostle, and Peter, more than any other disciple of the Lord, would be by his indirect share in the Gospel of Mark the founder of the church in reference also to her permanent records of the history of Christ." But in this case we must certainly suppose an error in the statement of Clement of Alexandria, who says expressly, that the Gospels containing the genealogies were written before that of Mark.¹

§ 148. *Historical Books (continued). John and the Synoptical Evangelists.*

The first three evangelists, however, or synoptical writers, as they are called in distinction from John, with all their individual peculiarities, are still strikingly similar. They are alike in the matter of their Gospels, all giving substantially the same representation of Christ throughout; recording the preparatory work of John, the baptism of Jesus, His miracles in Galilee, His last journey to Jerusalem, His sufferings, death, and resurrection. They have forty-two portions of the history in common. Then they are alike as to form, often to verbal coincidence, particularly in their reports of the discourses of Jesus and of the most important events. This agreement may be accounted for in great part by the fact, that the oral tradition of the discourses and works of Jesus, from which the evangelists drew, had acquired by continual repetition among the apostles and their disciples a stereotyped form, which the synoptical writers scrupulously, but not pedantically, transferred to their books.

The fourth Gospel is stamped with a peculiarity, which most clearly distinguishes it from all the rest. It stands alone in its kind. The differences between the synoptical evangelists and John are, indeed, among the most remarkable phenomena of the New Testament, were remarked in a general way even by the church fathers, and have been shown up with the keenest discrimination by modern criticism. But they have also certainly been exaggerated and willfully misrepresented by the assailants of the Bible, and are not yet satisfactorily explained in all points by its defenders. They fall mainly under the following heads:—

1. The *design*. In this the fourth Gospel is comprehensive and universal. It has in view, not a particular section of the church, but the whole, Jewish and Gentile-Christians together. And by setting forth what is most profound and spiritual, the esoteric, so to speak, in the

¹ In Eus. *H. E.* VI. 14. Thiersch (*Die Kirche im apostol. Zeitalter*, p. 103) seeks to remove this difficulty by the hypothesis that Mark's Gospel existed for a long time merely as a private writing, and was first published, with the addition of the present conclusion, after the death of Peter, and received among the sacred books of the church while the works of Matthew and Luke, though later composed, were earlier published.

appearance and discourses of Jesus, the eternal Logos incarnate, it aims to raise the church to the highest grade of believing knowledge, and thus at the same time to secure her against the seductions of the false Gnosis, which in the last decades of the apostolic period was threateningly lifting its head. This combination of the historical with a clearly stamped didactic character places the fourth Gospel in a certain sense in a class with the New Testament epistles.

2. The *theatre* of events. The synoptical evangelists describe chiefly the labors of Jesus in Galilee and among the common people ; John presents his activity in Judea and among the educated—the Scribes and Pharisees. Yet this difference is merely relative. For the former distinctly take for granted Christ's labors in Judea, as in Matthew 23 : 37. 27 : 57; and John records several miracles in Galilee, and that plainly only by way of example, as the turning of water into wine (Jno. 2 : 1 sqq.), the healing of the son of a nobleman in Capernaum (4 : 47 sqq.), the feeding of the multitude, and the return over the sea of Galilee (6 : 1 sqq.), and he expressly declares, that Jesus did many other signs, which are not written in this book (20 : 30. Comp. 21 : 25). One reason, why John brings us so often into the theocratical capital, undoubtedly is, that there the conflict, which he wishes to describe, between the eternal Light and the darkness (comp. 1 : 5 sqq.) comes to view in its greatest depth and strength, and is at last decided in the catastrophe of the crucifixion and the triumph of the resurrection.

3. The synoptical evangelists give us more of Christ's *acts* and *miracles* ; John more of His *discourses*. It is true, the latter relates six miracles, and among them the two greatest, not recorded by the others, —the changing of water into wine, and the raising of Lazarus. But he commonly makes the works only the starting-points for the discourses of Jesus, which are with him of paramount importance. The wonderful deeds are the practical, sensible demonstrations, the wonderful words are the theoretical and more inward proof, of the divine glory of Christ. The two are mutual counterparts. Only one, who could do such works as the first three evangelists narrate, could deliver such discourses as John records ; and conversely, for such a Christ as John's, the Only Begotten of the Father, it must be a small thing to make the powers of nature subservient to the moral end of His mission. The great thing with the fourth evangelist, however, is always the *person* of the Saviour which reveals itself most immediately in His creative words of spirit and life, and which alone imparts even to his outward miracles their convincing power. This is the living, central miracle, and all the miracles properly so called are but natural emanations from it ; as the sun, once existing, *must* radiate light and heat ; as the tree puts forth blossoms and

fruit as the necessary product of its inward life. Hence John calls the miracles of Christ without the least qualification, His "works."¹ Healing the sick and raising the dead are only steps by which to lead men gradually from a lower level to the adoration of Him, who is himself the resurrection and the life, and in whom dwells all the fullness of the God-head bodily. "Believe me that I am in the Father, and the Father in me; or else believe me for the very works' sake."²

4. In the reports of the *discourses* of Jesus themselves there is again a difference both as to matter and form. The synoptical evangelists record for the most part those speeches which relate to the regulation of the conduct, and to the idea of the kingdom of God; and these they clothe in a simple, popular, easily-remembered form, mostly the parabolic and sententious. John, on the contrary, chooses those in which the Redeemer sets forth the mystery of His person, His relation to the Father and to believers, and the mission of the Holy Ghost; and that generally in a manner so mystical and profound, that not only the unsusceptible Jews, but even his own disciples, at that stage of their knowledge, almost uniformly put a fleshly misconstruction on his words, or, at least, had but a faint glimpse of their spiritual meaning.³ This difference is closely connected with that already observed in the design, the theatre of events, and the circle of readers. Yet we find occasionally in the synoptical evangelists also dialectic and argumentative conversations with learned opponents (comp. Matt. 12 : 22 sqq. 22 : 15-46), and expressions addressed to the disciples, which in their simple sublimity and deep tenderness strikingly resemble the discourses in John (e. g. Matt. 11 : 25-27); while on the other hand John also gives a couple of specimens of his master's parabolical mode of instruction, viz., the parables of the good shepherd (c. 10) and the vine (c. 15), besides detached, sententious passages, such as c. 4 : 7-26, 33-38. 6 : 32 sqq. 13 : 16, 17. 12 : 24-26, comp. Matt. 10 : 39.

Modern assailants of this gospel⁴ have drawn from the many misapprehensions of the discourses of Jesus in John an argument against either the credibility of the history or the Lord's wisdom in teaching. But it must be remembered, that these mistakes were in great part occasioned by want of susceptibility and spiritual discernment in the hearers, and

¹ Ch. 5 : 36. 7 : 21. 10 : 25, 32, 38. 14 : 11, 12. 15 : 24.

² Jno. 14 : 11. Many excellent remarks on John's conception of the miracles of Jesus may be found in R. Ch. Trench: *Notes on the Miracles of our Lord*, London (p. 14, Amer. ed.). Comp. the criticism of this work in the "Mercersburg Review" 1850, p. 573 sqq.

³ Examples of such misconceptions are Jno. 2 : 20-22. 3 : 4, 9, 10. 4 : 11, 15 ■■ : 42, 52. 7 : 35, 26. 8 : 33, 57. 11 : 12, 13. 14 : 5, 8, 9. 16 : 17, 18.

⁴ Especially the Tübingen school.

are to this day repeatedly occurring under the simplest preaching of the cross ; while on the other hand even a child or an untutored peasant, if of truly earnest heart, may understand at least so much as is necessary for his salvation, and does in fact understand it far better than many a learned and ingenious critic. Of every word of Jesus, also, in the synoptical Gospels, the old comparison of the stream, which bears at once the lamb and the elephant on its current, is emphatically true. Then again, our Lord purposely introduced obscure, paradoxical, and seemingly offensive expressions in his discourses, to fix the attention of his hearers and excite them to farther reflection. It is the manner of every great popular teacher to let himself down to his disciples only so far as is necessary for raising them up to his higher level, and, instead of repeating in every-day style what is familiar to all, to rouse their slumbering faculties by presenting something original in an original form, and to awaken each to a consciousness of his peculiar gift. Finally, we must ever keep in mind that the Saviour of the world spoke words of eternal life, not only for his contemporaries, but for all future ages and generations ; and that their meaning, therefore, must be inexhaustible as Himself, in whom dwells all the fullness of the Godhead bodily.

Another objection, which has been raised against the credibility of John's record of the discourses of Jesus is, that they are too long to have been retained. But in the first place, not only antiquity, which had not books to depend on, as we have, and carried its learning in its head, but modern times also, afford examples of astonishing power of memory.¹ Why should not the susceptible John, who lay on his Master's bosom, have been able to retain His discourses, especially as these were not merely some of many things equally important to be remembered, but the apostle's most precious treasure, his priceless jewel, the centre of his thought and life ? Besides this, however, it was expressly promised (Jno. 14 : 26), that the Holy Ghost should remind the apostles of all they had heard from Christ, make it intelligible to them, and fully assimilate it to their spiritual being.

A third objection urged by the negative criticism against the discourses of Jesus in the fourth Gospel is their subjectivity, that is, their adaptation to the writer's style and system of thought. Beyond question they

¹ Think, for example, of Themistocles, who, when the art of remembering was offered to be taught him, wished rather to learn the art of forgetting ; of Mithridates, who knew by heart all the names of his many thousand soldiers and could address each in his mother tongue ; of modern scholars, as Lipsius, Leibnitz, Joh. von Müller, who knew almost whole authors word for word ; of the cardinal, Mezzofanti, who, if I am rightly informed, was acquainted with near forty languages and dialects ; finally, of those rude Indians, who were able to repeat verbatim the sermons of missionaries, which they only half, if at all, understood.

strikingly resemble the first epistle of John in matter and language. Undoubtedly the apostle has not merely mechanically memorized his Master's words of life and as mechanically repeated them ; he has assimilated them to his inmost being and reproduced them in a living way, so that they are as much his as they were Christ's. But this process of reproduction was preceded by another, viz., the entire sinking of the beloved disciple's personality into that of his divine Master, so that thenceforth he could not think, speak, or write otherwise than in the Saviour's way. He truly formed himself on his Lord's bosom ; that was his school. He first went into Christ, and then Christ came forth again from his spirit and consciousness. It is well known, that very independent and original authors may so completely live themselves into another genius, that their productions become strikingly similar in thought and style.¹ This, considering all we know from the other evangelists, from his own writings, and from tradition, of his tender, susceptible, self surrendering nature, and his intimate friendship with Jesus, must have been particularly the case with John. Rather must we, therefore, reverse the matter, and say, that the epistles of John are a sequel, an echo, of the discourses of Jesus in the fourth Gospel, and not the latter an arbitrary imitation of the former. From the affinity in question an inference unfavorable to the accuracy of John's reports of our Lord's discourses could be drawn, only when these reports should contradict those of the other Gospels. But such contradiction no critic has yet been able to prove. There is none. John's record presents the same Christ, the same inexhaustible theme, only in a different, peculiar aspect, in that aspect, which John by his peculiar character was specially fitted to apprehend. This leads us to the last point of difference.

5. The whole peculiarity of the fourth Gospel centres in its conception of the *person of Jesus Christ*, of which the discourses are the immediate expression. This difference may be briefly stated thus : The synoptical evangelists set before us mainly the glorified humanity, John the incarnate divinity, of the Lord. There the Saviour appears as the sinless, faultless "Son of Man," in whom the idea of our race, the full image of God, is first perfectly realized ; here, as the true "Son of God," who was one with the Father before the creation of the world, and who everywhere reveals through the veil of the flesh His eternal glory, full of grace and truth. Matthew portrays him as the last and greatest pro-

¹ Compare, for example, the *Odyssey* with the *Iliad*, which can hardly have come from the same author ; Horace with his Grecian models ; the epistle to the Hebrews and that of Clement to the Corinthians with Paul's epistles ; Joh. von Müller with Tacitus ; Schleiermacher with Plato. Or go to the poets, as Shakespeare and Göthe who can enter into and speak in the most diverse characters.

phet, the Messiah and King of the Jews, the Fulfiller of the law and the prophets ; Mark, in brief, graphic sketches, as the mighty Wonder-worker, the Lion of the tribe of Judah, the embodiment of omnipotence ; Luke, as the ever ready and kind Physician of body and soul, as the Shepherd of lost sheep, the Saviour of poor sinners, the merciful Philanthropist, the demolisher of the partition-wall between Jews and Gentiles ; John, as the centre of the universe. The first three proceed from below upwards, beginning with the birth of the Lord from the womb of a virgin, and following him through his mighty works, as also through the toil and privation of his earthly life, through the bitter death of the cross and the repose in the tomb, to his victory over death and the grave, and his triumphant ascension on high, where "all power in heaven and in earth" is given him as the reward of his labor. John proceeds from above downwards, from heaven to earth, from the eternal pre-existence of the Logos to his appearance in human flesh. He traces the pedigree of his hero, not merely to Abraham, the patriarch of the *Jews*, as does the Hebrew Matthew ; nor to Adam, the progenitor and representative of *all* men, as does the Pauline Luke ; but to the absolute beginning in the depths of eternity ; makes Him proceed from the bosom of the Father ; accompanies Him, the Source of all light and life in the world, through the creation and preservation of all things, and through the successive steps of the general revelation to all men and the special revelation to the Jews down to the incarnation ; depicts his victorious conflict with the darkness of the ungodly world ; makes His unity with God in essence and will gleam forth in all His discourses and works ; and shows Him to us after the complete victory, glorified with "the glory which He had with the Father before the world was." If in the synoptical Gospels we behold with admiration and astonishment, faith and love, the divine Son of Man, in the Gospel of John we are rapt in adoration of the human Son of God, and exclaim with Thomas : "My Lord and my God !"

Hence the Alexandrian fathers styled the fourth Gospel "pneumatic" or spiritual, and the three others "somatic" or bodily. Thus Clement of Alexandria,¹ following the statements of fathers before him : "Last of all John, perceiving that in those Gospels the bodily was set forth, encouraged by his friends, moved by the Holy Ghost, composed a spiritual Gospel." To this incomparable picture of Christ's person is chiefly due the irresistible attraction of John for the most profound and genial theologians of all ages, from Clement and Origen to Schleiermacher and Neander. But his gospel must not be extolled at the expense of the others.² The synoptical Gospels are also spiritual and ideal. Not seldom

¹ In Eusebius, *H. E.* VI. 14.

As it is, for example, in the school of Schleiermacher. Against this the criticism of

do they lift the veil from the wonderful mystery of the Godhead in Jesus of Nazareth. In fact, that mystery glimmers through all their records of the Saviour's words and deeds, and furnishes the only key to their full meaning. Then, on the other hand, John is radically opposed to all false spiritualism and Docetism, and declares with the strongest emphasis, that Christ, though one with the Father, is yet at the same time truly man, flesh of our flesh, and bone of our bone, whom the disciples saw with their own eyes, heard with their ears, and handled with their hands.¹

In short, John and the synoptical evangelists complete and confirm each other in setting forth Him, who combines the divine and human natures in the indissoluble unity of His person, and is thus constituted Mediator between God and man, between eternity and time, between heaven and earth, the immovable foundation of the Christian church and the eternal source of her life and peace.

§ 149. *The Acts of the Apostles.*

Last among the historical books, though belonging not to the "Evangelion," but according to the old division to the "Apostolos," is the Acts of the Apostles by Luke. Of this we have already had occasion more than once to speak, since it is our principal authority for the external history of this period. It announces itself at the outset as an immediate continuation of the third Gospel, which is hence called "the former treatise" (Acts 1 : 1). It is addressed to the same Theophilus, probably a distinguished Roman, and is evidently, as may be seen from the very affinity of language and style,² the work of the same author. Luke, having been for many years an attendant and faithful friend of Paul (comp. 2 Tim. 4 : 11), was best qualified to be his biographer ; and his residence in Jerusalem and Cæsarea, during his teacher's two years' imprisonment, gave him an excellent opportunity to collect documents respecting the earlier history of the church in Palestine. Probably he began his work at Cæsarea, and with the aid of these older documents, of his own observation, and of the additional communications and corrections of Paul, finished it during the two quiet years of the apostle's confinement in Rome, A. D. 61-63.

As the Gospels aim at no complete biography of Jesus, so the book of Strauss and Baur was a natural reaction, which went to the opposite extreme, running out at last into absolute impossibilities and absurdities, and thereby condemning itself

¹ Jno. 1 : 14. 19 : 34, 35. 21 : 20, 27. 1 Jno. 1 : 1.

² That is, in the parts composed by Luke himself. For his reports of Peter's discourses bear a marked resemblance to the doctrinal system and the style of Peter : and the discourses of Paul, an equally striking affinity with the epistles of that apostle, - no trifling proof of the historical fidelity and the credibility of the book of Acts.

Acts gives, not a full history of the life and labors of the apostles, as the old title (not however given it by Luke) would indicate ; but a simple and invaluable history of the planting of the Christian church, first among the Jews by the labors chiefly of Peter, and then among the Gentiles in Syria, Asia Minor, Greece, and Rome, principally by the labors of Paul. It begins with the ascension of our Lord (or the taking possession of his throne and the commencement of his mediatorial reign) and the outpouring of the Holy Ghost for the founding of the church, and closes with the joyful preaching of the great apostle of the Gentiles in the world's metropolis ; which virtually decided the victory of the Gospel. Of the labors of the other apostles Luke gives scarcely any information, and even respecting the end of the two leading apostles he leaves us in the dark ; either because it did not belong to his design to record this, or, more probably, because he completed so much of his book before the decision of their fate, and was afterwards by circumstances or considerations unknown to us prevented from continuing it.

§ 150. *The Didactic Books.*

The doctrinal portion of the New Testament consists of thirteen epistles of Paul, two of Peter, three of John, one epistle of James, one of Jude, and the anonymous epistle to the Hebrews, written according to one view by Paul himself, according to another conjecture, by one of his pupils and fellow-laborers, Luke, Barnabas, or Apollos. Most of Paul's epistles, the two to the Thessalonians, the one to the Galatians, the first to Timothy, the one to Titus, the two to the Corinthians, the one to the Romans, and the epistle of James, were composed before the Gospels and the Acts, between the years 50 and 60, as has been shown in detail in the first book. The epistles to the Ephesians, to the Colossians, to Philemon, to the Philippians, the second to Timothy, as also the epistle to the Hebrews and the two epistles of Peter, and probably that of Jude, belong in the seventh decade, most of them between the years 62 and 64. John's epistles with the fourth Gospel bear all the internal marks of having been written after the destruction of Jerusalem and towards the end of the first century.

This second class of primitive Christian documents was called forth in general by the necessity of correspondence, which naturally arose with the spread of the church, and even preceded the demand for written Gospels. As it was impossible for the Apostles to be present in all their churches at once, and yet necessary that they should oversee them and lead them forward in the Christian faith and life, they had no other way, but to compensate for their personal presence by sending delegates

and written communications. To this general necessity were added, in each case, special occasions for writing, particularly dangers of theoretical and practical error and division, which everywhere more or less threatened these young churches. While the Gospels and the so-called catholic epistles (not including the second and third of John) were written with reference, more or less distinctly, to the church at large, or at least the greater part of it, and for future as well as present use; all Paul's epistles, on the contrary, are in the first instance specially intended for single congregations or private persons, as Timothy, Titus, and Philemon. So far, they are all occasional writings.

But God in His wonderful wisdom and grace so ordered, that these individual and apparently incidental occasions and wants represented all the principal wants and occasions, which should arise in the church; so that those epistles answer for all ages, and cover the whole province of Christian faith and practice, "for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness." The early defects and errors of the natural man, whether on Jewish or Gentile ground, are in substance perpetually returning, and the old exhortations and warnings are, therefore, always applicable and quite as forcible, fresh, and effectual as in the first century. What is extraordinary and divine about this apostolic literature is, not that it arose in a magical way, without occasion, but precisely the contrary; that it arose by an altogether natural process, organically growing out of special existing necessities, and yet conceals under this truly opportune and concrete individual form an inexhaustible store of matter legitimately applicable in all places and circumstances. The most subjective is here at the same time the most objective; the most strictly individual is absolutely universal. We must accordingly say also of the *written* word of God, that it "was made flesh" like the eternal personal Logos, and subjected to all the conditions and laws of natural, human development, but that its servant-form was radiant with eternal glory, "full of grace and truth." The Bible is throughout truly divine, yet throughout truly human, and thus alone adapted to men.

As to their design; the didactic books are all addressed to baptized Christians, not to unconverted heathens or Jews. They pre-suppose the preaching of the Gospel and the commencement of the Christian life, and hence serve not so much to awaken as to nourish and strengthen that life. The historical books, therefore, as preparatory, are properly placed first in order, though composed in some cases later. Only the gospel of John, as before observed, has, besides its historical, also a didactic character, and aims to advance Christian knowledge to the highest stage of intuition.

But now as all Christian doctrine rests upon the facts of the Gospel,

so on the other hand it is not confined to the head, but reproduces itself in new life and new acts. Hence all the epistles, especially those of Paul, besides their doctrinal portion, have also an ethical or hortatory part, and this not limited merely to the last chapters, but everywhere interwoven with or immediately attached to the exposition of doctrine. Thus doctrine is at once the fruit and the seed of life.

§ 151. *The Prophetic Book of the Revelation.* (Comp. § 101 and 107.)

The Revelation of St. John forms the third species of apostolic literature, and the most appropriate and sublime conclusion, the divine seal of the whole.

The mode of its production was different from that of the other New Testament books. The Gospels and Epistles proceeded from a *state* of divine illumination united with entire self-control and clear consciousness. The Apocalypse is the result of a special *act* of inspiration, an immediate revelation of Jesus Christ respecting His advent, dictated, as it were, to the entranced seer by the Holy Ghost. The sacred penman should not, indeed, even here, be deprived of all agency of his own and made a *perfectly* passive tool. But the state of mind, in which he received and communicated the revelation, was not that of ordinary intellectual reflection (*νοῦς*). It was that of extraordinary, ecstatic, immediate intuition (*πνεῦμα*), in which the finite reaches over into the infinite. All the prophecy of the Scriptures rests on direct, divine inspiration, though it has a subjective basis in man's faculty of presaging (often, especially in momentous transition periods, greatly elevated), and his impulse to lift the veil of the future.

In matter and form the Revelation is closely allied to the prophetic literature of the Old Testament, particularly the book of Daniel, combining its boldest and most powerful tones in an overwhelming harmony. But with the poetical, symbolical style it unites also the epistolary in the letters to the seven churches. It intersperses its visions with lyric songs of praise, which afford the soul a delightful resting-place amidst the rushing crowd of events. And it surpasses all the Hebrew prophecies in the sublimity of its views, the majesty of its imagery, the variety of its symbols, the dramatic vividness, unity, and finish of its composition, the progress of its action, and finally in its specifically Christian element, the reference of all the parts to the crucified and now glorified God-man.

Prophecy alike in the Old Testament and in the new is founded on the idea of the divine government of the world, unavoidably presupposing, that history is not a product of chance, but an unfolding of the thoughts and plans of eternal wisdom, justice, and love, and must.

therefore, always issue in the glory of God, the salvation of His people, and the confusion of His enemies. The grand theme of Old Testament prophecy is the first coming, that of New Testament prophecy the second coming of the Lord and His kingdom, with all the preparatory and attendant events. We expect not a Messiah, as did the Jews, but the reappearing of the Lord to judge the quick and the dead, and to glorify his bride. Hence hope is a cardinal virtue of the church militant. Hence too the New Testament, though it devotes not so much space to prophecy as the Old, could not be without it.

We find several prophetic passages scattered through the Gospels and Epistles. Among these may be mentioned especially the discourses of our Lord himself respecting the destruction of Jerusalem and His final advent, Matt. 24. Mk. 13. Lu. 17 : 22 sqq. 18 : 8. 21 : 6-36 ; and the frequent references of the apostles to Christ's second coming, and its presages, such as the great apostasy, the spread of dangerous errors, and also the propagation of the Gospel in all the world, 1 Thess. 4 : 16 sqq. 2 Thess. 2 : 1-12. Rom. 11 : 25. 1 Cor. 15 : 51 sqq. 1 Tim. 4 : 1-3. 2 Tim. 3 : 1-5. 4 : 3, 4. 1 Jno. 2 : 18, 22. 4 : 3. 2 Jno. 7. 2 Pet. 2 : 1 sqq. 3 : 3 sqq. Jude 18, 19.

All these elements John's Apocalypse combines in one dramatic picture, giving us in grand, highly poetical visions and symbols a representation of the sufferings and triumphs of the kingdom of Christ down to its consummation in the new heavens and the new earth. The Lord comes, the Lord is at hand, Christ struggles, Christ conquers and leads His church through much persecution and tribulation to certain glory ; —this is the grand thought of the mysterious book.

The practical design of the Revelation, as also of prophecy in general, is, not to gratify idle curiosity, to encourage subtle and presumptuous speculations, but to remind us of our entire dependence on God and of our sacred duties ; to exhort and comfort the faithful. By unveiling the future and the hidden present the seer would incite the seven churches of Asia Minor, which represent the whole church in its various forms and tendencies, to watchfulness, patience, fidelity and perseverance in their struggles and hardships, and at the same time would comfort and animate them by the divine assurance of the infallible victory of Christ over all His enemies, and of the eternal triumph of His bride.

The Apocalypse accordingly is a book of warning, encouragement, and hope, and is best understood practically in times of trial and persecution.¹ This purpose of edification it has in fact ever served, notwith-

¹ This is remarked by the venerable Bengel, whose merits as an expositor of the Revelation are very great, even though his historical application of the beast to the

standing the very various and sometimes altogether contradictory historical expositions, which it has met even at the hands of truly pious theologians, who in other more important points perfectly agree. We may fully concede the unsatisfactory character of all attempts yet made to explain it, from Irenaeus down to Lücke and Hengstenberg,—and for our own part we must confess, that none of the many commentaries are altogether satisfactory, however much light they may throw on the details,—we may be honestly persuaded, that the proper key to the full scientific and historical understanding of this remarkable book has not yet been found, without thereby being obliged in the least to doubt its divine origin and high practical value.¹ It belongs in fact to the nature of every divine prophecy to unveil itself but gradually, and to be fully intelligible only in the light of its fulfillment. So the prophetic writings of the Old Testament remained half understood or misunderstood till the appearance of Christ; as in fact the whole Old Testament becomes clear only in the New.² Nay, even the apostles were long entangled in all sorts of carnal prejudices. It was only by degrees and under the special guidance of their Master, that they rose to a deeper spiritual knowledge of the Messianic promises. Nevertheless, to souls anxiously waiting for the salvation of Israel these prophecies, though in many points misapprehended, were an inexhaustible source of spiritual strength, comfort, and refreshment.³ Precisely the same may be said of the last strains of the

papacy should be wholly wrong, as well as his chronological system, which, at least in a main point, the year 1836 has been actually refuted. He says: "This book is a book of the cross. It was given to John in his affliction, and under trial it is best understood and appreciated. In seasons of quiet security it was almost forgotten, but under the persecutions by the heathen emperors, and those subsequently endured by the Waldenses, the Bohemian brethren, &c., it has been turned to good account. Many one too may soon be glad of the book, who now refuses to receive it."

¹ As sometimes, it is to be regretted, even great and pious men have done; Luther, for example, in his honest, but very hasty and irreverent judgment of the Apocalypse (*Vorrede* of A. D. 1522, and also of 1534), which he would consider neither apostolic nor prophetic, because no one knew what was in it: though he employed it, when it suited him, against the papacy.

² According to the striking expression of Augustine: "Novum Testamentum in Vetere latet, Vetus in Novo patet," or "V. T. est occultatio Novi. N. T. manifestatio Veteris." The same may be said of the relation of prophecy to fulfillment.

³ This is remarked also by Herder in his commentary on the Apocalypse, which abounds in glowing eloquence, although we must consider it as on the whole entirely erroneous, since it refers every thing to the Jewish war and the destruction of Jerusalem. "How many prophets have we in the Old Testament," says he finely, p. 194 sq. (*Werke zur Theol.* Part 12), "in many of whose passages we do not know the primary historical references, while yet these passages, containing divine truth, doctrine, and consolation, are manna for all hearts and all ages! Should it not be so with the book, which is an abstract of almost all prophets and apostles? This book (though sealed

beloved disciple, in which at the close of the apostolic age and the century of miracles, soaring yet once more on eagle's wings to behold the eternal triumph of his divine Master and the glory of the bride "adorned for her husband" on the sanctified earth, he bequeathed to the church militant these precious visions under the seal of the Holy Ghost, as a cordial for all her hours of temptation and affliction. As such the Apocalypse has already been in fact of the most valuable service to the people of God; during the bloody persecutions by the Roman power in the first three centuries; at the descent of the barbarian hordes amid the storms of the migration; under the conquests of Mohammedanism; and in every heavy calamity and persecution which has since befallen the church. Hence also its significance did not cease with the dissolution of the old Roman heathenism, any more than did the fulfillment of the Old Testament prophecies stop with the events of Jewish history, to which they primarily refer. The age of the Neronian and Domitianic persecutions is not the goal, but only the historical starting-point, of the Apocalypse, and the basis of its interpretation. As the kingdom of Christ advances, so rises also the empire of Antichrist and false prophecy in ever new and more dangerous forms; and every new conflict of the two and every new victory follow the same general laws, and form a new and higher fulfillment of the prophecy.

We cannot but agree, therefore, with the genial Herder, when he styles the Revelation of St. John "a book of instruction and comfort, manna for all hearts and all ages." If curious minds have occasionally been led astray by it, it is their own fault. They would have been led astray without it, by the twenty-fourth chapter of Matthew, or by any other book, whose meaning does not lie immediately upon the surface. It is in every respect well, that the spirit of inquiry and attentive observation of the signs of the times in the light of the Scriptures should be constantly re-awakened. While it accumulates much hay and stubble, which the fire consumes, it also continually brings out new treasures of gold and silver from the mines of the prophetic word. The Apocalypse furnishes each generation just what its peculiar dangers, conflicts, and necessities require, and for each succeeding period of church history it has some new significance and some higher fulfillment. Hypercritics, bringing to the study of the Old and New Testaments, not the thankful disposition of children and heirs, but the heartless analytics of a special pleader, may say what they please against it; their own wisdom will be forgotten, but the book they despise will be hereafter, as heretofore, to thousands of the best and noblest souls a star of hope in the darkness to many a plain Christian as to its scientific interpretation). is a book of instruction and comfort for all churches, in which Christ walks."

of midnight, a stimulant to holy desire, an earnest of future blessings, and will afford them from time to time a foretaste of the new heavens and the new earth, till the Lord shall come to take home His longing bride.

§ 152. *Organism of the Apostolic Literature.*

If from this point we look back upon the New Testament canon, we observe in it a beautiful organism, the three parts charmingly fitting together in one whole. The historical books form the foundation, the didactic the edifice itself, and the Apocalypse the dome. Or, to use another figure, the first are the root, the second the branches, the third the ripe fruit. The three classes bear the same relation as conversion, sanctification, and glorification, or as the cardinal Christian virtues, faith, love, and hope. The substance, the all-absorbing theme, the beginning, middle, and end of the whole is Jesus Christ. In the Gospels He walks in bodily presence before us. In the Epistles He assumes an invisible, but none the less real existence, in the Holy Ghost. In the first chapters of Acts we see Him glorified, hovering, as it were, on the confines of the two worlds; then a cloud removes him from the sight of the apostles, and puts an end to his visible, finite presence, but only to make room for his mystical omnipresence in the life of the church, which is for this reason styled "his body, the fullness of him that filleth all in all." In the Apocalypse He re-appears visibly, but no longer in the form of a servant and in the likeness of sinful flesh. He comes forth in the full splendor of His spiritual and bodily glory, with the crown of stars, and his face shining as the sun. All His enemies are vanquished. All tears wiped away; all pains banished; all mysteries solved. The ideal of beauty, truth, and holiness is perfectly realized; body is all glorified in spirit; heaven and earth are one; the city of God is finished and prepared as a bride adorned for her husband. "Behold the tabernacle of God is with men, and he will dwell with them, and they shall be his people, and God himself shall be with them, and be their God." "Surely I come quickly. Even so come, Lord Jesus!"

We have now to exhibit in the next chapter the organism of the apostolic *doctrine*, as it comes to view in the Epistles. But a few remarks, first, respecting the language in which these writings have come down to us.

§ 153. *Language and Style of the New Testament.*

In the language of the apostolic writings we must distinguish three elements, the Greek, the Hebrew, and the specifically Christian.¹ The

The Latin element is very insignificant, confined almost entirely to single technical

union of these makes the books of the New Testament an altogether peculiar genus of literature, and furnishes evidence no less of their genuineness than of the universality of their destination.¹

The Greek of the New Testament is not the pure Attic idiom, as we find it in Plato, Xenophon, Thucydides, and the great tragedians; but the later colloquial dialect, κοινή διάλεκτος, as it is called. This arose, indeed, on the basis of the Attic literary language, but took up ingredients from other dialects, chiefly the Macedonian, in the time of Alexander the Great and his successors. It meets us in the works of Aristotle, Polybius, Diodorus, Plutarch, Aelian, and most of the Greek authors in the days of the emperors, except such as Josephus, Lucian, Libanius, who affected the Attic. It was spoken especially in Alexandria, the metropolis of Graeco-Oriental culture, and is hence sometimes called the *Alexandrian* dialect.

This idiom was employed by almost all the Jews of the dispersion, who thus came to be called Hellenists² (Acts 6 : 1. 9 : 22), to distinguish them from the Hellenes or proper Greeks on the one hand, and on the other from the Hebrews or Palestinian Jews, who spoke the Aramaic. The Greek, moreover, was at that time quite prevalent in Palestine. There were regular Hellenistic synagogues there, and it is very probable that the Saviour himself sometimes, as in conversation with proselytes and

terms, occurring mostly in the Gospel of Mark, such as δηνάριον, πραιῶριον, κονστῶδια, κεντυρίων, κῆνσος, κορδάντης (quadrans), ξέστης (sextarius), λεγεών, etc.

¹ To this the "Northern Magus," Hamann, has drawn attention in his genial way. "The books of the New Testament," says he in his *Kleeblatt hellenistischer Briefe* (Part II. p. 204 sq. of his complete Works), "are written ἐβραϊστί, ἐλληνιστί, ῥωμαϊστί, like the title of the cross, Jno. 19 : 20. If it be true, that they were put forth in the Jewish land, under dominion of the Romans, by people who were no literati of their age, the character of their style is the most authentic evidence respecting the writers, the place, and the time of these books." From this apologetic point of view, and with special reference to this remark, Dr. H. W. J. Thiersch particularly has recently investigated the language and style of the New Testament books in the first chapter of his *Versuch zur Herstellung des historischen Standpunkts*, etc. 1845, p. 43 sqq.

² From ἐλληνίζειν, to act the Greek or imitate the Greeks, primarily in language, then in manners and customs, in mode of thinking and acting (as Josephus, *De bello Jud.* II. 20, 3, uses the term ῥωμαίζειν of those Jews, who held with the Romans in the Jewish war. Comp. πλατωνίζειν and other such expressions). Ἑλληνισταί are therefore primarily Jews who speak Greek, and these also were mostly less stiff and bigoted in religion than the Ἑβραῖοι. The representatives of the more liberal-minded, Gentile-Christian tendency in the apostolic church, were almost all Hellenists; Barnabas of Cyprus, Luke, perhaps of Antioch, Apollos, probably of Alexandria, Timothy a half-Jew, of Lystra, and Paul, of Tarsus, who, however, was of a strictly Jewish family, the son of a Pharisee (Acts 28 : 6), and received his education in Jerusalem.

heathens,¹ and before Pilate, used the Greek.² And on the other hand there were also in the Greek provinces Jewish families, which rigidly adhered to the sacred language and customs of their fathers. In this sense Paul calls himself "a Hebrew of the Hebrews" (Phil. 3 : 5). The Jews, however, spoke this Greek, not pure, but largely adulterated with their native Hebrew or rather the closely allied Aramaic, that is, the vulgar Syro-Chaldaic or Babylonian dialect, which since the Babylonish exile had supplanted the pure or ancient Hebrew in ordinary intercourse. This Judaizing Greek has accordingly, since Scaliger, been very aptly styled the *Hellenistic* idiom, with reference to the appellation of the Jews, who spoke Greek. It meets us, not only in the New Testament, but also in the Septuagint translation of the Old, in the apocryphal books of the Jews, in the works of the theological philosopher Philo, and to some extent in the historian Josephus, who, however, certainly not without affectation, aimed at the old Grecian Attic elegance.

This *Hebrew* element in the apostolic writings is to be imputed to the influence of the Old Testament and of the current Aramaic. It does not, however, enter to the same extent in all, but varies in prominence according to the peculiar character of the author, or more especially of the contents. The tincture is strongest in the historical and prophetic literature; for this was modeled on the Old Testament. We observe it in the first two Gospels, and in those parts of the Gospel of Luke where the author gives sacred traditions just as they stood, above all in the songs of Mary and Zacharias (1 : 46-55 and 68-79), which bear throughout an old Hebrew psalmodic stamp, and are probably literally translated; again in the first part of the Acts, where the history has its theatre in Palestine, and is drawn almost wholly from Jewish-Christian sources; finally, and most of all, in the Apocalypse, to the ideas of which the language of the classical literature was utterly inadequate. The didactic books of the New Testament, for which the Old afforded no model, come nearer the pure Greek idiom. The best style on puristic principles is that of Luke, particularly in the second part of the Acts, where he ceases to follow the accounts of others and describes the labors and fortunes of Paul mostly as an eye-witness; that of James, whose glowing, forcible use of the language is the more surprising, because he

¹ As with the *γυνή Ἑλληνίς* of Phenicia, Mk. 7 : 26, and with the *Ἑλληνες*, Jno. 12 : 20.

² Respecting the condition of the vernacular in Palestine we refer especially to the learned investigations of Hug, in his *Einleitung in's N. T.* II. § 10. Also to Thiersch, l. c. p. 48 sq., who gives it as his opinion "that Christ was master of the Greek language, that he could use it, but in his intercourse with his disciples and with the people he preferred the vernacular (Aramaic), so nearly akin to the sacred Hebrew."

was so decidedly Hebrew in sentiment, and probably always lived in Palestine; and that of the author of the epistle to the Hebrews, who evinces a familiar acquaintance with the rarer forms and turns of Greek expression, and frequently (as in the first four verses, and in the eleventh chapter) rises to real rhetorical elegance. Paul too, however, considering his Rabbinical training, possessed great skill in the use of the Greek. His full and well-turned periods are in perfect accordance with its genius; and at times, especially in his epistles to the Corinthians, he introduces delicacies of style well timed for readers in a city of Grecian culture. On the other hand, James, in the beginning of the fifth chapter of his epistle, assumes the tone and style of prophetic rebuke; showing that the preponderance of one or the other linguistic element varied in the same author with the character of his subject. The style of John in his Gospel and epistles is, in words and phrases, mostly pure Greek, but in construction exceedingly simple and artless, without many connectives, and without periods,—very Hebrew like.

The crude and pitiable view of the vulgar Rationalism, that the Hebraisms of the New Testament are so many grammatical blunders and violations of the Greek, a more thorough philology and exegesis (especially since Winer) has banished from all truly learned circles. With equal reason might the Grecisms of the Latin poets, the Germanisms of the Romanic languages, and the many Latin and French elements of the English be condemned as corruptions and errors. The Hebraisms form, on the contrary, a peculiar and necessary modification, extension, and enrichment of the Greek, wherever, in its previous form, by reason of the close connection between thought and word, that language was found inadequate; as, especially, in the prophetic literature. The Hebrew tinge imparts to the New Testament literature a peculiar beauty, to appreciate which, however, requires more than a mere knowledge of grammar. It gives the apostolic writings the attractive, childlike character, the elevated simplicity, and the venerable antiqueness of the sacred language of the patriarchs, and has its share in setting forth the inseparable unity of the two testaments, the old and new revelations of God.

But to the Greek basis and the Hebraisms of form and structure must be added the third element, the *Christian*, which is the soul of the whole New Testament, distinguishes it specifically from all Greek and Græco-Jewish writings, and gives it a place of its own in the history of literature. The spirit of the Christian revelation shows itself, in the province of language, not so much in coining new words and phrases as in making a new use of old ones. The apostles made words already at hand the vehicles of infinitely profounder ideas than they had ever conveyed before

or continued to express afterwards in heathen authors.¹ Even the Seventy were compelled to put into many Greek expressions an Old Testament idea, which it requires a sympathy with the whole spirit of the divine revelation to understand. To a far greater extent is this the case in the New Testament, which contains a universe of new ideas, throwing even the Old Testament far into the shade. The very terms of most frequent occurrence and of the greatest importance for Christian faith and practice, as light, life, truth, resurrection, atonement, redemption, saviour, apostle, church (assembly), election, calling, justification, sanctification, faith, love, hope, peace, liberty, humility, blessedness,—darkness, flesh, unbelief, sin, death, condemnation, etc., have a far more comprehensive and profound sense than in any profane writings, or, in most cases, even in the Old Testament; though this sense is certainly agreeable to the natural import and the etymology of the word. In this view it may be said, that, as Christianity is the perfection of humanity, so the Christian language is the full development of the natural. Hence the knowledge of Greek and Hebrew is not enough for understanding and theologically interpreting the Bible. To this must be added above all an experimental sympathy with the spirit, which fills the words and makes them vehicles of its profound ideas.

In this use of the Hellenistic idiom for conveying the Christian revelation we must admire particularly the powerful genius of the apostle Paul struggling with the language to create the most suitable expression for his idea. His style, in general, is a fitting channel for the bold majestic stream of his thought. True, it is often harsh, abrupt, and irregular, like nature. It has none of the careful polish and artistic exactness to be found where a writer depends on his mode of expression for much of his effect. Paul says himself, 2 Cor. 11 : 6, that in speech, but not in knowledge, he was rude; that is, according to the standard of the Greek philosophers and rhetoricians, whose taste, however, had undoubtedly already become very corrupt. He is always too full of his subject, too much occupied with the matter, to waste time on the form. His mighty spirit breaks away from the trammels of ordinary rules, and often rises to the height of sublimity. It is well known that the heathen rhetorician, Longinus, placed him among the greatest orators; and the accomplished critic, Erasmus, remarks on Rom. 8 : 31–39 : “*Quid usquam Cicero dixit grandiloquentius !*” In fact, this passage, as well as that seraphic hymn on love, 1 Cor. 13, is, even on merely esthetic and

¹ Comp. Dr. Robinson, in the preface to the new edition of his *New Testament Lexicon*, p. v. sqq. : “The language of the N. T. is the later Greek language, as spoken by foreigners of the Hebrew stock, and applied by them to subjects on which it had never been employed by native Greek writers,” etc.

rhetorical principles, beyond all question one of the most beautiful and sublime things in the history of literature. Paul's writing is always manly and noble, fresh and vigorous, clear and exact, terse and concise,¹ fascinating and suggestive, sometimes plying the lash of irony² and sarcasm,³ but also melting into the tenderest strains,⁴ or ingeniously and winningly playing on words.⁵ He delights in colossal antithesis⁶ and the massive, dialectic progressions of the Greek periods. Even his many *anacolutha* are usually only the excess of a virtue, the result of his ardent temperament and overflowing fullness of soul; emotion crowding upon emotion, thought upon thought. The prominent characteristics of his style are fervor and force, and it has not unjustly been styled a "perpetual battle."⁷ But his polemic zeal is always under the control of sober reflection, and at times, as in the incomparable description of love 1 Cor. 13, gives place to the most delightful calmness and benignity.⁸

On the other hand, the style of John, "the son of thunder," while it breathes the gentle air of peace, as it were, from the celestial regions of the church triumphant, also rolls along at times, especially in the Apo-

¹ In conciseness and precision there is a striking resemblance between Paul and the renowned historian Thucydides. Comp. Bauer: *Philologia Thucydideo-Paullina*, 1773 and Baur: *Paulus, der Apost. Jesu Christi*, p. 663.

² E. g. 1 Cor. 4 : 8. 2 Cor. 11 : 18 sq.

³ Phil. 3 : 2; *περιτομή* and *κατατομή*.

⁴ Acts 26 : 29. 2 Cor. 2 : 5. 7. 10.

⁵ Phil. v. 10 sq., where he touchingly alludes to the meaning of the name Onesimus i. e. useful; Rom. 13 : 8, "Owe no man anything, but to love one another."

⁶ Comp. Rom. 2 : 21-23. 2 Cor. 4 : 7-12. 6 : 9-10. 11 : 22-30.

⁷ Tholuck: *Vermischte Schriften*, Pt. II. p. 320. Calvin also, on 2 Cor. 11 : 6, observes of the writings of Paul: "*Fulmina sunt, non verba.*"

⁸ "In the letters of St. Paul," says an able writer in the "Edinburgh Review" for January, 1853, "while every matter relating to the faith is determined once for all with demonstrations of the spirit and power, and every circumstance requiring counsel at the time so handled as to furnish precepts for all time, the whole heart of this wonderful man is poured out and laid open. Sometimes he pleads, and reminds, and conjures, in the most earnest strain of fatherly love: sometimes playfully rallies his converts on their vanities and infirmities: sometimes, with deep and bitter irony, concedes that he may refute, and praises where he means to blame. The course of the mountain torrent is not more majestic and varied. We have the deep, still pool, the often returning eddies, the intervals of calm and steady advance, the plunging and foaming rapids, and the thunder of the headlong cataract. By turns fervid and calm, argumentative and impassionate, he wields familiarly and irresistibly the varied weapons of which Providence had taught him the use. With the Jew he reasons by Scripture citation, with the Gentile by natural analogies: with both, by the testimony of conscience to the justice and holiness of God. Were not the Epistles of Paul among the most eminent of inspired writings, they would long ago have been ranked as the most wonderful of uninspired."

calypse, according as the subject requires, with the awful power of thunder.

To sum up all ; the language and style of the apostolic writers has its peculiar beauty, appearing in different forms, according to the character of the author and the subject ; a beauty not lying, indeed, on the surface, veiled rather in the garb of humility and poverty, in the form of a servant, like the Lord himself ; but for this very reason affording the freer scope to the power of the Holy Ghost and divine grace, and all the more wonderful in its effects. The weak and the despised has God chosen to confound the great and the brilliant, that the glory may be the Lord's and not man's. Were the New Testament written with the Attic elegance of a Plato or a Xenophon or a Sophocles or a Demosthenes, it would be perhaps a book for philosophers, for the educated few, but not, as it is this day and ever will be, a book for the people, the bread of life for all ages, conditions, and classes of men.

CHAPTER II.

DIFFERENT TYPES OF THE APOSTOLIC DOCTRINE.

§ 154. *Origin and Unity of the Apostles' Doctrine.*

CHRISTIANITY is, primarily, not doctrine, but life, a supernatural fact and testimony extending its heaven-like, transforming influence equally to all the faculties of the human soul, thought, feeling, and will. It came into the world as the climax of the revelation or self-communication of God, as a divine saving fact, a new moral creation, deposited originally in JESUS CHRIST, the incarnate Word, the God-man and Saviour of the world, to be propagated from Him to the entire human race,—not, indeed, necessarily to the numerical, but to the organic whole of humanity. So also in the individual believer it exists first in the form of life, or the communion of the whole man with God through Christ. The measure of this divine *life* (not the amount of theoretical knowledge, or of practical morality, or of feeling,¹ separately considered) is the measure of the man's piety; and perfect communion with God is perfect religion. Doctrine is only the clear consciousness of the life made an object of reflection, and presupposes, therefore, the presence of the life as the general and primordial.

The doctrine of the apostles in the New Testament everywhere appears in this close, organic connection with the original fountain of life. It is not abstract theory, not a product of speculation, but something experienced in actual life, and for this very reason in turn productive of life, thoroughly practical, full of the unction of the Holy Ghost and of moral power. It comes before us, too, not as a logical, scientific system, but in an humble, unpretending, generally intelligible form. The Bible is intended to be, not merely a work for the learned, but a popular book, in the highest and noblest sense, a book for all mankind. Nevertheless

¹ As Schleiermacher holds, whose view on religion, identifying it with feeling (the feeling of absolute dependence upon God), is just as one-sided and erroneous as the other two which he so keenly and successfully refutes.

it has a systematic structure, though not outwardly marked. The apostles start from a living principle, from which, as biblical theology has minutely to demonstrate, the several points of doctrine necessarily follow. Yet in this respect again they differ. Paul, who had no small philosophical talent and had received a learned education, proceeds far more methodically than the others. The epistle to the Romans, particularly, is almost a scientific treatise, and it is not difficult to show the strictest logical connection among all its parts.

The common source of the apostles' doctrine is partly outward, partly inward ; partly the objective, theanthropic history of the crucified and risen Saviour, of which they were eye-witnesses ; partly the immediate illumination of the Holy Ghost, which was promised them by the departing Redeemer¹ and communicated on the day of Pentecost, the birth-day of the church (Acts 1 : 4), and which alone could enable them fully to understand the life and teaching of Jesus. This illumination or inspiration is to be regarded as *central* ; in other words, one, which acted with creative power on the very essence and centre of their being ; which transferred not only their knowledge, but their whole personality, with all their intellectual and moral faculties, into a new and higher sphere of existence, into the heart of the Christian truth ; and which thence pervaded and determined all their particular views and relations, their words, their writings, and their actions.

The common subject of the doctrine of the apostles is the person of Jesus Christ, the promised Messiah, the true God-man ; and the divine life and salvation, which was manifested in Him, was secured to mankind by his self-revelation, death and resurrection ; shaped itself through the Holy Ghost into a church of the redeemed, a means and a fellowship of salvation ; is communicated to the individual sinner through faith and the means of grace, the word and sacraments ; works his conversion, justification, sanctification, and eternal blessedness ; and will fully develop itself in the glories of Christ's second coming.

These are the essential articles of faith, on the living appropriation of which salvation depends, and which the Apostles' Creed (justly called apostolical as to its *contents*) so beautifully arranges under the three divisions of God the Father and the work of creation, God the Son and the work of redemption, and God the Holy Ghost and the work of sanctification, ending with life everlasting. And in all these points James, Peter, Paul, and John perfectly agree. We cannot acknowledge the least inconsistency among the various books of the New Testament, either in respect to faith or practice. They are all animated by the same spirit, aim at the same end, and form a truly wonderful harmony

All the apostles and evangelists teach, that Jesus of Nazareth is the highest revelation of the only true God ; that He perfectly fulfilled the law and the prophets ; by His death and resurrection reconciled humanity with God and redeemed it from the curse of sin and death ; by the outpouring of His Spirit has established an indestructible church and furnished it with all the means for the regeneration and sanctification of the world ; that out of Him there is no salvation ; that a man must repent and believe in Him, and express this faith in his entire life, in order to enjoy the benefits of Christ's mission ; and that this life of faith develops itself, in individuals and in the church, under the continual direction of the Holy Ghost through much suffering and tribulation ; triumphs at last over all its foes ; and becomes gloriously complete at the second advent of the Lord. In short, there is in the apostolic church "one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all" (Eph. 4 : 5 sq.).

"But unto every one of us," the apostle immediately adds, "is given grace according to the measure of the gift of Christ ;" that is, to each for a particular purpose and within certain limits, according to the wisdom of the Lord and the wants of the church. For unity should never be confounded with monotonous uniformity. All living unity involves diversity, multiplicity, and fullness. So with the unity of the apostolic doctrine. And as, on the one hand, we discard the rationalistic theory, which on the principles of the natural understanding implicates the synoptical evangelists with John, James with Paul, in irreconcilable contradiction, thus undermining all reverence for the holy word of God ; so, on the other hand, must we guard against the opposite extreme of a stiff, lifeless orthodoxy, which looks upon the literature of the New Testament as a thing of abstract, mechanical and colorless uniformity of structure, and makes no due account of the human authors and their several peculiarities of character.

§ 155. *Diversity of the Apostles' Doctrine.*

The eternal substance of this truth, comprised in the absolute union of Deity and humanity in the person of the Redeemer, each of the leading apostles held in a peculiar historical form, and in that particular form, too, which was specially adapted to his individual character, his training, and his field of labor. The gospel may, in this respect, be compared to a jewel, which at every turn emits a new radiance, yet remains the same ; or to the one beam of light, which breaks into diverse colors according to the nature of the substance it falls on, yet always emanates from the same sun. These peculiar modifications or shapings of the Christian principle in the New Testament Scriptures we call the differ

ent systems or *types* of the apostolic doctrine. They originate in the various modes of conceiving the relation of Christianity to the two grand religions of the old world, Judaism and Heathenism.

As all the apostles were Jews, and as their knowledge was rooted in the Old Testament, they, very naturally, first brought the new principle of life, which was given them in Christ, into connection with their former religious views, and then applied it to their respective spheres of labor in different ways, according as they had to deal entirely, or at least mainly, with Jews or with Gentiles. To them all Christianity appeared as the completion of the Old Testament, and Jesus as the true Messiah, the fulfiller of the law and the prophets. Christ himself had declared : "I am not come to destroy the law or the prophets, but to fulfill" (Matt. 5 : 17). This very expression, however, implied a two-fold relation between Judaism and Christianity, a *unity* and a *difference*. The two religions are both covenants, but differ as old and new. Both are revelations of the same God for the same end, the glory of the Lord and the salvation of mankind ; but the one is preparation, the other completion ; that is law and prophecy, this gospel and fulfillment ; the former is revealed in the latter, the latter latent in the former. There God appears chiefly as the just and holy Lord, and the pious as His obedient servants ; here God is the loving and merciful Father, and believers His children and heirs. Judaism is "the letter, which killeth," and a shadow of good things to come ; Christianity is the "spirit, which giveth life," and the substance itself. The one is the religion of authority, the other the religion of freedom. That was intended for a single nation and a certain time ; this is designed for all nations and all times, —the absolute religion for the world. The permanent truth in the Old Testament is taken up by the New, confirmed, brought into connection with the person of Christ, and transformed by His Spirit, but by this very process divested of its restricted national and temporary form. Christianity is at once an organic growth out of Judaism, and a new creation, which could never have sprung from the old alone, without a creative act of God.

Now it is essential to apostolical and all sound Christianity, to combine these two views, the *unity* and the *difference* of the Jewish and Christian revelations ; both to place the New Testament in close connection with the Old, and yet to maintain its new and peculiar character. The denial of either gives rise to a fundamental heresy ; and of such we observe the germs even in the apostolic period. The denial of the distinction between Judaism and Christianity is Ebionism ; the denial of the unity of the two is Gnosticism. From both these extremes the

New Testament Scriptures are equally removed, and in fact against both they contain express warnings.

But this double relation admits of being viewed from two positions, which, while they keep, in principle, both the distinction and the unity of the two revelations, give the chief prominence, one to the unity, the other to the distinction; two positions, therefore, not contradictory, but mutually supplemental. The first view, exhibiting Christianity predominantly in its harmony with the religion of the Old Testament, was most congenial to the older Jewish apostles of Palestine, and best suited for the Jewish mission. The other, which saw in the gospel a new creation, the spirit of absolute freedom, was best adapted to the Hellenistic apostle, who was called in a sudden, extraordinary manner by the transforming grace of God, and destined to labor among the heathen. For the Jews, even after their transition to Christianity, felt the need of adhering as closely as possible to the sacred traditions of their fathers; while the Gentiles found in their previous religion little or no connection with the Christian, though the latter of course met the deepest wants of their nature; and towards the precepts of the Mosaic law, which had not been given to them, they had no such reverence nor sense of obligation as the Jews.

§ 156. *Jewish and Gentile Christianity and their higher Unity.*

Thus, from the twofold relation of Christianity to Judaism, and from the difference in the callings of the apostles, arose two different, but mutually supplemental theological tendencies, which we may call the *Jewish-Christian* and the *Gentile-Christian*. The first was represented in the beginning by all the older apostles, the twelve, who had gradually come out of the bosom of their ancestral religion, and labored chiefly among the circumcision; particularly by Peter and James.¹ The second appeared in Paul, the apostle of the Gentiles, so abruptly and irregularly called at a later time, and in his coadjutors, particularly Barnabas (comp. Gal. 2 : 8, 9). This antagonism between Jewish and Gentile Christianity reaches through the whole apostolic age, until at the end of the first century, in the writings of John, it is lost, so to speak, in a third view, which may be styled the absolutely Christian or the *ideal*.

¹ Paul. Gal. 2, names John, indeed, along with James and Cephas, among the pillars of the apostles of the circumcision. But this refers to an earlier time; since the epistle to the Galatians was written in the year 56. We must distinguish in the life and labors of John two periods, that before and that after his transfer to Paul's sphere of labor in Asia Minor; and his writings, from which we learn his theological views, all date during his residence at Ephesus and after the destruction of Jerusalem. Moreover, he seems to have held from the first a conciliatory position between the two parties, and to have observed a mysterious silence. Comp. § 100 above.

We may accordingly distinguish in the development of the apostolic theology three stages, the *Petrine*, the *Pauline*, and the *Johannean*. They run parallel with the three sections of the history of missions as presented in the first book—the Jewish mission, centering in Jerusalem, the Gentile mission, with its seat in Antioch, and the activity of John, which took up, combined, and completed these two, and had its centre in Ephesus.

Christianity naturally addressed itself first to the Jews, from the midst of whom it proceeded, and who, according to God's gracious promise, had the first claim to it. The church in Jerusalem, with the apostles at its head, was essentially distinguished, indeed, from the Jews around, by its faith in Jesus of Nazareth as the Messiah, the Son of God, who had risen from the dead, and by its possessing in this faith true divine life; but this faith itself wrought in them under the hallowed forms of the old covenant. While, therefore, they imputed their justification not to the ceremonies of the Mosaic law, but to Christ (comp. Acts 4 : 12), they still continued to observe those ceremonies, and keep as close as possible to the temple worship of the theocracy (comp. § 137).

The distinction of two tendencies, a more constrained and a more free, a strictly conservative and a progressive, made its first appearance in the opposition between the Jews of Palestine and those of other lands, or Hebrews and Hellenists (Acts 6 : 1 sqq.). It was brought out by the deacon Stephen, a Hellenist of bold spirit, skillful in the Scriptures, and dialectically trained. By him the Christian system, which had hitherto been at issue chiefly with Sadducism on the doctrine of the resurrection, was put in conflict with Pharisaism or stiff, self-righteous legalism. Stephen rose to the view of the approaching emancipation of the church from the religious and national exclusiveness of the Jewish economy, which was hastening to its doom. Thus he was the forerunner of the apostle Paul, who was converted, as it would seem, immediately after the death of this first martyr, in order to save and gloriously carry out the idea, for which he died (Acts 6–8. Comp. § 58). This first bloody persecution was the occasion of spreading the gospel out of Judea by the fugitive Christians, and at the same time of enlarging their views. Soon came the conversion and reception into the church of the semi-pagan Samaritans through the labors of the evangelist, Philip, probably also a Hellenist, and the apostles, Peter and John (c. 8). Still more important was the founding of the first mixed church at Antioch, which was firmly established, and made the starting point and centre of the Gentile mission, chiefly by Barnabas of Cyprus and Saul of Tarsus. Nor is it by any means accidental, that this mother church of Gentile Christianity originated the proper name of the followers of Jesus (11 :

26), by which they have since been distinguished as well from Jews as from heathen. About the same time a change, which marks an epoch, was produced in the leaders of Jewish Christianity themselves by the vision of Peter, and the reception of the uncircumcised Cornelius into the Christian communion (Acts 10). From that time not only Peter, but, in consequence of his public recital of the incontrovertible facts, the whole church at Jerusalem also (comp. Acts 11 : 18), were convinced that the Gentiles need not, as had formerly been thought, become Jews, before they could have part in the Christian salvation. Thus they acknowledged, that the same Holy Ghost, who wrought in them, wrought also in the uncircumcised ; and with this they gave up the idea of the absolute nature and design of Judaism, though for *their own part*, not in order to justification, but from traditional reverence and for the sake of their influence with their countrymen, they continued as before to keep the Mosaic law, till God himself actually destroyed the theocratic system, and formally released them from it. A few disturbers only, "false brethren unawares brought in," as Paul styles them (Gal. 2 : 4), willfully set themselves against these signs of the times, this advance in knowledge, and maintained that circumcision and the observance of the whole ceremonial law was *necessary to salvation* ; thus denying that we are saved by faith in Christ alone. These were the *heretical* Jewish-Christians, the precursors of the Ebionites. These bigoted Judaizers raised a mighty hue and cry particularly against the apostle Paul, who meanwhile had already labored with great success among the heathen, and had admitted them into the church without imposing on them the yoke of the law.

In this state of things the apostles thought it best to settle the controversy and prevent the threatened rupture by a public convention. This was the council at Jerusalem, A. D. 50 (Acts 15. Gal. 2). Here the difference of the two tendencies, the Jewish-Christian and Gentile-Christian, was not concealed or wiped out. It was fully acknowledged ; but at the same time the deeper unity, which bound both parties to the same faith in the all-availing merits of Christ, was openly brought out in opposition to the Pharisaical Christians, and a compromise was agreed upon, which, while calculated to secure the peace of the church in its present posture, encroached on the rights of neither party. The Jews it left to their national form of religion, undisturbed in their observance of the law ; and upon the heathen converts it placed no burdensome yoke, but only such requisitions as a regard for pure morality and the principles of Christian charity would lead them readily to fulfill. The apostles of the circumcision and the apostles of the uncircumcision recognized each others' peculiar mission and gifts, and in the consciousness of unity in

difference and difference in unity exchanged the hand of brotherly fellowship (Gal. 2 : 9. Comp. § 68 and 69). And so they labored thenceforward in different spheres and with different gifts, but harmoniously towards the same great end. For the collision between Paul and Peter in Antioch sprang not from a conflict of principles, but from a momentary inconsistency (Gal. 2 : 11 sqq.), and was merely a passing cloud. The exception only proves the rule, which was, in this matter, as is abundantly clear from all their writings, the fraternal unanimity of the two apostles.

The following years, from 50 to 64, witnessed the imposing labors of Paul and the development of the Gentile-Christian principle in doctrine and in practice. All Paul's numerous churches in Asia Minor and Greece, as well as that at Rome, were composed, indeed, of Jews and Gentiles together, so that the deep-seated national and religious antagonism could not fail to show itself also in the province of Christian faith. The Jewish Christians were more strict, scrupulous, legal, conservative, than the others. But it is in dealing with these that Paul shows his genuine spiritual freedom. He does not take forcible measures to annihilate or suppress the antagonism in question, but freely indulges it, provided only all hold the common foundation, Christ the only author of salvation; and in subordinate points, such as eating particular kinds of food, observing feasts, etc., he exhorts to mutual fraternal charity, patience and accommodation (1 Cor. 8 and 9. Rom. 14 : 1 sqq.); as in fact he himself in love became to the Jews a Jew, to the Greeks a Greek, that he might, if possible, gain all (1 Cor. 9 : 19-23). It was only against the "false brethren" of the circumcision, who were creating disturbance and schism in almost all his churches, particularly in Galatia, and sought salvation in lifeless ceremonies and mechanical actions instead of living faith in the Redeemer, as also, on the other hand, against the opposite sort of errorists, who perverted the freedom of Christ to the shameless indulgence of the flesh;—it was only against these, that he came out on every occasion in inflexible firmness with refutation, warning, and rebuke.

Thus stood matters in the seventh decade at the decease of most of the apostles. The church was almost everywhere divided between two national tendencies, the two parties being mutual counterparts, agreeing in essentials, loving one another as brethren, but not yet grown together in full unity, and still exposed also each to a corresponding morbid ultraism. The Jewish Christians, especially in Palestine, were in danger of sinking back into carnal Judaism, as the Galatian false teachers and the later Ebionites actually did; and in view of this the epistle to the Hebrews lifted its voice of fearfully earnest warning. The Gentile Christians, on the contrary, particularly in Paul's churches in Asia Minor, were threatened with the more subtle seduction of the false Gnosis, with

its spiritual licentiousness and its dissipation of all historical Christianity into the thin air of speculation, which even Paul, Peter, and Jude, but especially John in his day, found it necessary to resist as antichrist. Then broke the long predicted judgment of God on stiff-necked Judaism. Jerusalem, and with it the whole temple cultus, was overthrown, and thus the last cord severed, which had hitherto bound the Christian church to the old economy. The Jewish-Christian churches now had no alternative, but to apostatize and petrify, or to advance from their narrow legalism to a position of greater freedom, and coalesce with the Gentile Christians. Besides, the national difference between Jewish and Gentile Christianity must necessarily disappear so fast as the church should become an independent power, till she should bring forth a new generation, in whose veins neither Jewish, nor Gentile, but specifically Christian blood should circulate, as it were, from the very womb.

At this third and highest point of view, from which the two previous types of doctrine and forms of practice fall into a compact, organic unity, stands St. John, who survived the leaders of Jewish and Gentile Christianity, and after the destruction of Jerusalem combined in his writings the results of the whole preceding development of the apostolic church, both theoretical and practical.¹

This, in brief and general survey, is the course of the apostolical theology, as it lies before us in the canonical records of primitive Christianity. Its development goes hand in hand with the spread of the church, and to some extent also with the shaping of religious life and of the systems of government and worship.

We have then three leading forms of apostolic doctrine, under which all the books of the New Testament may without any violence be distributed :—

1. The JEWISH-CHRISTIAN theology, or the system of Christian doctrine in its unity with the Old Testament. This is represented by the leaders, or, as Paul styles them (Gal. 2), “pillars” of Jewish Christianity, James and Peter ; with this difference, that James presents especially the unity of Christianity with the law, Peter its unity with prophecy, forming at the same time the transition from the position of James to that of the Gentile apostle.² Under this head fall the Gospels of Matthew and Mark and the epistle of Jude.

¹ Comp. above, § 100.

² Were it preferred to make James and Peter the representatives of two distinct tendencies, we should have four types of apostolic doctrine, which would beautifully correspond to the four Gospels, that of James to Matthew, of Peter to Mark, of Paul to Luke, of John to his own Gospel. We think the triple division best, however, because James and Peter after all present only the two necessary aspects of Jewish Christianity, the legal and the Messianic.

2. The GENTILE-CHRISTIAN theology, or Christianity in its distinction from Judaism, and viewed as a new creation. This is the type of doctrine presented by the Gentile apostle, Paul, and embraces also the Gospel and the book of Acts by his attendant Luke, and the anonymous epistle to the Hebrews.

3. The JOHANNEAN theology, which adjusts the differences of Jewish and Gentile Christianity, and merges the systems of Peter and of Paul in its sublime and profound conception of the mysterious theanthropic person of the Saviour. Here belong the Gospel, Epistles, and Revelation of the beloved disciple.

These three forms of doctrine cover the whole field of saving truth, as it is in Jesus, and at the same time exhibit the leading tendencies of the human mind in its relation to the Gospel. They, therefore, satisfy all doctrinal wants, as the Gospels meet all the demand in the sphere of history. It is true, the whole difference in the views of the apostles centres, as we have seen, in the grand practico-religious question of their day, the relation of Christianity to Judaism, or the import of the Mosaic law. But from this historical centre it extends its influence more or less to all the several departments of doctrine or life, and involves ideas which underlie the religious conditions and wants of all ages of the church.

To translate the relations of these doctrinal types from the language of history into that of philosophy, and reduce them from concrete, temporary form to abstract principle, we may say, that Jewish Christianity is the Christian religion viewed mainly from the standpoint of law, authority, and objectivity ; Gentile Christianity is the same religion conceived and expressed predominantly as gospel, freedom, and subjectivity. The former represents the conservative element, the latter the progressive. But as law and gospel, authority and freedom by no means absolutely contradict each other, as in their lowest root and ultimate aim they are one ; so Jewish and Gentile Christianity, the Petrine and the Pauline systems, are far from being inconsistent ; and the theology of John is but the full development and expression of the unity which secretly bound the two together from the beginning. Every real and proper advance in history involves the coöperation of conservative and progressive forces ; thus necessarily occasioning, however, many collisions and struggles. The Jewish apostles preserved the historical connection between the present and the past, the new revelation and the old, both of which in fact came from the same God. Thus they put a salutary check upon the bold spirit of freedom and independence. The Gentile apostle gave free scope to the creative energy of Christianity, thus pre

venting stagnation and relapse into religious pupilage and national exclusiveness.

In this living organism of the primitive Christian doctrine we see only a new proof of its divinity, universality, and inexhaustible fullness. The magical introduction of one fixed, abstract system of ideas into the heads of the apostles, regardless of their gifts, education, and mission, would have been unworthy as well of God as of man. Instead of this we have the eternal Truth becoming flesh, entering into essential conjunction with human nature, inwardly and vitally uniting itself with the individuality of each apostle, and expressing itself in the way most suitable to him and those of like mental character. In every one there is accomplished a true, free reconciliation between his mind and God's, between reason and revelation, nature and grace. Here again, therefore, must we repeat, that in the Bible all is divine and at the same time truly human, and for this very reason most admirably fitted to meet the deepest wants of our nature, and to reconcile man with God.

§ 157. (1) *The Jewish-Christian Type of Doctrine.*

The Jewish-Christian system of doctrine looks upon the New Testament in its closest connection with the Old, as the fulfillment and completion of the old dispensation. It was, therefore, peculiarly adapted to win to the gospel the Jews, who were possessed with a holy awe of the records of their religion and were immovably persuaded of their divine origin.

But the Old Testament itself presents two aspects, *law* and *prophecy*. In both it prepares the way for Christianity; in the law, by eliciting and strengthening the sense of sin and of the need of redemption; in prophecy, by the cultivation of hope and desire for the promised redemption from the curse of the law. Hence also the gospel might be set forth predominantly either in its affinity with the Mosaic law, or in its agreement with the prophetic Scriptures. This gives us the two mutually completive forms of Jewish Christianity; the first appearing in James, the second in Peter. The legal Jewish Christianity is more anthropological; the prophetic is Messianic or christological. Hence in James the doctrine of the person and work of Christ is far less prominent than in Peter.¹

¹ Dr. Dorner has the same view of this relation in his *Entwicklungsgeschichte der Lehre von der Person Christi*, 2nd ed. I. p. 97: "If James clings more to the law, though not to the ceremonial law, but to the eternal moral law embodied in it, whose ideal existence becomes through Christ reality in the free man, in love; Peter sees in Christianity above all the fulfillment of Old Testament prophecy, as much in his discourses in Acts as in his epistles." For the above view of the relation of Peter's doctrinal system to that of James, I am indebted substantially to the oral instruction of my

A second distinction between James and Peter, closely connected with this, is, that the former is still more strictly Jewish than the latter in doctrine and practice, and that Peter, after the conversion of Cornelius, as his appearance at the apostolic council and his epistles sufficiently show, forms the connecting link between James and Paul, between the church of the Jewish, and the church of the Gentile Christians. The two must accordingly be separately considered.¹

§ 158. (a) *Legal Jewish-Christianity, or the Doctrinal System of James.*
(Comp. § 95 and 96.)

The sources of our knowledge of this doctrinal type are the epistle of James to the dispersed Jewish-Christian congregations and his address at the apostolic council, in connection with what we learn from Acts 21, Gal. 2, and some later accounts, respecting his position in general in the apostolic church.

James the Just we know already as a strict legalist, who after Peter's removal to other lands, A. D. 44 (Acts 12 : 17), presided over the church of Jerusalem and of all Palestinian Christianity, down almost to the great catastrophe, and stood as mediator between Jews and Christians. In conformity with this character, education, and office, he conceives *objective* Christianity as *law* (Ja. 1 : 25. 2 : 12), thus standing on the ground of the Mosaic system, while at the same time he rises above it in representing Christianity as the "*perfect law of liberty*."² From this we gather, that he regards Judaism as imperfect and as a law of bondage, though prudence forbids his expressly saying so. Then again, he does not mean by this law the mass of ceremonial precepts, nor does he anywhere intimate, that the observance of these is, as the heretical Jewish Christians and the later Ebionites asserted, essential to salvation. On the contrary he agreed with Peter and Paul at the apostolic council in acknowledging the uncircumcised Gentile converts as brethren and members of Christ's church. He views the law in its deep moral import, and as such an organic unit, that whoever transgresses a single precept, violates the whole, and incurs the full penalty (2 : 10, 11). With him the soul of the law, which animates and binds together respected and beloved teacher, the late Dr. C. Fr. Schmid, of Tübingen, one of the most solid and pious, but also one of the most modest and silent theologians of Germany. It is much to be lamented, for the interests of the church and of sound theology, that he did not before his death (1852) publish his excellent lectures on the Biblical Theology of the New Testament and on the Epistle to the Romans.

¹ It is a singular defect in the epoch-forming work of Dr. Neander on the Apostolic Church, that it entirely passes over the doctrinal system of Peter, while yet it treats of that of James quite at large.

² Ja. 1 : 25 : Εἰς νόμον τέλειον τὸν τῆς ἐλευθερίας, where νόμος refers to λόγος, v²³ and to λόγος τῆς ἀληθείας, v. 18.

all its parts, is love. This he therefore styles the "royal law," or the all-ruling, fundamental law in the kingdom of God.¹ He even reaches the view that Christianity is a new creation; though the further development of this is left to be the special work of Paul. James, for example, reminds his readers, that God has begotten them according to his gracious will by the word of truth (by which we can only understand the gospel), so that they are the first-fruits of his creatures, the crown of the creation (1 : 18); and this engrafted word, abiding in the souls of believers, he represents as able to save.² Thus the gospel is, in his view, an efficient, creative, saving principle. Such hints place his elevation above Ebionism and the genuinely Christian ground-work of his much mistaken epistle beyond all doubt. But the legal, practical view of morality is unquestionably the predominant one. He contents himself with furnishing a commentary on our Lord's significant words : "I am not come to destroy the law, but to fulfill it."

In harmony with this, James, in his exhortations, gives special prominence to the dealings of God with men as Lawgiver and Judge, and often refers to the sternness of his justice and holiness, of which the law is the expression,³ though without overlooking his long-suffering and mercy.⁴ The doctrine of the person and the work of Christ, on the contrary, particularly of his sacerdotal office, is left quite in the back ground; though it should not here be forgotten, that the epistle is short, and presupposes an acquaintance with the Gospel history. This consideration is necessary to give it its full meaning. The proper name of the Redeemer occurs only twice, viz., in the superscription, 1 : 1, where James humbly terms himself "a servant of the Lord Jesus Christ," and in 2 : 1, where he describes Christ as "the Lord of glory;" thus in both instances mentioning the Saviour with the greatest reverence and with allusion to his royal dignity. Elsewhere he employs the solemn title of honor, "Lord" (5 : 7, 8, 11, 15), which in this sense, especially in the mouth of a Jew, can be used only of a divine being. Christ's atoning death⁵ and resurrection are, indeed, passed over in silence, but instead of them his second coming to judgment, which of course presupposes them, is clearly set forth (5 : 7, 8).

¹ Ja. 2 : 5. Comp. the precisely similar declarations of our Lord, Matt. 22 : 39. **Jo.** 13 : 35, and of Paul, Gal. 5 : 14. Rom. 13 : 8-10. 1 Cor. 13 : 1 sqq.

² V. 21 : Τὸν ἐμφυτον λόγον τὸν δυνάμενον σῶσαι.

³ C. 4 : 12. 1 : 13, 17. 2 : 13.

⁴ C. 1 : 5, 17. 5 : 11, 15.

⁵ In c. 5 : 11, it is true, the τέλος κυρίου is spoken of; but according to the context this would present the Lord's death only in its representative aspect, as a model of patience under suffering. Some commentators refer the words, not to Christ at all, but to the issue, with which the gracious God crowned the sufferings of Job.

With this view of objective Christianity perfectly corresponds that here presented of *subjective* Christianity or personal religion. The law requires actual observance and fulfillment, a conduct conformed to its precepts. Hence James' hostility to all lifeless intellectual and nominal Christianity, and his earnest stress on works, the fruits of faith, the palpable proof of justification.¹ And as he sees in the law an indivisible unit, so he requires the Christian life to be one effusion, one complete and faultless work.² Finally, as with him the sum and substance of the law is love, so the fulfilling of the law consists in undivided love to God and our neighbor, with which the love of the world and of self is absolutely incompatible (4 : 4 sqq. 2 : 8). Consequently James places the essence of the Christian religion in a holy, irreproachable walk of love, and of a love too based ultimately on a new birth (1 : 17, 18, 21) and on faith in Christ, the Lord of glory (2 : 1, 22).

These are the leading thoughts of the epistle of James. The book is, on the one hand, a voice of persuasion to Jews and Jewish-Christian readers, leading them to the threshold of the "holiest of all," showing them, as through a narrow crevice, the glory of the new covenant and of the ideal law of liberty, and awakening a desire for the full possession; and, on the other, it still comes to us as an earnest exhortation to holy living, and especially as a warning to all who content themselves with mere theory and the oral profession of Christianity, and seek to escape the discipline of the law, wholesome and necessary even for believers. James is the apostle of the law in its pedagogical import, as leading to Christ, regulating the Christian life, and promoting moral earnestness.

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§ 159. *James and Paul.*

Finally; as to the much-talked-of relation between the doctrinal systems of James and Paul. It must certainly be admitted, that the two systems, especially in their soteriology, are constructed from entirely different points of view; the positions, also, and missions of the two being quite distinct. Yet if we logically follow out their principles, taking into account the whole mental state of each writer, we shall find, that in all essential points they ultimately coincide.

Both James and Paul have in view particularly the relation of the Gospel to the law and to the wants and the moral destiny of man; and thus both treat of religion mainly in its anthropological aspect. But while James, in opposition to an unproductive formalism of knowledge without works, presents the Gospel in its union with the law, and even calls it a

¹ C. 1 : 3-6. 2 : 1 sqq., 14 sqq. 3 : 1 sqq.

14 sqq. Ἐργον τέλειον . . . ἵνα ᾗτε τέλειοι καὶ ὁλόκληροι, ἐν μηδενὶ
Comp Matt 5:48.

law ; Paul, in opposition to a hypocritical formalism of works without faith, contends against the law as a letter, which " killeth " (2 Cor. 3 : 6) and as a yoke of bondage (Gal. 5 : 1). They plainly differ, therefore as well in their theses as in their antitheses. We have already seen, however, that James has not his eye upon external ceremonies in the Judaizing and Ebionistic sense, but goes back to the unchangeable moral principle of the law as regenerated by the Gospel, and derives the Christian life ultimately from a new creation by the gracious will of God. Paul, on the other hand, gives no countenance whatever to antinomianism. He too speaks of a " law of faith " (Rom. 3 : 27), a " law of Christ " (Gal. 6 : 2), and a " law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus," which makes us free from the " law of sin and death " (Rom. 8 : 2) ; — thus approaching from another point of view the same ideal conception of law.

In the same way may be solved the apparent contradiction between their respective views of subjective Christianity. This conflict, it is well known, is most violent in the doctrine of *justification*, as well in the proposition,¹ as in the argument and the application of the examples of Abraham² and Rahab.³ We cannot, indeed, consistently with any unprejudiced view, compose the difference by considering both apostles as saying precisely the same thing. Here also they occupy entirely different points of view, and are contending against opposite errors. James insists especially on good *works*, on acting out justification in the life, in opposition to a dead orthodoxy, a purely intellectual faith, which is in fact no faith at all, at least none that can justify or save. " Thou believest," he addresses these conceited theoretical formalists, " that there is one God ; thou doest well." " The devils," he adds, with cutting irony, " also believe and tremble " (2 : 19). Paul, on the contrary, lays chief stress on true, living *faith* and the divine ground of justification, to exclude all boasting, all Pharisaical self-righteousness and hypocrisy. But on the other hand, James also recognizes the true, living faith, which prompts to good works, completes itself in them (2 : 22), produces patience and thereby a perfect work (1 : 3 sq.), and secures the hearing of prayer (1 : 5 sqq. 5 : 15). So he acknowledges the imperfection of man even in the state of grace, including himself in the universal sinfulness (3 : 2). He, therefore, especially with his profound conception of the law as an inseparable unit, can expect final salvation from no human work, however good ; but derives it from the regenerating power of the Gospel, from the free will of God (1 : 17, 18, 21. 2 : 5) ; and his last resort is the mercy of the Lord (5 : 11), the Giver

¹ Ja. 2 : 24 : Ἐξ ἔργων δικαιοῦνται ἄνθρωπος, καὶ οὐκ ἐκ πίστεως μόνον. Comp. Rom 3 : 28 : Λογιζόμεθα οὖν, πίστει δικαιοῦσθαι ἄνθρωπον χωρὶς ἔργων νόμου.

² Ja. 2 : 21 sqq. Rom 4 : 1 sqq. Gal. 3 : 6.

³ Ja. 2 : 25. Heb. 11 : 31.

of every good and perfect gift, who is ready to hear the prayer of un wavering faith (1 : 5, 17). The apostle of the Gentiles also, on his part, calls a faith without charity, such as James supposes in his antagonists, vain, a sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal (1 Cor. 13 : 1 sq.) ; and with all his zeal for salvation by free, unmerited grace, he most emphatically requires good works as the indispensable fruit of faith. For faith in fact, if it be worthy of the name, is with him always a vital appropriation of the merits of Christ, a union of the soul with Him, continually working by love (Gal. 2 : 20. 5 : 6. 1 Thess. 1 : 3, &c.).

The relation, therefore, between the two apostles—as well their difference as their agreement—may be thus stated : James proceeds from without inward, from phenomenon to principle, from periphery to centre, from the fruit to the tree ; Paul, on the contrary, proceeds from within outward, from principle to phenomenon, from centre to circumference, from the root to the blossom and the fruit. Paul's view is unquestionably deeper, more philosophical, and more fundamental than the other, and very far in advance of it ; yet the empirical method of James also has its proper office and its practical necessity. It may even serve as a corrective to Paul's view, wherever the latter by abuse becomes indifferent to works, and degenerates either into unproductive theoretical orthodoxy, or into licentious practical antinomianism—two diseased forms of Christianity, which have in fact more than once arisen from an imperfect understanding of Paul's doctrine of justification by faith. On all pseudo-Pauline excesses James imposes a necessary and wholesome restraint.

§ 160. (b) *Prophetic Jewish-Christianity, or the Doctrinal System of Peter.* (Comp. § 89-94.)

The doctrine of Peter we gather from his discourses in the book of Acts and from his two circular letters to the mixed churches of Asia Minor. This apostle distinguishes himself even in the Gospels by enthusiastic love for Christ and clear views of His higher nature and divine mission, such as expressed themselves in that memorable confession : "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God." His discourses and epistles are but a continuous commentary, so to speak, a practical, edifying exposition of this great confession. Hence they everywhere have the Messianic or christological element in the fore-ground ;—a decided advance on the legal Jewish-Christianity. True, he stood at first on the level of the Mosaic system, and considered circumcision the only door to the Christian church. But the decisive vision in Joppa and the occurrences in the house of Cornelius (comp. § 60) had raised him above this Jewish prejudice, and at the apostolic council he advocated the genuine Pauline maxim, that all, Jews as well as Gentiles, are saved

not by the law, but by the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ (Acts 15 : 10, 11). In his subsequent labors, too, he did not confine himself, like James, to his countrymen and to Palestine, but interested himself also for Gentiles and Gentile-Christians. Those churches of Asia Minor, to which he wrote his epistles, were mostly of Paul's planting. In his outward position, therefore, as well as in his views, he holds, as already observed, a middle place between James and Paul.

The fundamental idea of Peter's doctrinal system is the truth, that Jesus of Nazareth is the promised *Messiah*, and Christianity a *fulfillment* of Old Testament *prophecy*. This is necessarily the primary form of christology. The first thing was to convince the Jews, who were looking for salvation in the Messiah, that all the prophecies of the Old Testament were fulfilled in the crucified and risen Jesus, and that in Him, therefore, the desired salvation had actually appeared. This is the burden of all Peter's discourses in the Acts. All the prophets, he says, from Samuel down, prophesied of Jesus Christ and the events of the apostolic age (Acts 3 : 24), and hence there is salvation in no other ; there is no other name given among men, whereby we must be saved (3 : 12). In all the leading facts of the gospel history, especially in the crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus, in his exaltation to the right hand of God, and in the outpouring of the Holy Ghost, Peter sees the fulfillment of one or more Old Testament predictions.¹ He has a predilection also for prophetic expressions to denote Christ, such as "Servant of God,"² whom God "hath anointed with the Holy Ghost and with power" (Acts 10 : 38, comp. 4 : 27). This view of Christ, however, in His relation to Jewish history, though decidedly the prevailing view with Peter, is not his only one. He at times approaches the ideal christology of John, and teaches with tolerable clearness the pre-existence of the Redeemer. Christianity, according to Peter, does not exist for the sake of Judaism, nor as a product of it ; rather is Judaism a product of Christianity. This is implied particularly in the profound passage, 1 Peter 1 : 10-12 (comp. 1 : 20 and 2 Pet. 1 : 19-21), according to which the same Spirit of Christ, which afterwards appeared as a person, was already in the prophets, operating in them from the beginning as the principle of revelation, pointing to the future historical manifestation of the Saviour—the all-controlling principle, which Judaism had to serve in a merely provisional way.

¹ Comp. Acts 2 : 16 sqq., 25 sqq., 34 sq. 3 : 18, 22 sqq. 4 : 11, 25 sqq. 10 : 43. 15 : 7 sqq. 1 Pet. 1 : 10 sqq., 24 sq. 2 : 4 sqq., 9 sq., 22 sqq. 3 : 22. 4 : 17. 2 Pet. 1 : 18 sqq.

² *Παῖς θεοῦ*, Acts 3 : 13, 26 4 : 27, 30, a term, which occurs nowhere else in the New Testament, but frequently in Isaiah (LXX), to denote the Messiah. Comp. Is. 42 : 1 52 : 13. 53 : 11.

This fulfillment of the Old Testament in the gospel, however, Peter regards not as finished with the first appearance of the Lord, but rather as itself an unfulfilled *prophecy*. As James calls Christianity a law, so Peter considers it a promise or prophecy, the precious earnest of a still more glorious future. This is an essential element of his view. Even in his discourse to the people, Acts 3 : 20 sq., he points to a still future time of refreshing, a restoration of the physical and moral world to the state of perfection,¹ to be accomplished at the visible return of Christ, who now fills heaven,²—a time when all the predictions of the holy prophets of God shall be completely realized. What is foretold in the Old Testament is, therefore, only partially realized. The epistles of Peter are full of this prophetic element, which is well suited to their practical purpose of consolation, and of encouragement to persevere under suffering. At the very beginning of the first epistle he presents the Christian salvation as an object of lively hope, as an inheritance incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away, reserved in heaven for us (1 Pet. 1 : 3, 4). It is to be revealed in the last time (v. 5), at the approaching end of all things, when Christ shall appear in his glory (4 : 13, comp. 5 : 1). The faithful pastors shall receive crowns of glory at the appearance of the chief Shepherd (5 : 4, comp. v. 6); and with this prospect of the eternal glory of God in Christ, to which we are called, the epistle concludes (5 : 10), as it had begun. The second epistle also frequently speaks of promises given (1 : 4), and of a future entrance into the everlasting kingdom of Christ (v. 11). The word of the prophets has, indeed, been made surer by being partially fulfilled, but is still prophetic, continually shining as a light in a dark place, until the day dawn and the day-star arise in the heart (v. 19). The last chapter treats almost exclusively of the revelation of this glorious future, and closes with the prospect of the new heavens and new earth (4 : 12, 13), and with an appropriate exhortation.

It is in perfect accordance with this conception of the gospel that Peter represents the Christian *life*, in the first place, indeed, as penitent *faith* in the revealed Messiah, the only Saviour,³ but at the same time as lively *hope* for the glorious return of the Lord, and the consumma-

¹ Ἀποκατάστασις πάντων, comp. παλιγγενεσία, Matt. 19 : 28, and καιροὶ διορθώσεως, Heb 9 : 10.

² In interpreting the words *ὃν δεῖ οὐρανὸν μὲν δέξασθαι*, Acts 3 : 21, I think the Lutheran commentators correct, in making *ὃν* the subject: Who must receive heaven, instead of: —Whom the heaven must receive. quem oportet coelo capi, as the Greek and most of the Reformed commentators explain it. and as it is given in the English Bible. For the throne occupies not the king, but the king the throne.

³ Acts 2 : 38. 3 : 16. 4 : 12. 10 : 43. 15 : 9. 1 Pet. 1 : 5, 7-9, 21. 2 : 7. 2 Pe . : 1.

tion of salvation thereby to be accomplished.¹ Hence his predilection for the title "strangers and pilgrims" in addressing Christians.² Hence his earnestness in exhorting them to be patient in suffering and tribulation, after the example of Christ. On account of this frequent reference to hope, which is based on the resurrection of Christ (1 Pet 1 : 3), is a foretaste of the future inheritance, and for this very reason consoles and refreshes amidst the trials of the earthly pilgrimage, Peter has been called, not improperly, the apostle of hope.³

Thus, according to the Petrine type of doctrine, objective Christianity is at once a fulfillment of the Old Testament prophecy and itself a precious promise; subjective Christianity is at once faith in the revealed Messiah and lively hope in his glorious re-appearance.

Other books of the New Testament also present Christianity in this prospective form, which, however, looks not beyond Christ, but only to the perfect unfolding of what is in Him. The most complete expansion of this prophetic view is given, in a certain manner, by John in the Apocalypse; but Paul also is full of the future glorious consummation of the church, and hence with him hope, the confident, ardent, not painful, however, but joyful and elevating expectation of the full possession of the promise, holds a necessary place in the Christian life.⁴ Here again we observe the most beautiful harmony among all the apostles.

§ 161. *Matthew, Mark, and Jude.*

Those of the other New Testament books, which are conformed to this Jewish-Christian type of the apostolic doctrine, are the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, which form its historical foundation, and the epistle of Jude. In one view the Apocalypse also might be included here, as agreeing in its contents with the prophetic strain of Peter; but in other respects it bears throughout the stamp of the Johannean theology. Between the first and second Gospels, again, there is the same relation as between James and Peter.

Matthew evidently wrote for Jewish Christians and presumes upon a knowledge of the peculiar customs and usages of the Jews; while Mark, who, like his spiritual father, Peter, has in view a larger and in part Gentile-Christian circle of readers, frequently explains such Jewish pecu-

¹ 1 Pet. 1 : 3, 13, 21. 3 : 5, 15. 4 : 13. 5 : 1, 4, 10. 2 Pet. 1 : 19. 3 : 9-13.

² 1 Pet. 1 : 1. 2. 2 : 11. Comp. 2 Pet. 1 : 13 sq.

³ By Beck, for example, in his *Einleitung in das System der christlichen Lehre*. p 245.

⁴ Comp. Rom. 5 : 2. 8 : 18, 23-25. 12 : 12. 15 : 13. 1 Cor. 9 : 10. 13 : 13. 2 Cor. 3 : 12. Eph. 1 : 18. 2 : 12. 4 : 4. Col. 1 : 5, 23. 3 : 3, 4. 1 Thess. 1 : 3. 5 : 8, 9. 2 Thess. 2 : 16. 1 Tim. 1 : 1. Tit. 1 : 2. 2 : 13. 3 : 7. 2 Tim. 4 : 2. Heb. 6 : 11. 10 : 23. 1 Jno. 3 : 2, 3.

liarities. Both choose the ethical discourses of Jesus, in which he presents himself as the fulfiller and completer of the Old Testament law. They are comprehended particularly in the sermon on the mount (Matt 5-7), which seems to have been floating in the mind of James while writing his epistle. His coincidence with Matthew extends even to single precepts, such as the prohibition of swearing, as also to the sententious, figurative character of the language.¹ But the first two Gospels also furnish a complement to the doctrine of James in a Christological point of view, by making Christ not merely the fulfiller of the law, but, with as much emphasis as Peter, the fulfiller of prophecy. Matthew in particular, in all the leading events of the evangelical history, takes pains to call attention to their remarkable coincidence with prophecies, by the standing phrase: "that it might be fulfilled, which is written;" and thus to give his Jewish readers proof that Jesus was the promised Messiah and King of the Jews (1 : 1). But at the same time he, like Peter, holds up Christianity as itself again a prophecy, and hence carefully records the prophetic discourses of our Lord respecting His second coming (c. 24 and 25. Comp. Mk. 13). Mark does not so often cite special prophecies, though he refers at the very outset to Mal. 3 : 1 and Is. 40 : 3. To his readers of heathen descent, and with a view to their doctrine of the sons of the gods, he wishes to show, that Jesus is not only the Messiah and the "Son of David, the son of Abraham" (Matt 1 : 1), but emphatically the "Son of God" (Mk. 1 : 1), and has accredited himself as such by his very appearance and his works of supernatural power. It is for this reason, that Mark gives the gospel history such a vivacious, dramatic form, setting it before the eyes of his readers in a series of detached and complete pictures. In general, the first two evangelists are confined to the historical, Messianic aspect of the Redeemer; though they touch at times the eternal, divine groundwork of His person, and thus serve to introduce the Johannean Christology, which at the same time presupposes their existence (comp. § 148).

The short, but earnest and forcible epistle of Jude reveals even in its superscription its affinity to James both in matter and in form. In its contents, however, it comes still nearer the second epistle of Peter, the existence of which it implies (comp. § 92). The main design is to warn its readers against libertine false teachers and wanton abuse of grace. The examples adduced are all from the Old Testament; and he even

¹ Respecting the relation of the epistle of James to the Gospel of Matthew, compare, for example, Theile's Commentary on the former, where the parallels are given at large.

² E. g. 1 : 23. 2 : 6, 15, 18. 3 : 3. 4 : 14. 8 : 17. 12 : 17. 13 : 35. 21 : 4
26 : 56. 27 : 9.

makes use of the Jewish tradition in his allusion to the dispute between the archangel, Michael, and the devil about the body of Moses (v. 9), and appeals to the apocryphal book of Enoch (v. 14), though of course without thereby sanctioning it in general or conceding to it canonical authority.¹ The specifically Christian element is most apparent at the close (v. 20–25), though it shines through not indistinctly in other places. In v. 2 Jesus Christ is associated immediately with God the Father, and in v. 4 is termed “our only Ruler and Lord” (comp. v. 17, 21, 25). Jude also, like James, points to the second coming of Christ in judgment, which will be terrible to the ungodly (v. 14, 15), but to believers full of grace unto eternal life (v. 21). Significant and very appropriate is the position of this letter—“of few lines, but rich in words of heavenly grace”—in the canon, between the apostolic epistles, to which it makes corroborative reference (v. 3, 17 sq.), and the Apocalypse, to which, by its earnest predictions respecting the last enemies of the church and their impending judgment, it forms the transition.

§ 162 (2) *The Gentile-Christian Type of Doctrine in Paul.*
(Comp. § 62–88).

From the great apostle of the Gentiles, who was naturally a profound thinker and had enjoyed a learned education, we have by far the most extended and complete exhibition of the Christian system of doctrine; as in fact this apostle wrote more than all the rest. He unfolds Christianity mainly in its specific character, which, though organically adapted, it is true, to the wants of human nature and to the Old Testament revelation, is still infinitely exalted above both Heathenism and Judaism, and cannot, therefore, be derived from either. Christ is, with Paul, in the fullest sense, a second progenitor of humanity; the Christian religion, a new moral creation far transcending the old.

The doctrinal position of this apostle may be accounted for, not only by his calling, but also by the mode of his conversion, in which the Jewish and the Christian life came so abruptly and violently into contact. A regular, bigoted Pharisee, in doctrine and sentiment (though by birth a Hellenist), a fanatical zealot for the law of his fathers, the most dangerous enemy of the Christian church, he was suddenly converted to the gospel by the grace of God, and called by the exalted Redeemer to be the apostle of the Gentiles. If he was before, as he himself says, a blasphemer and a persecutor,² though from blindness and ignorance;

¹ Comp. the exposition of these passages and the removal of all that appears offensive in them by Stier: *Der Brief Judä, des Bruders des Herrn* (1850). p. 51 sqq. and p. 81 sqq.

² As Origen says of it, *Comment. in Matt. XIII.*

³ Βλάσφημος καὶ διώκτης καὶ ὑβριστής, 1 Tim. 1 : 13.

the more abundantly and illustratively did he prove the saving mercy of God. If he had formerly striven in vain after righteousness by the law, and had now attained it without merit, of pure grace, by simple faith in Christ crucified and risen; he was compelled to view his former condition in comparison with his present, as dark night compared with noon-day (2 Cor. 4 : 6); nay, to count all his Jewish advantages but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus, his Lord (comp. Phil. 3 : 3-9 and Rom. 7 : 13-25).

Accordingly Paul's doctrine, like his life, centres in the great antithesis of the *want of salvation before Christ* and the *supply of salvation in Christ*. Before Christ and out of Christ is, with him, the reign of sin and death; after Christ and in Christ, the reign of righteousness and life (Rom. 5 : 12 sqq.). There he sees the killing letter; here the life-giving Spirit.¹ There, bondage and curse; here, freedom and blessed sonship.² There, a powerless struggle between flesh and spirit and a cry for redemption;³ here, no condemnation, but wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption, and the inseparable communion of the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus.⁴ Hence he opposes no error so decidedly and vehemently as the Judaizing, which would degrade Christianity to the former level of bondage and death.

Much as Paul insists, however, on the absolute newness of Christianity and its infinite elevation, not only above Heathenism, but also above Judaism, he still forgets not its historical and religious connection with the Old Testament. He does not regard it as new in any such sense, as would make its appearance in the world altogether unprepared, abrupt, and magical. He gives it, in the first place, an organic connection with the natural man's need of redemption, which even the heathen, by reason of the innate idea of God and the law written in the conscience,⁵ cannot deny. Then again, he represents the way as positively prepared for the Christian religion by the Old Testament revelation. He calls the law a school-master to lead to Christ (Gal. 3 : 24), and describes the gospel as promised before by the prophets.⁶ There is, therefore, a connecting link between the Jew Saul and the Christian Paul, between the two stages of his religious experience and views. This link is the idea of *righteousness*, which forms the centre and fundamental principle of his system of faith and morals. While a Pharisee, he had striven with all his might after righteousness in the way of obedience to the law of

¹ Rom. 8 : 2 7 : 6. 2 Cor. 3 : 6 sqq.

² Gal. 5 : 1. 4 : 3 sqq. 3 : 10 sqq. 2 Cor. 3 : 17

³ Rom. 7 : 7 sqq., 24.

⁴ Rom. 8 : 1 sqq. 1 Cor. 1 : 30.

⁵ Rom. 1 : 19. Acts 17 : 23, 28; and Rom. 2 : 14, 15.

⁶ Rom. 1 : 2. 3 : 21. Tit. 1 : 2. ■ Cor. 1 : 20.

Moses. Even his persecution of Christ, whom he took for a revolutionary opponent of the Old Testament religion, proceeded from this honest effort. But in *faith* in the very One he persecuted he found righteousness, and with it peace and salvation.¹ We must, therefore, examine more closely this important conception.

The notion of *righteousness* (*δικαιοσύνη*, רַחֲמִים) is borrowed from the Old Testament, where it denotes the ideal of the theocratic morality and religion, legal perfection, the proper, normal relation of man to a just and holy God. For this very reason it is inseparably connected with true life, with salvation, felicity, as its necessary consequence.² The rule and measure of this relation is the will or judgment of God expressed in the law. Hence righteousness, in the Jewish view, consists in the perfect fulfilling of the law (Rom. 2 : 13). The *just* man (*δικαιος*, צַדִּיק) is one, who in disposition and action is as he should be³ in the sight of God. On him rests the pleasure of the Lord. He has claim to all the blessings and privileges of the theocracy (Gal. 3 : 12) ; while the unrighteous man is under the curse of God, condemned, and miserable (Gal. 3 : 10).

The Saviour also, in his sermon on the mount, represents righteousness as the chief end of man : "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness" (Matt. 6* : 33). But he here distinguishes two kinds of righteousness : "Except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven" (Matt. 5 : 20). The Pharisaic righteousness stands in letter ; the Christian, in spirit. The one is self-righteousness ; the other,

¹ The Swiss divine, Usteri, to whom we owe the first organic development of Paul's doctrinal system, divides it altogether abstractly into two parts very unequal in compass : (1) the ante-Christian period (Heathenism and Judaism) ; (2) Christianity ;—without uniting the two by any intermediate conception. Neander makes the *δικαιοσύνη* this connecting link, and thus effects an advance in the whole view of Paul's system. *Apost. Gesch.* II. p. 656, where he says : "The ideas of νόμος and δικαιοσύνη connect, as well as divide, his earlier and later views." The idea of νόμος, however, seems to me to belong rather to the first main division, the ante-Christian, Jewish position.

² Comp. Lev. 18 : 5. Ja. 1 : 25. Rom. 4 : 4. 10 : 5. Gal. 3 : 12. Phil. 3 : 6.

³ This too is the original meaning of the German "gerecht" and the English "righteous," though they are now commonly made to refer, not to the moral and religious relation, but merely to the judicial or legal. The corresponding Greek word Aristotle (*Eth. Nic.* V. 2) derives from δίχα (*dis*), twofold, in two parts ; so that δικαιοσύνη would be the well-proportioned relation between two parts, where each has its due. It may then be applied as well to the relation of a man to God, as to his relation to other men, or even to both at once ; and with the Greeks *δικαιος* is frequently one, who fulfils his obligations to God and man. It was a Greek proverb : "In righteousness all virtue is contained ;" and Aristotle says, *Eth. Nic.* V. 3 : Πάντα τὰ νόμιμά ἐστί πως δίκαια . . . ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ συλλήβδην πᾶς ἀρετὴ ἐνι.

a gift of grace, given to those who are poor in spirit, who, with the publican, penitently smite upon their breasts, and under a sense of entire unworthiness put up the prayer: "God be merciful to me a sinner" (Lu. 18 : 13, 14).

It is precisely this distinction, which forms the basis of Paul's minute analysis of doctrine, and which separates the two great periods of his life. Before his conversion he was with the Jews in the view, that man can actually fulfill the divine law, and therefore attain in this way righteousness and salvation.¹ After his conversion he saw this to be absolutely impossible without faith in Christ and the renewal of the whole man. Now he learned, that all men, Jews as well as Gentiles, are by nature without righteousness, and can be made righteous and be saved only through the merits of Jesus Christ. If he had previously laid the chief stress on the law and on works, he now laid it all on free grace, and on living faith, which appropriates Christ and His atoning death. Hence he may justly be called the apostle of faith, or of the righteousness of faith.

Paul accordingly distinguishes two kinds of righteousness: (1) man's own righteousness,² or the righteousness of the law, also called righteousness of works,³ which man strives after, but in reality can never attain, by his natural power, and which is therefore altogether imaginary.⁴ The ground of this impossibility of a self-righteousness, which would stand before God and establish a claim to salvation, is not in the law—for this is good, holy, spiritual (Rom. 7 : 12, 14),—but in the corruption of man, in his carnal nature, which must be regenerated and renewed by the grace of God, before it can perform anything truly good. (2) The righteousness of God or from God, i. e. the righteousness which comes from God and is acceptable to him;⁵ or the righteousness of faith,⁶ i. e. the righteousness which springs from faith in Christ, as the only and all-sufficient Saviour; is vitally apprehended by faith, and is imputed and given to the believer by God, without merit, without the deeds of the law, in free grace.⁷ The righteousness of faith also, being of this character, necessarily excludes all boasting and yields the glory to God alone (Rom. 3 : 27).

¹ Acts 22 : 3. Gal. 1 : 13 sq. Phil. 3 : 4 sq.

² Ἰδία δικαιοσύνη, Rom. 10 : 3. Phil. 3 : 9.

³ Δικαιοσύνη ἐξ ἔργων νόμου, Rom. 3 : 2. 10 : 5. Gal. 2 : 21.

⁴ Rom. 3 : 20. Gal. 2 : 16, 21.

⁵ Δικαιοσύνη Θεοῦ, δικ. ἐκ Θεοῦ, Gal. 3 : 11. Rom. 1 : 17. 3 : 21, 22. 10 : 3. 2 Cor. 5 : 21. Phil. 3 : 9.

⁶ Δικαιοσύνη τῆς πίστεως, or ἐκ πίστεως, or διὰ πίστεως Χριστοῦ, Rom. 9 : 30. 10 : 6. 1 : 17. Gal. 5 : 5. Phil. 3 : 9.

⁷ Οἱ κ' ἐξ ἔργων νόμου, Gal. 2 : 16, comp Eph. 2 : 9 : ὥρ' ἐν, Rom 2 : 24; ἡ χάρις, ib. and Eph. 2 : 9; κατὰ χάριν, Rom. 4 : 4.

The divine act, by which man comes into possession of this righteousness, is denoted by the expressions : *justification, to justify, to count for righteousness*.¹ This Pauline doctrine of justification is evidently founded on the notion of a judicial process. The holy and just God is the judge ;² the law of God, the accuser ;³ the sinner or transgressor of the law, the accused ;⁴ conscience, the witness ;⁵ Christ the advocate and substitute for the accused ;⁶ the atoning death and the merits of Christ, the price of redemption ;⁷ faith, the instrument, the spiritual⁸ hand of the penitent sinner, by which these merits are appropriated.⁹ The justification itself is (1) negative, the judicial sentence of God, in which he pronounces the sinner, for the sake of Christ, free from the curse of the law, from the guilt and punishment of transgression ;—in other words, the forgiveness of sins, pardon ;⁹ (2) positive, the imputation and actual communication of the righteousness of Christ to the penitent, believing sinner.¹⁰ The communication on the part of God and appropriation on the part of man take place by means of faith, which is wrought by the Holy Ghost in the church through the word and the sacraments, and *is*, not indeed the objective ground, the efficient cause, yet the indispensable subjective condition and instrumental cause, of justification ; since,

¹ Δικαίωσις, λογισμὸς τῆς δικαιοσύνης, δικαιοῦν (דִּקְיָה), λογίζεσθαι εἰς δικαιοσύνην, Rom. 2 : 13. 5 : 18. 3 : 20. Gal. 3 : 11, etc. Δικαιοῦν properly means, according to its etymology, to *make* righteous, like the Latin (which, by the way, does not occur in the profane authors) *justificare*=*justum facere* (comp. *calefacere*, *trigefacere*, *vivificare*, etc.). For all Greek verbs in ὦν, derived from adjectives of the second declension, signify : to *make* a person or thing what the primitive denotes. Thus τυφλοῦν, δουλοῦν, ὀρθοῦν, βεβηλοῦν, δηλοῦν, φανεροῦν, τελειοῦν, κενοῦν, are equivalent to τυφλόν, δοῦλον, ὀρθόν, etc. ποιεῖν. Now this making righteous may be done primarily in the judicial sense : and then it will be the same as : to *pronounce* righteous, *justum declarare*, and as such *termini forenses* the Hebrew דִּקְיָה and the Greek δικαιοῦν, in the Hellenistic Biblical *usus loquendi*, frequently occur : e. g. Ex. 23 : 7. Deut. 25 : 1. 1 Ki. 8 : 32. Prov. 17 : 15. Ps. 143 : 2. 51 : 6. Ezek. 16 : 51. Is. 45 : 25. Lu. 7 : 29. Rom. 3 : 4. 1 Tim. 3 : 16. Matt. 11 : 19. Lu. 10 : 29. 16 : 12. Rom. 2 : 13. Matt. 12 : 37. 1 Cor. 4 : 4. But if we would not involve God in inconsistency and falsehood, we must carefully guard against the notion of an empty declaration, and must necessarily suppose, that the objective state of things corresponds to the judgment of God ; in other words, that God actually *makes* the penitent sinner righteous in imputing and imparting to him the righteousness of Christ, *renewing him*, by the Holy Ghost, and placing him by faith in holy vital communion with Christ.

² Rom. 3 : 20. Gal. 3 : 11. 1 Cor. 4 : 4. 2 Tim. 4 : 8.

³ Col. 2 : 14. Comp. Jno. 5 : 45.

⁴ Rom. 3 : 19.

⁵ Rom. 2 : 15

⁶ 1 Jno. 2 : 1. Comp. Heb. 7 : 25 sqq. 9 : 24.

⁷ Tit. 2 : 14. Comp. Matt. 20 : 28. Mk. 10 : 45.

⁸ Rom. 1 : 17. 3 : 21. Phil. 3 : 9.

⁹ Ἄφεσις τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν, τῶν παραπτωμάτων, Rom. 4 : 6, 7. Comp. Lu. 18 : 13, 14

¹⁰ Λογισμὸς τῆς δικαιοσύνης, Rom. 4 : 3, 6, 7, 11, 24. 9 : 30. Gal. 3 : 6.

renouncing all merit of its own, it lays vital hold on the grace of God and the merits of Christ, and receives them into itself. By faith the man is raised out of his sinful state, united with Christ, and wrought more and more into His holy being, so that the old man no longer lives, but Christ lives and moves in him.¹ Of course such a faith is absolutely inseparable from love and good works.² An antinomian disjunction of faith from its fruits, as also of justification from sanctification, is a radical and most dangerous abuse of Paul's doctrine, which he himself repelled with horror.³

In this comprehensive moral contrast between false self righteousness, which works death, and the true righteousness of God, which is life and salvation, Paul's whole system centres. It may, therefore, be best presented in two sections. The first or negative part treats of the want of righteousness, or the condition of man before and out of Christ. This is the reign of the first, natural, earthly Adam, or the reign of sin and death, appearing partly in unguided Heathenism, partly in the disciplinary institution of legal Judaism; though in the latter case connected with divine promises and significant types and anticipations of the future. The larger, positive section has to do with the Gospel, the absolute religion of liberty and divine sonship, — setting forth the true righteousness as offered in Christ and appropriated by faith. This is the reign of the second, spiritual, heavenly Adam, or of grace and life.⁴

This plan is not one arbitrarily forced upon the doctrinal system of the Gentile apostle, but lies clear enough on its surface in his most methodical and systematic epistle, that to the Romans. Here, after the introduction, he first states the essence of Christianity by saying, that "it is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth; to the Jew first, and also to the Greek. For therein is the righteousness of God revealed from faith to faith: as it is written, The just shall live by faith" (Rom. 1 : 16, 17). This is the theme, the leading thought of the epistle. In unfolding this the apostle first proves, that all men, not only the Gentiles (1 : 19–32), but also the Jews (2 : 1–3 : 20), are by nature destitute of righteousness, and therefore of salvation and life, and are sinners, worthy of condemnation. Then from c. 3 : 21 onward he shows, that Christ has fulfilled righteousness and procured life and salvation; that these are imparted to us through firm, living faith; that this faith

¹ Gal. 2 : 20. Comp. 1 Cor. 6 : 15, 17. 2 Cor. 3 : 18. Eph. 3 : 17. 5 : 30. Col 3 : 3, 4.

² Comp. Gal. 5 : 6. Rom. 6 : 1 sqq.

³ Rom. 3 : 8. 6 : 1, 2. Comp. 2 Pet. 3 : 16.

⁴ Comp. Rom. 5 : 12 sqq. 1 Cor. 15 : 45 sqq.

gives the most troubled conscience peace, and must necessarily reveal it self in a holy devoted walk of love and gratitude for the grace received.

What the apostle of the Gentiles says of himself with primary reference no doubt to the missionary work: "I labored more abundantly than they all: yet not I, but the grace of God which was with me" (1 Cor. 15: 10), is true also in regard to the investigation and development of the Christian doctrine of faith and morals. No other apostle has given us so profound and complete an exhibition of the doctrines of sin and grace, of the law and the Gospel, of the eternal conception and the temporal unfolding of the plan of redemption, of the person and work of the Redeemer, of justifying faith and Christian life, of the Holy Ghost, of the church and the means of grace, of the resurrection and the consummation of salvation. In the small compass of his thirteen epistles Paul has crowded together more genuine spirit, profound thought and true wisdom, than are to be found in the whole mass of the classical or even of the post-apostolical Christian literature. He, who does not see in this an overwhelming proof of the divinity and incomparable glory of Christianity, must have either his heart or his head in the wrong place. Already have eighteen centuries been industriously laboring to expound, digest, and apply in sermons, commentaries and numberless other works, the dogmatic and ethical contents of Paul's system of doctrine, and still it is not exhausted. Where is there a human production in any department of literature, from any age or nation, which has so stirred, fertilized, enlightened, and enlivened human minds, and on which it has been so profitable to think, to speak, to preach, and to write, as, for example, the single epistle to the Romans?

§ 163. *The Writings of Luke and the Epistle to the Hebrews.*

Those of the other books of the New Testament, which are allied to the Pauline type of doctrine, are the third Gospel, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistle to the Hebrews.

That *Luke* wrote under the influence of Paul, whom he followed as a faithful disciple and fellow-laborer, has long been acknowledged,² and has already been remarked in a former part of this work.³ This influence is not to be conceived as in any way affecting the fair representation of the historical facts. The very appearance, the evident fidelity and ok.

¹ Comp. § 80 above. We now have several detailed exhibitions of Paul's system of doctrine, of various character and value, by Usteri, Dähne, Neander (in the second volume of his *Geschichte der Pflanzung*, etc. p. 654-839) and Baur (in his work on Paul. p. 505-670).

² Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen, Eusebius, Chrysostom, and other fathers, were of this opinion. See the passages in Credner's *Einleitung in's N. T.* Part I. § 60 and 61.

³ Comp. above § 147 and 149.

jectivity, of the books in question, as well as their many Jewish-Christian elements, contradict such a supposition. Paul's influence is to be seen in the general object of the books, and in their author's selection of several traits and incidents not given in the first two Gospels, best suiting the free evangelical and universal views of the Gentile apostle, and forming the historical basis for his system of doctrine. Among these Pauline features are the carrying of the genealogy of Jesus back to Adam, the common progenitor of all men, nay, in fact to God, the original ground of all being (Lu. 3 : 38), while Matthew traces it simply to Abraham, the patriarch of the Jews ;¹ the respectful mention of the Samaritans, who were so abhorred by the Jews (9 : 52. 10 : 30 sqq. 17 : 11 sqq.) ; the account of the mission of the seventy disciples (10 : 1-24), who evidently bore the same relation to the heathen world as the twelve disciples to the twelve tribes of Israel ;² the parable of the prodigal son, who, in his vagrancy, misery, penitence, and return to his father's house, presents a most graphic picture of Heathenism in contrast with Judaism represented by the elder brother (15 : 11-32) ; the parable of the Pharisee and publican, which so unequivocally sets forth Paul's doctrine of justification in opposition to Pharisaical self-righteousness (18 : 9-14 ; comp. also 17 : 10) ; Luke's predilection, in general, for depicting the condescending mercy of the Saviour towards gross, but penitent and anxious sinners (7 : 36-50. 19 : 2-10. 23 : 40-43) ; finally, the close agreement between Luke's account of the institution of the Lord's supper (22 : 19-20) and the statement of Paul (1 Cor 11 : 23-25).

Over the origin and author of the anonymous *epistle to the Hebrews* there hangs a mysterious veil. The book might be compared to the Melchisedec of the profound allegory in its seventh chapter. For, like this personage, it bears itself with priestly and kingly dignity and majesty, but is "without father, without mother, without descent, having neither beginning of days, nor end of life." Properly and strictly the production of Paul, as the ancient Greek church generally considered it, it can hardly be. Against such a view of it are, the absence of the superscription or address, which is lacking in no other epistle of Paul ; the passage, c. 2 : 3, which betrays the hand of a *disciple* of the apostles ; the highly rhetorical and purely Grecian style, the

¹ On which Luther makes the striking remark (in his Notes on Matt. 1. *Werke*, VII. 16) : " Luke, however, goes further and seeks, as it were, to make Christ common to all nations, wherefore he traces His pedigree up to Adam," etc. So already Chrysostom ; see Credner, l. c. p. 143.

² Schwegler, *Das nachapost. Zeitalter* II. p. 46 : " The twelve are the missionaries of the Messiah to his own people : the seventy, of the Redeemer of the world to all nations."

rhythmical, melodious flow of the language; the close adherence to the Greek translation of the Old Testament, without any corrective reference to the original Hebrew, to which Paul so often pays regard; the place of the book in the canon, after the Pastoral Epistles; and finally, the tradition of the Roman and Latin church, which, according to the express testimony of Jerome, regarded it for a long time, until the council of Hippo (A.D. 393), as not the work of Paul; and the opinion of the learned Alexandrian fathers, who ascribed the substance of the epistle to Paul, but the editing of it, or its translation from the supposed Hebrew original, to one of his disciples, generally Luke or Clement of Rome.¹

On the other hand, however, this epistle bears so striking an affinity to Paul's system of doctrine, and is so uncommonly profound and rich, that one can scarcely help attributing to the apostle of the Gentiles at least a partial or indirect influence on its composition. This most naturally accounts for and reconciles the contradiction in the old church tradition, though, of course, in the absence of definite internal and reliable external evidence, the degree and mode of this influence cannot be accurately determined. If now we attempt to select from among the disciples of Paul the one, who may be regarded with the greatest probability as the immediate author, or at least editor or translator of this Pauline and yet non-Pauline epistle, the choice seems to us to lie only between Luke and Barnabas. But in the case of each of these so much can be said on both sides, that it is extremely difficult, if not absolutely impossible, to decide.² At all events, thus much is settled, that the epis-

¹ On this whole matter we refer particularly to the uncommonly thorough investigations of Bleek in the first part of his *Commentar zum Hebräerbrief*, ch. 4. p. 82-430; to the introduction of Tholuck's Commentary (§ 1-4 of the 2nd ed.); and to the able treatise of Wieseler in the Appendix to his *Chronologie der Apostelgeschichte*, p. 479-520, with whom, however, we cannot agree at all in supposing the readers of the epistle to have been *Alexandrian Jews*. It was no doubt mainly addressed to the Jewish-Christians in Palestine, as the very name Hebrews indicates. Even the modern scholars, who advocate the Pauline origin of the epistle, cannot deny the differences above glanced at, and find it necessary, therefore, somehow to modify their view. Thus Hug, in the 3rd edition of his *Einf. in's N. T.* II. p. 492, ascribes at least the *verbal* form to Luke; Thiersch regards the epistle as the joint production of Paul and Barnabas (*De epist. ad Hebræos commentatio historica*, Marburgi, 1848). Delitzsch (in Rudelbach and Guericke's "*Zeitschrift*," 1849, No. 2; translated in the "*Evang. Review*," Oct. 1850, p. 184 sqq.) supposes that Paul furnished the main ideas, and Luke wrought them up independently, yet so that Paul could acknowledge it as his own work. Similar is the view of Ebrard in his *Commentar über den Hebräerbrief* (1850), p. 458 sqq.

² Twisten, Ullmann, and especially Wieseler, l. c. p. 504 sqq., following Tertullian, decide for Barnabas. But then we shall unavoidably have to deny to him the so-called Epistle of Barnabas, which falls far below that to the Hebrews. Nor does this hypo-

tle originated from the school of Paul, is full of its grand ideas, sprang from the living fountain of primitive apostolical Christianity, and, as it takes for granted the continued existence of the temple worship (9 : 6-9), was written before the destruction of Jerusalem—we suppose in Italy, A. D. 63, during the imprisonment of Paul in Rome.

The Pauline stamp of the epistle to the Hebrews is clearly discernible in its whole matter and design. The design of the book is to demonstrate the infinite exaltation of Christ above Moses, Aaron, and all angels, as well as the superiority of the new covenant established by Him over the old, and thus to warn the Palestinian Christians, to whom it is addressed, of the danger, in their depressed situation, of relapse into Judaism (comp. 6 : 4 sqq. 10 : 26 sqq.), and to incite them to perseverance. The arguments, however, are mostly drawn from the Old Testament itself, which is to the writer a significant symbol and shadow of good things to come,¹ prefiguring in all its wonderful institutions the higher glory of Christianity, but at the same time predicting its own dissolution as soon as the antetype and substance should be revealed. True, the epistle implies throughout the existence still of the Jewish economy and the Levitical cultus, but represents them as superannuated and in process of decay,² and points to the impending judgment which a few years afterwards destroyed the holy city and the temple. These exceedingly interesting dogmatic expositions are interwoven with the most precious consolations in view of the heavy persecutions from the

thesis agree well with the statement in Acts 14 : 12, according to which Barnabas was inferior to Paul in oratorical power, while the author of the epistle to the Hebrews excels the apostle in the use of language. In favor of Luke's being the author (but with the coöperation of Paul), we have after all the most; viz., his constant intimate relation to Paul; the similarity of style (comp., for example, Lu. 1 : 1-4 with Heb. 1 : 1-3); and tradition—Clement of Alexandria, in the second century, in his Hypotyposes (in Eus. *H. E.* VI. 14), making Paul, indeed, the author of the supposed Hebrew original, but Luke the Greek translator, and thus accounting for the resemblance of style between the Acts and the epistle to the Hebrews. As, however, no trace is to be found of a Hebrew original, we may better conclude, with Origen (in Euseb. VI. 25), that Paul simply furnished the ideas (*νοήματα*) and left the writing them out (*φράσεις καὶ σύνθεσις*) to one of his disciples. As to the other hypotheses, the Roman Clement cannot in any case have been the author; for his epistle to the Corinthians copies whole passages from Hebrews, and bears no comparison with it in genius or copiousness of thought. Eminent scholars, as Bleek, Tholuck, and Credner, have decided for Apollos. But this view, first thrown out as a clever idea by Luther, has not the slightest support from tradition. Nor can anything be said for Apollos, that may not just as well be said for Barnabas or Luke, who, besides, are both more prominent in the New Testament, and more nearly related to Paul.

¹ Σκιὰ τῶν μελλόντων ἀγαθῶν, 10 : 1; ὑπόδειγμα καὶ σκιὰ τῶν ἐπουρανίων, 8 : 5 ἐντίτυπα τῶν ἀληθινῶν, 9 : 24; παραβολὴ εἰς τὸν καιρὸν τὸν ἐνεστηκότα, 9 : 9.

² Ὡς αὐτὸς παλαιούμενον καὶ γηράσκον ἐγγὺς ἀφανισμοῦ, 8 : 13.

unbelieving Jews, and with the most earnest and impressive exhortations to steadfastness in the Christian faith. For the more valuable the blessings of the New Covenant in comparison with the Old, the greater are its obligations also, and the heavier the condemnation for ungratefully rejecting it. Like Paul, this "great unknown," in regard to subjective Christianity, lays the chief stress on *faith*; but sets this forth not so much in opposition to the Jewish legal righteousness, as in its prospective reference, as laying hold on the future and invisible, and thus intimately connected with hope and perseverance under suffering. This is observable particularly in the masterly sketches of the Old Testament heroes in faith, those most sacred representatives of the ante-Christian religion, c. 11. The author here selects such examples as were exactly suited to the then depressed condition of the believing Hebrews, and must, therefore, have appealed to their hearts and consciences with more than ordinary power. There is another difference. While Paul has his eye chiefly upon the relation of the gospel to the law, the epistle to the Hebrews has reference more to the system of *worship*, and gives us an exceedingly profound analysis of the typical import of the Old Testament sacrificial cultus, and of the priestly office of Christ in its twofold aspect of a sacrifice once offered on the cross and eternally availing, and a perpetual intercession for believers in the heavenly sanctuary (c. 5-10).

The predominance of the Christological element makes this hortatory and consolatory treatise, in connection with the later epistles of Paul, a stepping stone to the Johannean system of doctrine. From the glowing picture of the exaltation and majesty of Christ, rising far above the Jewish idea of the Messiah, forming the introduction and as it were the theme of the epistle (Heb. 1 : 1-4, comp. Col. 1 : 15-20), it is but a single step to the prologue of the fourth Gospel.

§ 164. (3) *The Ideal Type of Doctrine in John.* (Comp. § 99-108, 148, and 151.)

John was the beloved disciple and bosom friend of the Lord. Reposing on the breast of the God-man, he became himself, as it were, a second Jesus, so far as is possible for a mortal. He was the tender, susceptible, reflecting, contemplative apostle of love. He accompanied the apostolic Christianity from its cradle through all the stages of its history, first laboring among the Jews, then entering into Paul's labors among the Greeks, surviving all the apostles, and writing last of all. In John, therefore, we should naturally expect the most profound and ideal conception of Christianity. In fact, his writings exhibit the ripe fruit of the whole preceding development of the apostolic theology, and the final resolution of the great antagonism of Jewish and Gentile Christianity

He penetrated into the heart of Christ ; and he has revealed the deepest mysteries of eternal love. The doctrinal system of this prophet of the New Testament anticipates the consummation of the kingdom of God, whose struggles and triumphs, down to the new heavens and the new earth, his eagle eye was enabled to behold from that lone island rock between Asia and Europe. Hence his frequent reference to victories and the overcoming of all ungodly powers.¹ Hence also that mysterious and unspeakably attractive air of love, of harmony, of perfection, of the eternal, sabbath-like repose of the saints, which pervades his Gospels, his Epistles, and the anthems of his Revelation.

John had not to pass, like Paul, through mighty inward revolutions and struggles of conscience. His religious experience and views unfolded themselves quietly in personal intercourse with the Redeemer, under the mild rays of the humble glory of the God-man. Hence with him all radiates from the adoring contemplation of the Saviour, and his whole system of faith and morals is from beginning to end *Christological*, in distinction from the predominantly anthropological view of James and Paul, which begins with human need, or the conception of law and righteousness.

In this respect he coincides with Peter. But while the latter dwells mainly upon the historical appearance of the Lord, his connection with the Jewish nation and the Old Testament economy, his official Messianic character, and makes these the great theme of his preaching ; John, on the contrary, fixes his eye upon the *person* of Christ, and goes back to his *eternal Godhead*, which forms, as it were, the primal essence of all revelation in history. He opens both his Gospel and his first epistle, as is well known, with the personal Word, who was in the beginning, that is from eternity, with God, who is in fact the revealed God himself and at the same time the principle and medium of all outward revelation, the fountain of all light and life in the physical and moral universe.² Then, in a kind of metaphysical genealogy, he comes down through the preparatory stages of revelation in humanity in general and in Judaism in particular to the incarnation, which completes God's self-communication for the salvation of men. This historical manifestation of the incarnate Logos he then accompanies through His life of conflict and suffering to His glorification with the glory, which, as God, He had with the Father before the world was, and of which he now takes possession as God-man (comp. Jno. 17 : 5). John's point of departure, therefore,

¹ Jno. 16 : 33. 1 Jno. 2 : 13. 5 : 4, 5. Comp. the seven apocalyptic epistles where "he that overcometh" occurs seven times, and Rev. 12 : 11. 21 : 7. The word "new," too, is a favorite term with John : new name, new song, new heaven new earth, new Jerusalem, all things new, comp. Rev. 2 : 17. 3 : 12. 14 : 3. 21 : 2

² Comp. with this the similar description of Christ in the beginning of the Apocalypse, 1 : 5-8.

is not the relative, temporal, and human, but the absolute, the eternal, the divine; conceived by no means, however, in any abstract sense, as isolated from life, but in indissoluble connection with the historical personality of Jesus Christ, in which the eternal fullness of the Godhead has manifested itself as an objective reality, and from which, as the central sun of the world's history, light and warmth are diffused in every direction. He, who has not the Son, has not the Father; but he, who has the Son, has with and in the Son the Father also; and in the believing knowledge of the Son, in the communion of the whole undivided man with Him, consists eternal life.¹

According to John, therefore, the fundamental idea of objective Christianity is *the perfect self-manifestation of the Father in the Son, or the incarnation of the eternal Word for the life of the world*. He expresses this most briefly in the comprehensive sentence: "The Word was made flesh and dwelt among us" (Jno. 1:14). "Word," in the prologue of the Gospel, as also in 1 Jno. 1:2 and Rev. 19:13, is evidently to be taken in the hypostatic sense, as denoting the divine nature of Christ in its relation to God the Father.* For as word is the necessary and most appropriate form and revelation of thought, as well as the best medium of communication between mind and mind (so that thinking might be called an inward speaking, and speaking an outward thinking); so Christ is the revealed outspoken God, in whom the essence of God himself in its own nature hidden, recognizes itself, and through whom it communicates itself outwardly, so that all revelations, even the creation and preservation of the world, are mediated through Christ.³ His Word, which is itself of divine essence, yet distinct from the Father as a separate divine hypostasis, in the fullness of time "was made flesh," that is, took upon himself the entire human nature, body, soul,

¹ 1 Jno. 5:10-13, 20. Comp. Jno. 17:3. 20:31.

* The Greek λόγος, it is well known, means reason as much as word, ratio as well as oratio, which are both in fact closely connected; but it must here be taken in the latter sense. We cannot at all agree with those, who derive this expression, or even the ideas of John's prologue, from Philo; if for no other reason, because not the least connection can be shown between John and the Greek-Jewish theology of Alexandria. John's doctrine of the Logos was amply suggested by the Old Testament distinction of a hidden and revealed God (Ex. 33:20, 23); by the *theologumenon* concerning the divine Wisdom (Job 28:12 sqq. Prov. c. 8 and 9. Sirach c. 1 and 24 Wisdom 6:22-c. 9); especially by the doctrine of the *word* of God (יְהוָה דְּבַר, by the LXX. commonly translated βῆμα, but twice λόγος Κυρίου, Ps. 33:6. 107:20 comp. Sirach 43:26), which makes its appearance even in the beginning of Genesis as the medium of the creation and of all the revelations, promises, and commands of God; and finally, by the many expressions of Jesus respecting his pre-existence and his divine nature (Matt. 11:27. Jno. 3:31. 8:58. 17:5, etc.).

³ Jno. 1:3. Comp. Col. 1:16. 1 Cor. 8:6. Heb. 1:2.

and spirit, in its fallen state, yet without sin,¹ to redeem it and reconcile it for ever with God. This Word also “dwelt,” or literally “pitched his tent, tabernacled, among us ;” in which expression John probably alludes to the Old Testament Shkkinah (comp. ἐσκήνωσεν), the abiding of the glory of God over the ark of the covenant in the tabernacle, a faint type of the eternal abode of the Only Begotten in the tabernacle of human nature, full of glory, grace, and truth. This central idea of the incarnation is with John, of course, not simply a speculative truth, but of the deepest practical import. He looks upon the sending of the Son into the world as at the same time the highest act of *love*, or of God’s free impartation of himself to the reasonable, susceptible creature. He has expressed the inmost nature of God in the words : “God is love” (1 Jno. 4 : 8, 16), immediately adding : “In this was manifested the love of God toward us, because that God sent his only begotten Son into the world, that we might live through Him.”

In accordance with this view, subjective Christianity consists in the *vital union of the believer with God in Christ*, or the thankful reciprocal *love* of the redeemed towards the Redeemer. This is stated in the form of an exhortation to a moral duty : “Let us love him, because he hath first loved us” (1 Jno. 4 : 19). This forms the highest expression, not only of individual piety, but also of social religion ; the inmost and permanent essence of the church, which is seldom mentioned by name in John (3 Jno. 6, 9, 10), but in substance very frequently appears as an organic communion of life and love between the redeemed and the Redeemer and of the saints with one another,—as a *communio sanctorum*, therefore, grounded in the *unio mystica*, which last is rooted, again, in the objective love of God towards us. “If God so loved us, we ought also to love one another” (1 Jno. 4 : 11).²

It is easy to see, that with this apostle all centres ultimately in *love*. This is the life-blood of his system of faith and morals, and it entered his own soul from the bosom of the Redeemer himself. In fact that holy name most aptly describes the heart of God, and reveals the deepest meaning of all His works and ways. The creation is the act of love, laying the foundation for its future manifestations. The law and promise are the revelation of a love, which would draw men to Christ. The incarnation is the personal manifestation of redeeming love in intimate, in-

¹ To precisely the same purport is the expression of Paul, Rom. 8 : 3, that God sent his Son “in the likeness of sinful flesh,” ἐν ὁμοιώματι σαρκὸς ἁμαρτίας. Comp. Heb. 2 : 17, 18. 5 : 15.

² The Johannean system of doctrine has been treated more at large, though by no means to exhaustion and full satisfaction, by Neander (*Apost. Gesch.* II. p. 874-914) Frommann (*Der johanneische Lehrbegriff*, Leipzig. 1839), and Kästlin, of Baur’s school (*Der Lehrbegriff des Evang. und der Briefe Joh.* Berlin, 1843).

dissoluble union with our nature. So, on our part, love to God and man is the sum of all duty and virtue. Does it not lie at the bottom of all the apostles' exhortations? Is it not the mysterious bond by which the representatives of apostolical Christianity, in spite of all their diversity of talent, education, and mode of thought, are bound in inseparable unity? James, indeed, makes Christianity chiefly law and obedience; but he makes love the queen of the law. Peter, the apostle of promise and hope, is most beautiful and lovely in his enthusiastic devotion to Christ and His flock. Paul, the apostle of righteousness and faith, still calls love the bond of perfectness, the most precious of all spiritual gifts, the greatest in that triplet of cardinal Christian virtues; because, being the highest form of union with the Godhead, it never ceases; while tongues and prophecy fail, faith is exchanged for sight, and hope for fruition. In John, the apostle of incarnation and love, this virtue meets us in the deepest and tenderest form;—as in his life, from the time he first lay on Jesus' bosom to that last touching exhortation to his little children in his extreme old age,—so also in his writings, the whole design of which is to lift the veil from the mystery of eternal love, and draw all his susceptible readers into the same holy and happy fellowship of life with the divine Redeemer.

John's theology is by no means so complete, or developed with such logical precision and argumentative ability as that of Paul. It is sketched from immediate intuition, in extremely simple, artless, childlike form, in grand outlines, in few but colossal ideas and antitheses, such as light and darkness, truth and falsehood, spirit and flesh, love and hatred, life and death, Christ and Antichrist, children of God and children of the world. But John usually leaves us to imagine far more than his words directly express—an infinity lying behind, which we can better apprehend by faith, than grasp and fully measure with the understanding. And especially does he connect everything with that idea of a 'theanthropic Redeemer, which had become part and parcel of his own soul; nor can he strongly and frequently enough assert the reality and glory of that, which was to him, of all facts and experiences, the surest, the holiest, and the dearest.¹ But with regard to its principle and the point of view from which it is constructed, the doctrinal system of John is the highest and most ideal of all, the one towards which the others lead and in which they merge. It wonderfully combines mystic knowledge and love, contemplation and adoration, the profound wisdom and childlike simplicity, and is an anticipation, as it were, of that vision face to face, into which according to Paul (1 Cor. 13 : 12, comp. 2 Cor. 5 : 7) our fragmentary knowledge, and faith itself, will finally pass.

¹ Comp. the excellent remarks of Neander in his practical Commentary on the first epistle of John (1851), p. 27.

CHAPTER III.

HERETICAL TENDENCIES

§ 165. *Idea and Import of Heresy.*

THE apostolic period displays not only an unusual degree of spiritual enlightenment and knowledge, which makes it the rule and measure of the whole succeeding theological development of the church, but also extraordinary energy on the part of the spirit of error and the mystery of iniquity. It exhibits a series of dangerous aberrations in theory and practice, which, though in very different forms, at all times threaten the church. So were even the divinely wrought miracles of Moses met by the juggleries of the Egyptian magicians. So in the gospel narratives there appear a great number of demoniacal possessions; nay, all the powers of darkness were leagued against Him, who had come to destroy the works of the devil. One side of an antagonism always calls out the other. Wherever the seed of the gospel springs up, the evil one sows tares, and "where God builds a church, Satan builds a chapel by its side." The more mightily the spirit of truth rises, the busier is the spirit of falsehood to contest the ground. Says our Lord: "It *must needs be* that offenses come; but woe to that man by whom the offense cometh" (Matt. 18: 7, comp. Lu. 17: 1). So Paul, much as he laments the divisions in the church, regards their rise as unavoidable, "that they which are approved may be made manifest" (1 Cor. 11: 19). Of course this necessity is not absolute; for then all distinction between good and evil, truth and falsehood, would at last vanish. It is a relative necessity, founded in the present condition of humanity since the fall. Being what it is, humanity can develop itself only through conflict. As holiness and the knowledge of truth gradually increase, sin and error also assume more and more dangerous and hateful forms; each successive manifestation being both the fruit and the punishment—as in the case of the opposite process it is the reward—of the preceding

Sin and error generally go together, though in particular cases there are errors not immediately the result of sin, just as there are innocent sufferings and undeserved misfortunes. Error is theoretical sin ; sin is practical error. The perversity of the heart is followed by the darkening of the understanding, and vice versa.

The term *heresy* signifies primarily choice, then party, sect. It is commonly used in the bad sense, implying willfulness on the side of the individual, a spirit of arrogant innovation and party zeal in deviating from public opinion and historical tradition. Ecclesiastical usage has gradually limited it to the sphere of theory, to doctrine, so that heresy has come to mean a willful corruption of the truth, an erroneous view either of Christianity as a whole or of a single dogma.¹ Near akin to it is the idea of *schism* or church division, which, however, primarily means a separation from the government and discipline of the church, and does not necessarily include departure from her orthodoxy, though, at least when pursued very far, it easily leads to this.² Of course in different branches of the church, especially in her present distracted condition, there are different views of heresy and truth, heterodoxy and orthodoxy, and likewise of schism and sect. Much that Roman Catholics, for example, hold to be orthodox, Protestants reject as heterodox ;

¹ In the N. T. the term heresy, *αἵρεσις*, frequently occurs and in various connections, but almost always involving some bad sense. It is used, (1) of the religious parties among the Jews, as the Sadducees (Acts 5 : 17), the Pharisees (15 : 5. 26 : 5). (2) Of the Christians in general, who were for a long time called by the Jews in contempt "the sect of the Nazarenes," ἡ τῶν Ναζωραίων αἵρεσις (Acts 24 : 5, 14. 28 : 22). (3) Of parties within the Christian church (1 Cor. 11 : 19 : δεῖ γὰρ καὶ αἱρέσεις ἐν ὑμῖν εἶναι. Gal. 5 : 20). In the same sense Paul several times uses the term *σχίσματα*, divisions (1 Cor. 1 : 10. 11 : 18. 12 : 25). (4) Of heresies proper, or errors, that is, willful perversions of Christian truth (2 Pet. 2 : 1 : ψευδοδιδασκαλοὶ, οἵτινες παρεξέουσιν αἱρέσεις ἀπωλείας. Comp. Tit. 3 : 10. where αἱρετικὸς ἄνθρωπος denotes a heretic, who either founds a new sect under the Christian name, or belongs to one). There is the same reference to heretical demonstrations in the expressions *γνώσις ψευδώνυμος*, 1 Tim. 6 : 20 (in antithesis with *διδασκαλία ὑγιαίνουσα*, 1 Tim. 1 : 10. 6 : 3. 2 Tim. 1 : 13. 4 : 3. Tit 1 : 9. 2 : 1, also called ἡ κατ' εὐσέβειαν διδασκαλία, 1 Tim. 6 : 3); *ψευδαπόστολοι*, 2 Cor. 11 : 13; *ψευδοδιδασκαλοὶ*, 2 Pet. 2 : 1; and *ἐτεροδιδασκαλεῖν*, 1 Tim. 1 : 3. 6 : 3.

² Thus the Ebionites, Gnostics, and Arians were heretics ; the Montanists, Novatians, and Donatists, schismatics. By the standard of the Roman church, the Greek church is only schismatic, the Protestant both heretical and schismatic. With us Protestants schism has in a great measure lost its meaning, especially in this country, where sectarianism is so fully developed. Many consider it no sin whatever, to create division and to start a new church on the most trifling considerations. Yet schism is as certainly a sin, as the "keeping the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace," so solemnly enjoined by the apostle (Eph. 1 : 3), is a sacred duty of the followers of Christ, who wishes them all to be one, even as He is with the Father (John 17 : 21).

and vice versa. Yet there are certain radical perversions of the Christian faith, certain fundamental heresies, which have been always condemned by the church; and here belong particularly those leading heresies of antiquity, Ebionism and Gnosticism, whose precursors are combated even in the New Testament.

Heresies, like sin, all spring from the natural man; but they first make their appearance in opposition to the revealed truth, and thus presuppose its existence, as the fall of Adam implies a previous state of innocence. There are religious errors, indeed, to any extent out of Christianity, but no heresies in the theological sense. These errors become heresies only when they come into contact, at least outwardly, with revealed truth and with the life of the church. They consist essentially in the conscious or unconscious reaction of unsubdued Judaism or Heathenism against the new creation of the gospel. Heresy is the distortion or caricature of the original Christian truth.¹ But as God in his wonderful wisdom can bring good out of all evil, and has more than compensated for the loss of the first Adam by the resurrection of the second; so must all heresies in the end only condemn themselves and serve the more fully to establish the truth. The New Testament Scriptures themselves are in a great measure the result of a firm resistance to the distortions and corruptions, to which the Christian religion was exposed from the first. Nay, we may say, that every dogma of the church, every doctrine fixed by her symbols, is a victory over a corresponding error, and in a certain sense owes to the error, not indeed its substance, which comes from God, but assuredly its logical completeness and scientific form.²

¹ This view, that truth is always older than the corresponding heresy, is grounded in the nature of the case (the original always going before the adulteration or caricature), and was clearly brought out already by Tertullian in many passages. Thus he says, *De præscr. hæres.* c. 29: "Sed enim in omnibus veritas imaginem antecedit, post rem similitudo succedit." According to the reverse, pantheistic view of history taken by the modern Tübingen school of Baur, Strauss, Schwegeler, Zeller, etc., orthodoxy, on the contrary, proceeds from heresy, truth from falsehood, and good from evil. The most consistent development of this principle is the ingenious theological romance of Dr. Schwegeler, entitled: "Das nachapostolische Zeitalter," which would make the Christianity of the church a product of Ebionism in its conflict with Gnosticism. This same philosophy of history—pardon the allusion!—Göthe puts very properly into the mouth of Mephistopheles, who thus characterizes himself:

"Ich bin ein Theil des Theils, der Anfangs Alles war,
Ein Theil der Finsterniss, die sich das Licht gebär,
Das stolze Licht, das nun der Mutter Nacht
Den alten Rang, den Raum ihr streitig macht."

² So to the Rationalists and the above-named Hegelian Gnostics we cannot deny the merit of having involuntarily done essential service to the believing theology of the present, as their forerunners in the early church did to the patristic literature.

Heresies, therefore, belong to the process, by which the Christian truth, received in simple faith, becomes clearly defined as an object of knowledge. They are the negative occasions, the challenges, for the church to defend her views of truth, and to set them forth in complete, scientific form.

§ 166. *Classification and General Character of the Heresies.*

The proper division of the heresies of the first period is suggested by our classification of the doctrinal systems of the apostles; for the former precisely correspond to the latter, as their respective excesses and caricatures. As the church fell into the two sections of Jewish and Gentile Christianity, different indeed, but consistent, bound together in love, and each the complement of the other; and as these after the destruction of Jerusalem grew together in a higher, organic unity, represented by John;¹ so we shall have, in the first place, to distinguish two leading heretical tendencies, of which the first proceeded from Judaism, the second from Heathenism, so adulterating the Gospel with one or the other of these two old systems of religion, that, though Christian in form and name, they were in fact Jewish or heathen. The first tendency is the heretical or ultra- and pseudo-Jacobite and pseudo-Petrine Jewish Christianity, or the *Judaizing*² and *legalistic* tendency, which in the second century separated completely from the catholic church under the name of Ebionism. The second is the heretical or ultra- and pseudo-Pauline Gentile Christianity, containing the germs of *Gnosticism* and *Antinomianism*, which in the latter part of the apostolic period were already very powerfully and dangerously at work, although they did not appear in fully developed form till the time of Adrian. Then they came out in a succession of schools and systems widely differing again among themselves, according to the nature and extent of the heathen element and its relation to the two other religions. As, however, there arose combinations of Jewish and pagan ideas, particularly in the sect of the Essenes and the Judæo-Platonic philosophy of Philo,³ so might these two opposite systems coalesce in some confused way under the Christian name and Christian forms of expression. This syncretistic heresy, which forms in some sense the satanic caricature of the true reconciliation of Jewish

¹ Comp. above, § 156.

² The expressions *Judaistic* and *Judaizing*, are not to be confounded, therefore, with *Jewish-Christian*. The latter primarily denotes simply national origin and character, and refers to Judaism in its purity, as a divine revelation leading to Christ. The others always include the idea of an impure combination of the human and degenerate Jewish principle with the Christian. Comp. also Schliemann: *Die Clementinen*, etc., p. 371 sq. Note.

³ Comp. above, § 50 and 51.

and Gentile Christianity in John's doctrinal system, may be called, according as one or the other element predominates, Gnosticizing Judaism or Judaizing Gnosticism. The Gnostic appearances in the New Testament are mostly of this mixed sort.

In the time of Paul controversy turned chiefly on the relation between the law and the Gospel. Here men might err in two directions. The Gospel might either be made a new law of bondage or abused to the indulgence of the flesh. The first error was Pharisaical, the second pagan. Between legalism and antinomianism lies the ascetic contempt of the body, seen in the Colossian errorists. But the question of the import of the law necessarily involved the other: "What think ye of Christ?" In process of time the conflict between Christian truth and antichristian falsehood came more and more to centre in Christology and reached its height in the age of St. John. This apostle strikes the deepest root of the heresy, when he gives as its distinctive mark the denial of the appearance of the Son of God in the flesh, or of the absolute reconciliation of the divine and human in Christ, and hence calls it "*antichrist*" (1 Jno 2 : 22. 4 : 1-3. 2 Jno. 7). He here has primarily in his eye, no doubt, the Gnostic view of the person of Christ, which denied directly or indirectly the reality of the Lord's human nature, and became very prevalent even during the life-time of the apostle. But the same criterion may be applied also to the other heresies. The mystery of the incarnation may be annulled in three ways: (1) by denying the *divine* nature of Jesus Christ, (2) by denying his *human* nature, (3) by holding a merely *transient* union of a common Jew, Jesus, with the heavenly Messiah (in the baptism in Jordan) and a subsequent separation of the two (at the beginning of the passion). In the first case the heresy is Ebionism; in the second, proper Docetism and heathen Gnosticism; in the third, which unites the errors of the other two, we have what is supposed to have been the view of Cerinthus, a later contemporary of John. In all, the foundation of the church is undermined. For if Christ is not the God-man in the full sense of the term, and that permanently, He is not the mediator and reconciler between God and man. Our hope is gone. All Christianity sinks back either into Judaism or Heathenism. It is easy to see, how all partial heresies, which have since made their appearance in church history, stand connected more or less closely with one of these primary forms, and with the question: "What think ye of Christ?" The correct and complete solution of the christological question is accordingly the best refutation of all errors of faith.

§ 167. *Judaistic Heresies. Pharisaic or Legalistic Judaism*

According to the design of its divine founder and in the inmost tendency of its nature, Judaism was a positive and direct preparation for Christianity, destined to resolve itself into the latter, as the morning twilight into the perfect day, or the bud into the fruit.¹ But under the influence of human depravity it for the most part either took the attitude of full hostility to the Gospel, crucifying Christ, persecuting his apostles, and thrusting them out of the synagogues; or came into mere external association with the Christian religion, and corrupted it with Jewish leaven. This nominally Christian Judaism, which had been baptized only with water, not with the Holy Ghost and with fire, was the first error, which made its appearance in the Christian church. It showed itself particularly in opposition to Paul, the liberal apostle of the Gentiles; and though amply refuted by him it is continually re-appearing, as well as the opposite errors of heathen origin, in variously modified forms. To this day man is in his nature predominantly Jewish or predominantly heathen; and, so long as the church is militant, this nature will re-act against the revelation and the grace of God.²

As Judaism was at that time divided into three different sects,³ we should expect also three corresponding forms of perverted Christianity: (1) the Pharisaic, or rigidly legal heresy; (2) the Sadducistic, or lax and frivolous (theoretically skeptical or rationalistic, and practically materialistic); (3) the Essenic, or theosophic, mystico-speculative, and ascetic, with more or less admixture of heathenism. These three degenerate forms of Judaism and Jewish-Christianity would then correspond to the Stoic, the Epicurean, and the Platonic tendencies in the heathen world. The first and third forms meet us very often in the New Testament, and appear more systematically developed in the Ebionism of the second century (from the reign of Adrian onward), which was likewise divided into the practical Pharisaic and the speculative Gnostic branches. The Jewish Sadducism had, indeed, like the Grecian Epicureanism, too little moral and religious earnestness to take any deep and general interest in Christianity. Yet a way of thinking corresponding to this also we find in the church in the form of unbridled antinomianism; which, however, sprang not so much from Sadducism as from gross misconception of Paul's doctrine, and arose upon Gentile-Grecian soil.

¹ Comp. above, § 47.

² We may say in general, that Catholicism is exposed to the temptations and dangers of legal Judaism: Protestantism, to those of licentious heathenism. Yet on both sides are found, as even in the apostolic period, combinations of these opposite errors.

³ Comp. above, § 49.

We take up first the *Pharisaico-Judaistic* tendency, or the stiff legalism in the apostolic church. This, as we see from Acts 15 : 1, 5, first showed itself clearly in the church of Jerusalem in the year 50, and gave the immediate occasion for the apostolic council. It held, indeed, that the Messiah appeared in Jesus of Nazareth. But this was the only thing which distinguished it from the proper Pharisaism ; and even in its notion of the Messiah it was most probably as firmly bound as the later Ebionism to the gross and carnal notions of the vulgar Judaism. The well-known peculiarities of the Pharisaic sect, which subsequently took a fixed form in the Talmud,—stiff, bigoted legalism and self-righteousness, pedantic scrupulosity in respect to outward forms and usages,—it transferred to Christianity ; adhering particularly to the principle, which after the conversion of Cornelius was expressly condemned by God himself (Acts 10), and also by the apostolic council (c. 15), that circumcision and the observance of the whole Jewish ceremonial law was indispensable to salvation, and that, therefore, whoever would be a true Christian, must be at the same time, outwardly and inwardly, a strict Jew. Of the newness, the creative spirit and life, and the universality of Christianity, it never dreamed ; but sought to compress the Christian religion within the narrow lines of a Jewish sect. It is true, the Judaists did not come out always with the same boldness, and particularly after the apostolic council some of them, at least in the Greek churches, changed their tactics. But even where they showed themselves somewhat liberal, they still asserted the superiority of the circumcised Christians, insisted on their separating themselves from the uncircumcised Gentile-Christians (Gal. 2 : 11 sqq.), and considered the latter scarcely better than proselytes of the gate. As all heretics are ready to appeal to the Scriptures (as interpreted by themselves), so these errorists, to gain the greater acceptance, referred to the Jewish apostles,—the stricter party to James (Gal. 2 : 12), the more moderate to Cephas, who had been placed in so high a position by the Lord himself. But of course they had no right to make such use of these apostles, who in fact in the year 50 refused to put upon the Gentile-Christians the burden of the ceremonial law, owned them as brethren without their being circumcised, and fully agreed with Paul in the maxim, that no human work, but only the grace of Jesus Christ and living faith in him can save.¹

Another characteristic of the Pharisaic Judaizers was an inexorable hatred of Paul. They regarded him not as a legitimate apostle at all, but as a religious revolutionist, who unsparingly trampled under foot the sacred traditions of the Mosaic religion and the authority of the divine law, introduced the greatest confusion, and turned away the mass

¹ Acts 15. Gal. 2. 1 Pet 5 : 12. 2 Pet 3 : 15

of the Jews from Christianity. Hence they everywhere endeavored, and in some cases not without success, particularly in the Galatian churches, to undermine his authority and influence, to bring his motives under suspicion, and in every way to embitter his life.¹ The epistles to the Galatians and Romans, and the two, especially the second, to the Corinthians, cannot be at all understood historically, without continual reference to this slavish, bigoted legalism and anti-Paulinism and its malicious machinations.

These Judaistic errorists, or "*false brethren unawares brought in*" (Gal. 2 : 4), should by no means be confounded with the "*weak brethren*" (Rom. 14 : 1 sqq. 15 : 1 sqq.), i. e. the Jewish Christians, who for their own part moved, indeed, with scrupulous conscientiousness in the traditional forms of the Mosaic religion, yet at the same time referred all salvation to Christ, and recognized the free Gentile-Christians as brethren in the Lord. Towards these Paul according to his maxim, 1 Cor. 9 : 19, was exceedingly indulgent, and, as may be seen from Rom 14 and 15, 1 Cor. 8 and 9, his collections for the poor churches in Judea, and his conduct during his last visit in Jerusalem, claimed for them brotherly love and forbearance. But in opposition to the other errorists he—himself once, in Pharisaic blindness and mistaken zeal, a persecutor of the church of Christ—was inflexible; for they annulled the proper essence of the gospel; wished to replace the old yoke of legal bondage and pupillary religion; spread division everywhere in his churches, especially in Galatia and Corinth, and even in Philippi;² and in all this sought their own glory far more than Christ's. To this great controversy of the Gentile apostle with the Pharasaic Judaizers we owe the masterly and unfathomably profound exhibitions of the evangelical doctrines of the law and the gospel, sin and grace, bondage and freedom,

¹ The later Ebionites also had an unconquerable hatred of the apostle of the Gentiles, and condemned all his epistles as heretical, while they extolled James and Peter to the skies. According to Epiphanius (*Haer.* I. 2, § 26), they circulated respecting Paul the ridiculous lie, that he was originally a heathen of Tarsus, then passed over to Judaism at Jerusalem from love to a daughter of the high priest, but apostatized again in consequence of disappointment in the desired marriage, and out of spite wrote against circumcision and the Sabbath. The Pseudoclementine Homilies (comp. particularly *Hom.* XVII. c. 19 with Gal. 2 : 9–11) represent him, under the figure of Simon Magus, as a seducer, and the patriarch of all heretics. The anti-Jewish Gnostics, on the contrary, hated the elder Jewish apostles, condemned their writings, and appealed all the more zealously to Paul, whom, however, they of course completely caricatured.

² That the Judaizers gained foothold also in Philippi has been by many, indeed, denied, but seems clear from Phil. 1 : 15–18 and 3 : 2 sqq., where the apostle even calls them "dogs," and, with sarcastic allusion to their self-righteous and heretical zeal for circumcision, the "*concision*" (κατατομή).

faith and justification, which lie before us in his epistles. Through the destruction of Jerusalem and the spread of Christianity among the Gentiles, this Pharisaico-Christian particularism necessarily lost by degrees its significance, at least out of Palestine; and, though it perpetuated itself in the second century in Ebionism, yet even in this shape it had nothing like the currency or the influence on the church, which the opposite heresy of Gnosticism possessed. But the Judaistic tendency did not seek to maintain itself everywhere on these Pharisaic principles. A part of it, even in the life-time of Paul, took a more refined, and for earnest, philosophically educated Gentiles, more plausible form, to the consideration of which we now pass.

§ 168. *Essenic or Gnostic Judaism.*

The *Essenic Judaizing* tendency, as a heresy in the Christian church, meets us first towards the close of Paul's labors and among the churches of Asia Minor. It is characterized by a mixture of Christian ideas, and a Christian confession with the theosophic or mystico-speculative and the ascetic elements of the Essenes and the kindred Therapeutae, who according to the explicit testimony of Philo were widely spread over Egypt.¹ These sects, whose special object it was to reach a deeper knowledge (Gnosis) and greater moral perfection than was attainable in the common Judaism, soon, of course, felt themselves attracted to Christianity; but, instead of submitting to the gospel in its simplicity, they molded it to their own taste. This was the origin of that Judaizing Gnosticism, which was more clearly and fully developed in the second century in the remarkable system of the Pseudoclementine Homilies and in kindred heretical productions. But as even in Essenism and Therapeutism, and no less in the Platonico-Jewish system of Philo, the influence of heathen religion and speculation, both Oriental and Hellenic (Platonic and Pythagorean), is demonstrable;² so with this Christian heresy; and for this reason some scholars distinctly classify it with the heathen or proper Gnosis.³ In fact it is hard to say, as also in the case of many of the heretical phenomena of the second century, whether they belong to the strictly Judaizing tendency or to the proper Gnosticism; unless with Schliemann,⁴ we make the doctrine of the Demiurge, or a creator of the world differ-

¹ Comp. above, § 49 and 51.

² On the affinity of these Jewish sects with Pythagoreanism, the reader should compare Gfrörer; *Krit. Gesch. des Urchristenthums*, I. 2. p. 352 sqq.

³ A modern English divine, Stanley, on the contrary, regards all the heretics attacked by Paul, and even those combated by Peter, Jude, and John, as Judaizers. But against this Conybeare and Howson, in their work on St. Paul, I. p. 490-492, have entered very well-founded objections.

⁴ *Die Clementinen*, p. 539.

ing from the supreme God, the infallible mark of Gnosticism. Of a demiurge, however, we find no clear traces in the New Testament; even in the obscure passage, 2 Pet. 2 : 10 (δόξας οὐ τρέμονσι βλασφημοῦντες, comp. Jude 8). Yet one may say, that the extreme depreciation of matter and body, which we find opposed in Col. 2 : 23 and 1 Tim. 4 : 3, borders on and logically leads to the notion of the demiurge. Though all the forms of Gnosticism, the Judaizing among the rest, are more or less affected with latent heathen elements, yet it cannot be asserted that speculation is in the nature of the case foreign to Judaism. This is contradicted not only by the later Cabbala, but also by the Old Testament books of Proverbs and Job, and by the apocryphal literature in general. The great matter was, whether the spirit of philosophical and theological inquiry was guided by the spirit of the divine revelation, or took its own course. In the latter case it certainly always ran more or less into the errors of heathen speculation.

1. Among these Judaizing Gnostics or Essenic Judaists we reckon first the false teachers of *Co'sse* in Phrygia, where, as the Montanism (altogether anti-Gnostic however) of the second and third centuries shows, the people were constitutionally inclined to religious fanaticism. We become acquainted with these errorists chiefly from details of their system hinted at in the second chapter of the epistle to the Colossians. Paul here combats their view,¹ but much more leniently than the Pharisaic legalism in the Galatian churches, because it was far less developed and less hostile to himself. Their speculative character is plain from Col. 2 : 4, where the apostle speaks of their "enticing words" (πιθανολογία), and v. 8, where he warns his readers against their philosophy: "Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men (in opposition to the certain, reliable revelation of God), after the rudiments of the world,² and not after Christ."³ Probably the reference here is to the mystic, symbolical philosophy, which Philo ascribes to the Essenes and Therapeutae.⁴ In contrast with

¹ Comp. above, § 86, p. 324.

² Τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου, comp. v. 20 and Gal. 4 : 3, 9. Most commentators refer this to the Jewish ceremonial law as a pupillary religion designed for spiritual childhood.

³ This passage is frequently, but altogether unjustly, viewed as a condemnation of all philosophy. Paul is evidently warning his readers only against a particular kind of philosophy, which, he hints in the words *κενὴς ἀπάτης*, does not merit the name of philosophy at all, but is an inanis fallacia. Calixtus has well observed against this abuse of the passage: "Si dicam, vide ne decipiat vinum, nec vinum damno, nec usum ejus accuso, sed de vitando abusu moneo."

⁴ The φιλοσοφία διὰ συμβόλων. Perhaps the Colossian errorists already, as afterwards the oriental anchorites and monks, designated their whole mode of life *φιλοσοφία* and *φιλόσοφος βίος*, an anticipation of the *vita angelica*.

this false wisdom of men the apostle emphatically represents Christ as the source and sum of all genuine knowledge, wisdom, and spiritual understanding (1 : 9. 2 : 3).

With their mystic philosophy the Colossian errorists set a high value on sacred rites, especially circumcision (to which Paul opposes the spiritual circumcision of Christ, 2 : 11), and scrupulously observed the Jewish laws respecting food and yearly, monthly, and weekly feasts,—shadows of the true body, which had appeared in Christ (2 : 16). Here they coincided with the Pharisaical errorists (comp. Gal. 4 : 9, 10). But with these Judaistic views and practices they associated a rigid asceticism, a mortification of the body (*ἀφειδία σώματος*, 2 : 23), which went beyond anything in Pharisaism or the whole Old Testament, not excepting even the prescriptions for the Nazarite (comp. Nu. c. 6). This in all probability sprang from a pagan dualistic view of the world, which made matter and body in themselves evil, and redemption a gradual destruction of the bodily nature. The conception of the body as the work of the devil we find in all the Gnostic and Manichean sects. The Scriptures, on the contrary, make the clearest distinction between body and flesh, representing the former as the work of God, and the temple of the Holy Ghost, but the latter as the perversion of a nature in itself originally good, as the selfish, sinful principle. Finally, these Colossian errorists practiced under the garb of humility the worship of angels (*θρησκεία τῶν ἀγγέλων*, 2 : 18), soaring into transcendental regions and probably pretending to be conversant through visions with the mysteries of the upper world of spirits,¹ instead of holding to Christ, the Creator of angels, the revealed Head of the church, and communing with God through Him. To many commentators this passage, indeed, suggests the Gnostic aeons; but it seems more naturally to refer to the “thrones, dominions, principalities, and powers” of the later Jewish angelology (1 : 16).² To the necessity of meeting this error we owe some of Paul’s profoundest disclosures respecting Christ’s person and relation to the church.

2. Under the head of this Gnosticizing Judaism belong also the error-

¹ In Col. 2 : 18 there is a remarkable difference of readings. The *textus receptus* reads: *ἀ μὴ ἐώρακεν ἐμβατεύων*, while Lachmann and Tischendorf. or the best critical authorities, omit the *μὴ*. Either reading, however, gives a good sense, as we have indicated in the text.

² In support of this interpretation are the facts, that still later the 35th canon of the Laodicean council forbids the invocation of angels; that there was still standing in the middle ages in Chonae (Colosse) a temple of the archangel Michael; and other facts adduced by Wetstein, Steiger (*Comment. zum Kol. br.* p. 31), and Thiersch (*Versuch zur Herstellung*, etc. p. 272). Among the Essenes, according to Josephus, sacred names of the angels were revealed to the initiated (*De bell. Jud.* II. 8. § 7. Comp. the note on this by the English translator, Whiston, vol. II. p. 249, Philad. ed.).

ists of the *Pastoral* Epistles. Yet the Essenic origin of these cannot be so easily shown, nor, consequently, the line so sharply drawn between them and the heathen Gnostics. Hence they may be called with about equal propriety Judaizing Gnostics or Gnostic Judaizers. It was one great object of the *Pastoral* Epistles to warn Timothy and Titus of the commencement and canker-like spread of apostasy from the pure apostolic tradition or from the "sound doctrine."¹ These heretics must be looked for particularly in Ephesus and its vicinity. For here Timothy was residing;² here was a rendezvous of heathen and Jewish superstition and magic;³ here, according to Paul's prophecy in his valedictory at Miletus, A.D. 58, were to arise after his departure "grievous wolves" from among the Ephesian presbyters themselves;⁴ finally, the epistle to the Ephesians also, A.D. 62 or 63, opposes, not indeed openly and directly, but assuredly indirectly, by the positive development of truth, a Gnostic error similar to that attacked in the very closely allied epistle to the Colossians, and contrasts with its vain mock wisdom the true saving knowledge of Christ and his church. We have every reason, therefore, to place the rise of this Judaizing Gnosis at the end of the sixth or beginning of the seventh decade of the first century. From the epistle in the Apocalypse to the angel of the church of Ephesus (2 : 2, 6) it appears, that this congregation at the end of the first century firmly withstood the errorists, indeed, but in its zeal for orthodoxy neglected practical Christianity, the active duties of love.

In examining the passages of the *Pastoral* Epistles, which are concerned with heresies,⁵ we derive great assistance from comparing these

¹ Ὑγιαίνουσα διδασκαλία, 1 Tim. 1 : 10. 2 Tim. 4 : 3. Tit. 1 : 9. 2 : 1.

² 1 Tim. 1 : 3. 2 Tim. 1 : 15, 18. 4 : 19.

³ Acts 19 : 13 sqq. Comp. above, § 76.

⁴ Acts 20 : 29, 30. We have on a former occasion observed, that this passage is not inconsistent with the earlier presence of errors in the congregation, as in fact it speaks particularly of heretical *presbyters* (comp. ἐξ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν); and that it cannot, therefore, be used as evidence of a later date of the first epistle to Timothy; the less, since this epistle itself, and even the still later second epistle to Timothy, represent some of the errors as yet in the future.

⁵ These are: Tit. 1 : 9-16. 3 : 9-11. 1 Tim 1 : 3, 4. 6. 7, 19, 20. 4 : 1-8. 6 : 3-5, 20, 21.—2 Tim. 2 : 16-18, 23. 3 : 1-9, 13. 4 : 3, 4. Besides these there may be a few passages indirectly opposing errors; though Baur has unquestionably sought far too many such allusions. Most investigators of this intricate subject suppose, that Paul in these epistles contends everywhere against substantially the same unsound tendency : and this is certainly supported by the similarity of the expressions in the various passages, as ματαιολογία, μῦθοι, γενεαλογίαι, etc. Thiersch, on the contrary in his book on the criticism of the N. T. Scriptures, p. 236 sq and 274, proposes to distinguish *three* kinds of errorists in the *Pastoral* Epistles : (1) Common Judaizers, who were, properly speaking, not so much heretical as obstinate and morally perversa

errors with the subsequent kindred phenomena of the second century. Yet we should not identify them with these later heresies, as Baur, to make out his case against the genuineness of these epistles, has done. We may very naturally, and we must necessarily, suppose, that the Gnostic ideas were on their first appearance very indefinite, crude, and chaotic. They form the necessary links, which connect the ante-Christian Judaism and Heathenism with the fully developed heretical systems, which meet us from the reign of Adrian onward. Paul himself more than once says, that, according to the prophetic testimony of the Holy Ghost, the dangerous errors, against which he so earnestly warns his disciples, were further to develope and diffuse themselves in future.¹

The system attacked in the Pastoral Epistles is explicitly characterized in 1 Tim. 6 : 20 as *Gnosis*, i. e. higher knowledge, which all the later Gnostics fancied they possessed, and from which they therefore named themselves. But Paul speaks of it at the same as "*falsely so called*" (*ψευδώνυμος γνώσις*), not properly meriting the name of knowledge

in the ep. to Titus and in 1 Tim. 1 : 7; (2) some few spiritualistic Gnostics, like Hymeneus and Philetus, who had "made shipwreck concerning faith" and were excommunicated by the apostle,—followers of the *ψευδώνυμος γνώσις*, 1 Tim. 1 : 19, 20. 6 : 20. 2 Tim. 2 : 16–18, 25; (3) Goëtae, who are compared to the Egyptian magicians. 2 Tim. 3 : 1–9. But this classification certainly cannot be applied throughout, and introduces confusion rather than clearness in the exposition. We may remark in general, that many assertions of the otherwise highly valuable treatise on the New Testament heresies in the above work of Thiersch are exaggerated and untenable.

¹ 1 Tim. 4 : 1. 2 Tim. 3 : 1. 4 : 3. Comp. Acts 20 : 29 sq. So also the historian, Hegesippus, of the middle of the second century, says, according to the rather summary statement of Eusebius, III. 32, that the *ψευδώνυμος γνώσις* did not show itself with uncovered head (*γυμνῇ λοιπόν ἡδὲ τῇ κεφαλῇ*) and mar the virginal purity of the church till after the death of the apostles, but previously wrought in secret (*ἐν ἰσχύρῳ ποὺ σκότει*). Baur, in the "Tübinger Zeitschrift," 1838, No. 3, p. 27, and in his work on Paul, p. 494 (as well as Schwegler: *Nachapost. Zeitalter*, II. p. 137), has entirely misrepresented this passage by omitting what the author says of the previous *secret working* of the Gnosis and substituting for the antithesis made by Hegesippus of an open and concealed existence of the false Gnosis his own antithesis of an existence and non-existence of it. Besides, the same Hegesippus, in Euseb. IV. 22, places the rise of the heresies in the Palestinian church in the period immediately succeeding the death of James. Nay, traces some of them back to Simon Magus. The conclusion, therefore, which Baur draws from the testimony in Euseb. III. 32 against the genuineness of the Pastoral Epistles and the letters of Ignatius, of course falls to the ground. Rather does Hegesippus prove by the very terms he here uses: *ψευδώνυμος γνώσις, ἐπεροδιδάσκαλοι, ὡς κανόν*, that he was already acquainted with the first epistle to Timothy. For that the epistle borrowed the terms from Hegesippus, as Baur asserts, is altogether too reprobous and incredible in view of the clear and strong testimony of Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, etc., in favor of the Pauline origin of the Pastoral Epistles.

at all, resting on mere arrogant conceit,¹ and running out into unprofitable subtleties and vain babblings.² As parts of this false wisdom are cited "old wives' fables" and "endless genealogies."³ By these we must understand, however, not the successive emanations of the higher spirits, the genealogies of aeons, which appear in the later Gnostic systems,⁴ but the insipid fables and traditions of the later Jewish secret doctrine respecting the times of the patriarchs and the various orders of angels (comp. Col. 2 : 18. 1 : 16), also genealogical investigations, subtle questions of the law, and allegorical interpretations of Biblical narratives.⁵ Such worthless stories are still found, as is well known, in the Talmud and in the Cabbala (קבלה—tradition), the elements of which confessedly existed already in the first century, probably even before the destruction of Jerusalem. The correctness of our explanation is clear from several passages. In Tit. 1 : 14 these fables are expressly called "Jewish." According to v. 10 these vain talkers and deceivers were chiefly the circumcised (μάλιστα οἱ ἐκ περιτομῆς). In 3 : 9, in conjunction with genealogies, are placed "contentions and strivings about the law" (ἐρεις καὶ μάχαι νομικαί). Finally, the name "teachers of the law" (νομοδιδασκαλοι, 1 Tim. 1 : 7), which these heretics assumed, points to their Judaistic origin, indicating an unevangelical zeal in them for the Mosaic law, especially its ceremonial part—a feature, with which we have already become acquainted as characteristic of the Colossian heretics.⁶

¹ Comp. 1 Cor. 8 : 1, where γνώσις is used likewise so as to involve a bad sense : "Knowledge puffeth up, but charity edifieth." Comp. the use of φιλοσοφία, Col. 2 : 8.

² Βέβηλοι κενοφωνίαι, 1 Tim. 6 : 20. 2 Tim 2 : 16 ; ματαιολογία, 1 Tim. 1 : 6 ; λογομαχίαι, ἐξ ὧν γίνεται φθόνος, ἐρις, βλασφημίαι, ὑπόνοιαι πονηραί, 6 : 4.

³ Μύθοι καὶ γενεαλογίαι ἀπέραντοι, 1 Tim. 1 : 4 ; βέβηλοι καὶ γραῶδεις μύθοι, 4 : 7. Comp. 2 Tim. 4 : 4. Tit. 1 : 14. 3 : 9.

⁴ As Dr. Baur does in his work on the Pastoral Epistles (1835), p. 12 sq., where he refers to the pairs or syzygies of aeons emanating from one another, as found in the much later Valentinian system ; particularly to the myth of Sophia Achamoth.

⁵ Philo, for example, calls his allegorical explanations of the Mosaic genealogies γενεαλογικόν. Comp. Dähne : "Studien und Kritiken," 1833, p. 1008. So also Thiersch (l. c. p. 274. Wiesinger (in his continuation of Olshausen's *Comment.* V p. 215), and Burton (*Lectures.* p. 114), understand the "genealogies" here in the proper Jewish sense ; which is certainly much more natural, than to refer them to the successive orders of aeons in the later Gnosticism. Dr. Burton, the most important English authority on the Gnostic heresies, endeavors, by the way, to show (p. 304–306), that the Gnostic theories of the aeons and their emanations were in part derived from Jewish sources. The Cabbala, for example, teaches of ten *Sephiroth*, or emanations from God. At all events, however, the Platonic philosophy and the Oriental systems of religion must be regarded also as sources of Gnosticism.

⁶ Baur, on the contrary, l. c. p. 15 sqq., altogether unnaturally takes these "teachers of the law," who themselves wished to be considered such (θέλοντες εἶναι), to have

With this self-conceited, subtle, and barren mock wisdom the Ephesian false teachers, like those at Co'osse, seem to have united an ascetic mode of life,² which went far beyond the Old Testament restrictions respecting food, and was probably connected with a hylozoistic and dualistic view of the world and an aversion to God's creation. At least the apostle, 1 Tim. 4 : 3, predicts that there should soon appear such extravagances, as we actually find afterwards in the Gnostic (Marcionite among the rest) and Manichean systems,—the prohibition of marriage and of certain kinds of food (probably animal) which God had created to be eaten with thanksgiving.¹ He describes such precepts as “doctrines just the opposite—*antinomians* of the school of Marcion; and makes the *μάχαι νομικαί* strivings against the law!—which verily reminds one of the derivation of *lucus a non lucendo*. He appeals, indeed, to v. 8 immediately following: *Οἶδαμεν δὲ ὅτι καλὸς ὁ νόμος, εἰάν τις αὐτῷ νομιμῶς χρῆται*, whence it would appear that those heretics set up the opposite principle, that the law was not good. But these words of the apostle are rather to be viewed as a concession, with a limitation added, as is shown even by the concessive *οἶδαμεν* and a closer examination of v. 9 and 10. The law is unquestionably good, Paul would say, but not in the sense in which the false teachers assert. And on these and similar exegetical artifices this critic builds the conclusion, that the Pastoral Epistles have in view the Marcionite Gnosis, and consequently cannot have been written before the middle of the second century! But this whole theory of Baur respecting the Pastoral Epistles has already been thoroughly refuted by the counter productions of Baumgarten, Böttger, and Thiersch, and by the latest commentaries of Huther and Wiesinger. We only add, that the most plausible part of his argument, his identification of the *ἀντιθέσεις*, 1 Tim. 6 : 20, with the Antitheses Marcionis mentioned by Tertullian, has no support even in the accidental verbal coincidence; the title of Marcion's work being not *Ἀντιθέσεις* at all, but *Ἀντιπαραθέσεις*. At least so it is designated by Hippolytus in his lately discovered refutation of heresies. Comp. Bunsen's *Hippolytus*, I. p. 75, of the German edition. At any rate the *ἀντιθέσεις*, 1 Tim. 6 : 20, are to be understood, not of the contradictions asserted by Marcion between the law and the gospel, but of the opposition of the errorists to the *παραθήκη*, i. e. the pure doctrine, which Timothy was to preserve (comp. 2 Tim 1 : 12, 14. 3 : 14), so that the sense of the passage is simply this: “O Timothy, keep that which is committed to thy trust, avoiding profane, vain babblings, and the counter assertions of the knowledge falsely so called.” Comp. Tit. 1 : 9, where these deceivers are described as *ἀντιλέγοντες*, and 2 Tim. 2 : 25, where they are said to be *ἀντιδιατιθέμενοι*. Comp. Wieseler (*Chronol.* p. 305) and Wiesinger, *ad loc.*

¹ The reference of 1 Tim. 4 : 3 to the Roman church is altogether inadmissible, and by modern expositors generally abandoned. For this church does not forbid marriage as such, but even exalts it to a sacrament. And of the prohibition of marriage for priests in particular nothing at all is said in the text. No more does the Roman church forbid any kind of food as such, but only requires abstinence and fasting on certain days; which is nothing in itself unchristian, however wrong it may be to prescribe it in such legalistic, Jewish style. Our Lord himself and his apostles sometimes fasted out of their own free will. Comp. Matt. 4 : 2. 17 : 21. Acts 13 : 2, 3. 14 : 23. 1 Cor. 7 : 5. 2 Cor. 6 : 5. On the contrary it is an ascertained fact, that many Gnostics, as Marcion, Saturninus, Tatian, as well as the Manicheans, condemned marriage and sexual intercourse as diabolical, and as contamination with sinful matter

trines of devils" (*διδασκαλίας δαιμονίων*, v. 1); in other words, he attributes them to the suggestion of evil spirits, in antithesis with the suggestion of the Spirit of God mentioned in the beginning of the verse. Man, according to the Scriptural view, is never wholly isolated, but lives continually under either divine or diabolical influences. Hence the errorists are elsewhere called also pseudo prophets and pseudo-apostles.¹ Such asceticism has, it is true, a deceptive appearance of holiness, but proceeds from a hypocritical disposition and an evil conscience (v. 2), and might very easily run into the opposite extreme of the most unbridled pagan immorality.

Of the heretics of the Pastoral Epistles two are mentioned by name, Hymeneus and Alexander,² who had made shipwreck with the faith, pursued their errors to a blasphemous length, and were accordingly thrust out by Paul from the communion of the church (1 Tim. 1 : 20); whereas most of the errorists in view are considered as within the congregations. This has made some suppose two different classes of errorists. The Hymeneus here mentioned is no doubt the same with the one described in 2 Tim. 2 : 17, in connection with Philetus, as a denier of the resurrection. This denial probably arose from a false Gnostic spiritualism, and is accordingly to be traced rather to a pagan than to a Sadducean source, though we have, to be sure, no means of accurately determining.

§ 169. *The Heathen Gnosticism and Antinomianism.*

As Christianity spread among the heathen, there could not fail to appear here also the same phenomenon of a merely outward conversion and a subsequent reaction of the old habits of thought and life, which we have observed in the Jewish-Christian portion of the church. And as the Judaizers were ever ready to appeal to the authority of the Jewish apostles, particularly James and Cephas, and took the attitude of thorough hostility to Paul; so the heathen heretics, on the contrary, we are expressly told in 2 Pet. 3 : 16, caricatured and wrested statements of Paul, and in the second century went so far as to reject the whole Old Testament and all the New except Paul's writings. While the Judaizing tendency consists essentially in a narrow and slavish legalism; antinomianism, or an insolent, licentious freedom of spirit, is on the other hand and so the eating of flesh and drinking of wine as such. And even among the Essenes and Therapeutae, too, we find a similar undervaluation of marriage, on the authority of Philo and Josephus (e. g. *Antiqu* XVIII. 1. 5. *De bell. Jud.* II. 8, 2).

¹ Comp. 2 Cor. 11 : 15. 1 Jno. 4 : 1-3. Rev 2 : 20, and the comparison of the false teachers with Balaam, 2 Pet. 2 : 15. Jude 11. Rev. 2 : 14, and with the Egyptian sorcerers, 2 Tim. 3 : 8, 9. James also, 3 : 15, speaks of a *σοφία δαιμονιώδης*.

² Perhaps the same, who is mentioned in 2 Tim 4 : 14 with the surname "the cop-smith," as a personal antagonist of Paul. Others identify him with the Alexander of Acts 19 : 33. Others still suppose these to have been three different persons.

the natural infirmity of heathenism and of the heresies arising from it. In the one case Christianity is compressed into too narrow limits and run into the mould of an exclusive sect ; in the latter it is indefinitely expanded and deprived of all fixed historical foundation. There the chief stress is laid on outward act, and salvation made to depend on the conscientious observance of certain commandments and ceremonies ; here the spirit seeks salvation in a higher knowledge, in a peculiar wisdom, and boldly breaks away from all shackles of the letter and all bonds of external authority. Hence the great apostasy, which at the date of the epistles to the Thessalonians (A. D. 53) had already begun (*ἡδὴ ἐνεργεῖται*), but was to develope itself in far greater strength in future, is styled by Paul the "mystery of lawlessness" (*μυστήριον τῆς ἀνομίας*, 2 Thess. 2 : 7) and a presumptuous opposition to God and divine things.

It is undeniable that heathenism also gives birth to strictly ascetic tendencies. This we see, as at this day among the Hindoos, so in antiquity among the Essenes and Therapeutæ, who, as already observed, went in their ascetism far beyond all Jewish precepts, and did so certainly under heathen influence ; in the errorists of Paul's later epistles ; and still more clearly in many Gnostic sects of the second century, and in the Manicheans, who were at once antinomian and ascetic, and even repudiated marriage as diabolical. But in the first place, this Gnostic asceticism was stretched to an altogether unnatural tension, and was based, as has been already remarked, on a fundamentally wrong, anti-scriptural, dualistic view of the world, which attributed the good creation of God to the sole agency of the devil. And secondly, it was intended to be the very means of releasing the spirit from all thralldom of divine or human authority, and hence very easily ran out into its direct opposite, excessive sensuality and immorality, under the satanic pretense, that these did not at all affect the soul, which was exalted above all corporeal influences.

1. In tracing the several manifestations of the Gnostic and antinomian heathenism in the apostolic church, we meet first of all, even before the appearance of Paul, the magician *Simon*, of Samaria, who has been stigmatized, at least by the tradition of the church fathers, as the patriarch of all heretics, especially of the heathen Gnostics.¹ A great many fabu-

¹ Thus Irenæus, *Adv. hæres.* lib. I. c. 27. § 4, says : " Omnes, qui quoquo modo adulterant veritatem et præconium ecclesiæ ledunt, Simonis Samaritani magi discipuli et successores sunt. Quamvis non confiteantur nomen magistri sui ad seductionem reliquorum ; attamen illius sententiam docent : Christi quidem Jesu nomen tanquam irritamentum proferentes, Simonis autem impietatem varie introducentes mortificant multos, per nomen bonum sententiam suam male disperdentes et per dulcedinem et decorem nominis amarum et malignum principis apostasiæ serpentis venenum porrigentes eis." So in I. c. 23, § 2 (Simon, ex quo universæ hæreses substiterrunt), and

lous stories, no doubt, were very early associated with this name, particularly in the Pseudoclementine writings, which pretend to relate many of his fortunes, his juggleries, and his frequent defeats in disputations, which the apostle Peter is said to have held with him in Cæsarea, Antioch, etc.¹ His historical existence, however, and one interview between him and Peter in Samaria, are put beyond all question by the eighth chapter of Acts; and the account there given of him² makes it very easy to understand, how he might afterwards come to be regarded as the first representative of the Gnostic corruption of the Gospel, as well as of a revolting prostitution of the Christian name to selfish ends. In him first appears that characterless syncretism, for which there was a peculiar susceptibility in half-heathen and half-Jewish Samaria, in union with magical and theurgical arts, such as the conjuration of the dead and of demons by formulas of the Oriental and Greek theosophy. A similar combination of Gnosis and demonistic sorceries we observe in the Ephesian opponents of pure Christianity, whom Paul accordingly compares with the Egyptian magicians, Jannes and Jambres.³ Of course the real substance of this chaotic mixture was heathenish, and its Christianity merely an assumed name and a hypocritical show. The opinion of the Samaritans respecting Simon, which was no doubt the mere echo of his own boastful declaration, that he was "the great power of God,"⁴ itself suggests the Gnostic æons and emanations, those singular caricatures of the mystery of the incarnation. According to the statement of Irenæus, Simon gave himself out as the supreme power (*sublimissimam virtutem*), and blasphemously boasted, that he appeared in Samaria as Father, among the Jews as Son, and among the other nations as Holy Ghost.⁵ in the preface to the second and third books. The old traditional accounts of Simon Magus receive additional confirmation by the lately discovered book of Hippolytus on heresies, comp. Bunsen's *Hippolytus* l. p. 62 sqq. (Germ. ed.).

¹ On this point comp. among other works that of Schliemann on the Clementines, p. 52 sqq., 96 sqq. We have already remarked incidentally, § 167, that the Pseudoclementine Homilies, in their Ebionistic spirit, represent the apostle Paul under the figure of Simon, as properly the arch-heretic.

² Comp. above, § 59, p. 215 sq.

³ 2 Tim. 3 : 8. Comp. Ex. 7 : 11, 22. 8 : 6 sqq. See also Acts 19 : 13 sqq.

⁴ ἡ δύναμις τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ μεγάλη, Acts 8 : 10. According to Justin Mart., Simon was worshiped as the first God by nearly all the Samaritans, *Apol.* I. c. 26 (p. 68 ed. Otto); Σχεδὸν πάντες μὲν Σαμαρεῖς, ὅλγοι δὲ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις ἔθνεσιν ὡς τὸν πρῶτον θεὸν ἱκεῖνον ὁμολογοῦντες, ἐκείνον καὶ προσκυνοῦσι.

⁵ *Adv. hæres.* I. 23. § 1.—According to Jerome (*Comment. in Matt.* 24) Simon said of himself: "Ego sum sermo Dei, ego sum speciosus, ego paracletus, ego omnipotens, ego omnia Dei." Of Justin's account (resting, it would seem, on a mistake) respecting the deification of Simon at Rome we have already spoken at the close of § 93. Some modern scholars, as Windischmann (*Vindic. Petr.* p. 75 sqq.), Grörer (*Philo und die alexandr. Theosophie*, II. p. 370 sqq.), and Thiersch (l. c. p. 291 s.), are again justly

From these and other accounts it appears, that he wished to be regarded as an incarnation of the Deity, and was, therefore, in the proper sense, a false Christ^a and an antichrist. But of course no complete system should be attributed to him. The heretical elements lay as yet fermenting in a chaotic mass. Besides, the leading interest with him was not knowledge but filthy lucre; whence the traffic in spiritual offices (simony) to this day goes by his name.

Along with him tradition mentions also Dositheus and Menander (a disciple of Simon) as two Samaritan sect-founders of the first century. But these nowhere appear in the New Testament. The dissolute Gnostic sect of the Simonians, which maintained itself down to the third century, derived its name and origin from Simon Magus.

2. Antinomian tendencies might also very easily arise from another source, viz., a *misconception of Paul's doctrine* respecting the abolition of the law as a letter, which "killeth," respecting justification by faith and evangelical freedom; especially in so frivolous a city as Corinth, where many eagerly laid hold of every new doctrine, which they could hope to use as a cloak for their former dissolute conduct. Paul himself more than once disowns with indignation the inference charged upon him, in the shape of the infamous maxim: "Let us do evil that good may come," or: "Let us continue in sin, that grace may abound."¹ That some of his disciples carried the freedom of the gospel to an extreme in practice, is particularly clear from the first epistle to the Corinthians. For in it he opposes, among other things, supercilious contempt for the conscientious and scrupulous Jewish Christians, participation in the pagan idolatrous feasts, lax ideas of chastity, and even profanation of the love-feasts by intemperance (comp. § 78). No doubt, indeed, these were primarily practical aberrations; but such are always more or less connected with corrupt principles. There already appeared also in the Corinthian church, in union with the party spirit, the rudiments of a proud Gnosis, so congenial to wisdom-seeking Greece.² Paul even found it necessary to come out against the public denial of the resurrection of the body (1 Cor. 15 : 12 sqq.). This is not to be referred to Sadducism—otherwise, like our Lord, Matt. 22 : 23 sqq., he would have refuted it from the Old Testament—but was connected with Greek philosophical skepticism (comp. Acts 17 : 32) and Gnostic spiritualism, and was perhaps allied with the doctrine of Hymeneus and Philetus,

ascribing to this patriarch of heretics far greater historical significance, than has been commonly attributed to him since Mosheim.

¹ Rom. 3 : 8. 6 : 1. Gal. 2 : 17. Comp. 1 Pet. 2 : 16.

² 1 Cor. 8 : 1. Comp. 1 : 18 sqq. 2 : 1 sqq.—Dr. Burton also (*Lectures*, p. 84 sq) finds Gnostic elements already in the Corinthian church.

which was spreading like a canker (ὡς γάγγραινα) in Asia Minor: "The resurrection is already past" (2 Tim. 2: 18).¹ Here lay, properly, the germ of the Docetistic denial of the true humanity of Christ. And as in general false spiritualism very frequently runs into gross formalism and materialism, so this limitation of the resurrection to the purely spiritual, inward life might quite easily induce, especially among the common people, genuine Epicurean frivolity, whose maxim is: "Let us eat and drink; for to-morrow we die" (1 Cor. 15: 32).

In his valedictory at Miletus and in the Pastoral Epistles Paul predicts, that these tendencies, already existing in embryo, would after his departure, in the "last days," acquire fearful strength.²

3. The same prophecy, with an earnest reference to the approaching judgment, meets us in the *second* epistle of *Peter*, which he sent in the prospect of death (A. D. 64) to the churches of Asia Minor. At that time, however, the apostasy was already further developed; and still more fully some years afterwards, when *Jude*, the brother of James the Just, with his eye upon these predictions of the apostles, addressed his epistle perhaps to the same churches. In these two documents, which form the natural transition from the last stadium of Paul's labors to the Johannean age, and in this transitional character strongly evince their genuineness, evidently have in view heathen Gnostic errorists of grossly immoral principles (comp. § 92). These heretics had learned Christ, and received baptism and the forgiveness of sins, but had fallen back into heathen, nay, far worse than heathen vice, as the sow, that is washed returns to her wallowing in the mire (2 Pet. 1: 9. 2: 20-22); though it would seem, they remained outwardly in the communion of the church, and even took part in the love-feasts of the Christians (Jude 12). Designed to be shining stars in the firmament of the church, they became by their unfaithfulness ignes fatui, such as rise from bogs and decoy the traveller into dangerous ways (v. 13). They are classed with Cain, the fratricide, and Balaam, the deceiver of God's people (2 Pet. 2: 15. Jude 11). Going a step further than Hymeneus and Philetus, the deniers of the resurrection, they mocked at the second coming of Christ and the judgment (2 Pet. 3: 4). They wrested the epistles of Paul into their service (3: 16), turned the grace of God to lascivious

The later Gnostics likewise denied the resurrection, or understood by it merely the reception of their doctrine, thus identifying it with the idea of conversion. Comp. **Irenæus**: *Adv. hæ.* II. 31. § 2: "Esse autem resurrectionem a mortuis agnitionem ejus, quæ ab eis dicitur, veritatis," I. 27, § 3; **Tertullian**: *De resurr.* c. 19. *Adv. Mara* V. 10; and **Epiphanius**: *Hæc.* XLII. 2. In general they placed the whole work of redemption merely in intelligence, in the higher Gnosis.

¹ Acts 20: 29 sq. 1 Tim. 4: 1 sqq. 2 Tim. 3: 1 sqq. Comp. 2 Tim. 2: 7.

ness, and abused the freedom of the gospel for a cloak of wickedness (2 : 19. Jude 4).¹

4. The apostasy showed itself still more boldly in Asia Minor during John's activity in the last thirty years of the first century. While Paul and Peter had pointed forward to the "last times," John now said, with unmistakeable reference to these previous prophecies : "Little children, it is the last time ; and as ye have heard that antichrist shall come, even now are there many antichrists ; whereby we know, that it is the last time" (1 Jno. 2 : 18). When he immediately adds (v. 19) : "They went out from us (from the outward communion of the church), but they were not of us (in spirit, in inward disposition) ; for if they had been of us, they would no doubt have continued with us,"—he seems thereby to intimate, that these heretics had already separated themselves from the church, as was the case at all events at the date of the epistles of Ignatius, and in some instances even in the time of Paul (1 Tim. 1 : 20). Yet there must have been exceptions. For so late as the end of the first century the churches of Pergamus and Thyatira are censured in the Apocalypse, 2 : 14–16, 20, for tolerating errorists in their bosoms. Also in 2 Jno. 9, 10, there is a warning against all intercourse with them, which might imply an approval of their principles.

It is asserted by Irenæus and other church fathers, and confirmed by the best modern expositors, that John, in his writings, particularly his epistles,² has Gnostic heretics in view. In their practical bearing these errorists were antinomian, and sundered religion from morality. They boasted of their knowledge of Christ and freedom from sin, yet kept not Christ's commands and walked in darkness. Hence John, in his epistles, strenuously insists on the indissoluble connection of sanctification with faith in Christ, on walking in the light, on obedience to the commandments of God as the mark of true discipleship, and on daily purification from remaining sin.³ In respect to theory, these heretics went so far as to deny the incarnation of the Son of God, which they had been prepared

¹ Very obscure is the passage, 2 Pet. 2 : 10 : *Δόξας οὐ τρέμουνσι βλασφημοῦντες*, comp. Jude 8 : *Δόξας βλασφημοῦντες*. The verse immediately following, about the dispute between the archangel Michael and Satan, sufficiently shows, that *δόξας* must be understood, not of divine attributes, but of angels and higher spirits. Whether this blaspheming of dignities, however, refer to the Gnostic doctrine of the demiurge, or mean in general, insolence in speculating on and condemning the higher world of spirits, can not be certainly determined.

² 1 Ep. 2 : 18, 19, 22, 23. 4 : 3. 2 Ep. 7–11. Comp. § 104 and 106. Thiersch (p 241) would make even the *εἰδωλα*, against which John warns his children at the close of his first epistle, to refer not to gods properly speaking, but to those æons and unsubstantial ideas, which the Gnostics put in the place of the true incarnation. But this seems to us too forced.

³ Comp. 1 Jno. 1 : 6. 2 : 4, 9, 18 sqq. 3 : 6, 8, 15. 4 : 7, 8, 12, 16, etc

to do by the Gnostic skepticism as to the resurrection of the body and the second coming of Christ to judgment. As the apostle regards the mystery of the incarnation, or the true union of the divine and human natures in the person of Jesus Christ, as the centre of the Christian truth and the fundamental condition of our own reconciliation with God, he pronounces the denial of this truth the proper essence and distinctive mark of antichristian falsehood.¹ Into the details of this fundamental heresy he does not enter. His language is designedly general, and, in itself considered, may be referred as well to the Ebionistic (vulgar rationalistic) denial of Christ's divinity, as to the Docetistic (pantheistic) denial of his true humanity, or to the intermediate errors. In fact, he even says, 1 Jno. 2 : 18 and 2 Jno. 7, that *many* antichrists had arisen; and these surely did not all teach exactly the same thing; for it is the nature of heresy to be always arbitrarily changing its form. A credible tradition, however, since Irenæus, tells us, that the apostle had primarily in view the Judaizing Gnostic, *Cerinthus*, who appeared at the close of the first century in Asia Minor, not formally denying, indeed, either the earthly Jesus or the divine Christ (an æon or higher angel), but making them two separate and entirely different beings, and supposing a merely transient union of the two at the baptism in the Jordan,

¹ 1 Ep. 2 : 22. 4 : 1-3.—This unequivocal description of antichrist makes it simply an exegetical impossibility to refer the passages in question in their original sense to the papacy, as some Protestant controversialists, even so learned a one as bishop Newton (*Dissertations on the Prophecies. revised by Dobson.* London, 1850. p. 410), have done. For the pope has never denied the true humanity or the true divinity of Christ. It might rather be said, that the Roman system exaggerates the import of the doctrine of the incarnation or at least draws unwarrantable inferences from it; e. g. the excessive veneration of Mary as the mother of God. At any rate the errors of Romanism lie in an entirely different direction, that of legalistic, unevangelical Judaism (comp. § 168). That John here cannot possibly have the papacy in view is shown also by the following arguments: (1) He is speaking not of something future (which the papacy then was), but of something *present*, which "is even now already in the world," and could be distinctly recognized by his readers by the above mark, 1 Jno. 4 : 3. 2 : 18. 2 Jno. 7. (2) He speaks not of one antichrist, but of *several*, which had gone out from the Christian communion, yet had never inwardly belonged to it, 1 Jno. 2 : 18, 19. Comp. 2 Jno. 7 (πολλοὶ πλάνοι). (3) He is speaking of things not in the Roman church, but in that of *Asia Minor*, in which he lived and labored, and to which his epistles are addressed. To these add (4) the concurrent exposition of the church fathers and the best Protestant commentators, who all refer the passages in hand to the Gnostic error. We may, to be sure, regard as antichristianity in a general sense all that runs counter to the doctrine and spirit of Christ, be it found in the Roman or the Protestant church. But then this is no direct exposition of the text before us. A distorted exegesis like this can do the papacy no harm, and only weakens the Protestant cause, which has otherwise no reason to fear on the field of Scripture.

which was dissolved at the beginning of the passion. Thus the man Jesus was merely the vehicle, which the redeeming Logos temporarily employed to reveal himself to the world. It is but a step from this to Docetism. To this dualistic separation of the two natures in Christ no doubt refers the very old but nevertheless incorrect reading of 1 Jno. 4 : 3 : "Every spirit that *separateth* (λῶει, instead of 'confesseth not', Jesus Christ."² Soon after the death of John his disciples, Ignatius and Polycarp, with the same weapons encountered Docetism, which originated in a heathen mode of thinking, and taught, that the passion and death and the whole humanity of Christ were merely a deceptive appearance (δόκησις), an airy vision, an optical illusion, like the imaginary theophanies of the heathen mythologies.

5. A few remarks, in fine, on the *Nicolaitans* and kindred heretics mentioned in the Apocalyptic epistles.

These sprang, according to a credible tradition, from the Antiochian proselyte, Nicolas, one of the seven deacons of Jerusalem (Acts 6 : 5), who apostatized from the truth and became the founder of an antinomian Gnostic sect.³ By the church of Ephesus they were hated and

¹ Irenæus: *Adv. hæc.* I. 26. § 1, and several other places. The statements of Irenæus, who ascribes to Cerinthus the genuinely Gnostic doctrine of the Demiurge and a system pretty much like the Valentinian Gnosis, are certainly far more reliable than the later and in some cases discrepant accounts of Epiphanius respecting the same heresiarch; though we cannot now distinguish with certainty, what Cerinthus himself taught and what his disciples afterwards added.

² Socrates (*H. E.* VII. 32) mentions the reading λῶει as very old. The Vulgate also, several Latin fathers and the Latin translator of Irenæus, read accordingly: "Qui solvit Jesum;" while almost all the Greek authorities have μὴ ὁμολογεῖ. Augustine unites both: "Qui solvit Jesum et negat in carnem venisse."

³ Irenæus, *Adv. hæc.* I. 26, § 3 (al. c. 27). So also Hippolytus (vid. Bunsen's *Hippol.* I. p. 72), Clement of Alexandria, and others. These testimonies are too clear and respectable to be lightly set aside, especially if we consider the strong tendency in the primitive church to venerate as saints and glorify by legends all the Christians named in the New Testament. This forbids our adopting the *allegorical* interpretation of the name, which Hengstenberg, strangely and from his position altogether inconsistently undervaluing these historical testimonies, has given in his work on Balaam, p. 20 sqq., and his commentary on Rev. 2 : 6 (Vol. I. p. 171 sq.). This divine considers the name Nicolaus not a proper name, but a symbolical term, the Greek translation of Balaam, misleader or corrupter of the people from—עֲבָרָא or עֲבָרָה, *to devour, to corrupt*, and עַם, *people*. But in the first place, this derivation cannot be even philologically vindicated. For Nicolaus means people-conqueror, which is by no means synonymous with people-misleader. To derive Balaam from עֲבָרָה and עַם, *lord of the people*, or from the Chaldaic עֲבָרָה, *vicit*, would bring us nearer an identity of the terms. But in neither case would the reference have been intelligible to the Greek readers of the Revelation without further explanation. And in the second place, this interpretation is contradicted by Rev. 2 : 14, 15, where the Nicolaitans are evidently

thrust out (Rev. 2 : 6), but were tolerated by the church of Pergamus (2 : 15), which is on this account severely censured by the seer. Akin to these, no doubt, though not exactly identical, are the adherents of the doctrine of *Balaam* in Pergamus (2 : 14)¹ and of the false prophetess *Jezebel* in Thyatira (2 : 20 sqq.). They are represented as an altogether disorderly sect, seducing the Christians to participation in the idolatrous feasts of the pagans² and to unchastity, which had already appeared in the germ in the Corinthian church. Hence also they are denoted by the names of the two leading agents in contaminating the people of God under the old dispensation with the moral corruption and idolatry of heathendom. For Balaam, the seer of heathen growth, from base avarice, enticed the Israelites, through the daughters of Moab and Midian, to idolatry and fornication (Num. 25 : comp. 31 : 16); and the heathen Jezebel, Ahab's wife, murdered the prophets of the Lord, and set up idolatry in Israel. This immorality was united with pretended inspirations from above (whence the name prophetess) and knowledge of the depths of God, which, however, the seer with fearful irony calls "depths of Satan."³ These heretics taught, undoubtedly, that a man must make the whole circuit of sensuality, before he could be rightly master of it; that he should unblushingly abandon himself to his lusts, since they concerned only the body, and the free spirit was as little affected by them as solid gold by filth. These horrible principles, which brought disgrace and odium upon the Christian name, were actually taught and put in practice by several Gnostic sects in the second century, and particularly by the Nicolaitans. Even the ex-deacon, Nicolas, is represented by Irenaeus, Epiphanius, and Jerome as a formal antinomian; but by Clement of Alexandria as a rigid ascetic, abstain-

distinguished from the Balaamites, however near akin they may have been in doctrine and practice. When Hengstenberg asserts in support of his explanation, that none but symbolical names occur in the Apocalypse, he is evidently wrong; for not only the name of the author, but also the names of the Jews, 2 : 9, and of the seven churches are all to be taken as proper names.

¹ Peter also (2 Ep. 2 : 15) and Jude (v. 11) compare the dissolute Gnostics, whom they attack, with Balaam.

² *Εὐδωλόνητα φαγεῖν*. This inconsiderate eating of meat offered to idols was even later considered a mark of the antinomian Gnostics. Valentinus and his disciples engaged in this practice to escape the persecution of the heathens.

³ *Ἔγνωσαν τὰ βάθη τοῦ σατανᾶ*, 2 : 24. The following *ὡς λέγουσιν*, refers only to *ἔγνωσαν τὰ βάθη*, of which they boasted, and not to *τοῦ σατανᾶ*. So Bengel also explains the passage—"The false teachers said, that the things they taught were deep things. This the Lord concedes, but with the qualification, that they were not divine but satanic depths; just as he allows the Jews, v. 9, the name of a synagogue, but calls it a synagogue of Satan." Hengstenberg, *ad loc.*, explains the passage differently.

ing from intercourse with his wife, and enjoining severe treatment of the flesh,' which was afterwards taken by his disciples in the sense of antinomian licentiousness. If the latter account is correct, we have here an example of the affinity between unnatural asceticism and unbridled sensuality, to which the history of monasticism furnishes so many parallels. The relation of the Nicolaitans to Nicolas may have been precisely the same as that of the Simonians to Simon Magus, or of the Cerinthians to Cerinthus.

A review of this whole chapter suggests several important inferences, which, however, we can only briefly point out.

1. It is an utterly groundless assumption, that the apostolic church was free from all error in theory or practice, and fully came up to the glorious ideal of the kingdom of Christ." On the contrary, no little to our consolation and encouragement, the church even then had to contend with as great difficulties, without and within, as in any succeeding period. She was, in the full sense of the word, militant; and she can accomplish her final victory, and reach her perfect unity, universality, and holiness, only through a long and unremitting struggle against sin and error without and within.

2. It is only in view of the fearful power of the corruption, with which Judaism and Heathenism in the form of heresy, and thus under color of the Christian name and of Christian ideas, threatened the church, that we can duly appreciate the supernatural energy and glory of this church and the full meaning of Christ's promises of his uninterrupted presence and protection.

3. These early theoretical and practical distortions of the Christian truth likewise teach us, that the *written* inventory of them by infallible organs of the Holy Ghost — the literature of the New Testament — was, and still is, exceedingly important, nay, absolutely necessary for the preservation of pure Christianity. For the same errors in various forms and modifications continually return.

4. The controversy of the apostles with these heretics was free from all personalities — only four, Simon Magus, Hymeneus, Alexander and

¹ Δεῖ καταχρῆσθαι τῇ σαρκί. Comp. Neander's *Kirchengesch.* II. p. 781.

² Conybeare and Howson, l. c. I. p. 488. "It is painful to be compelled to acknowledge among the Christians of the Apostolic Age the existence of so many forms of error and sin. It was a pleasing dream which presented the primitive church as a society of angels; and it is not without a struggle, that we bring ourselves to open our eyes and behold the reality. But yet it is a higher feeling which bids us thankfully to recognize the truth, that 'there is no partiality with God,' that He has never supernaturally coerced any generation of mankind into virtue, nor rendered schism and heresy impossible in any age of the church."

Philetus, being mentioned by name ;—teaching, that we should hate and firmly oppose error, as sin, but love errorists, as sinners, and seek to reclaim them.

5. The apostolic controversialists do not waste their strength on the details of a heretical system, but with wonderful discernment and truly massive strokes lay open the real kernel, the deep moral root of the whole ; and this is in all ages the same.

6. This very generalness and depth, however, makes the writings in question inexhaustibly fruitful and applicable to all times. The same Jewish and heathen errors perpetually repeat themselves in the church under a thousand different forms, but from the armory of the apostolic writings the church may always draw the mightiest weapons for opposing them, till the truth celebrate her last and highest triumph.

§ 170. *Typical Import of the Apostolic Church.*

In taking leave of the first and most important period of ecclesiastical history, we append a few hints respecting the typical import of the apostolic church ; not as pertaining to church history itself, but as touching the philosophy of it.

It has been suggested in various quarters by very distinguished scholars with more or less distinctness, that the three leading apostles, *Peter, Paul, and John*, are to be taken as types and representatives of so many ages of the church, viz., the age of *Catholicism*, the age of *Protestantism*, and that of the *ideal church of the future*.¹ We may therefore the more freely venture to express in our own way a similar view, which has, to us at least, much that is elevating and encouraging in midst of the con-

¹ This opinion was first put forth in the Middle Ages by the prophesying monk, Joachim of Flora, and has been substantially favored in modern times by eminent philosophers as Steffens, Schelling, and Von Schaden, and more or less by learned and pious theologians, as Neander, Ullmann, Schmieder, Lange, Thiersch, and others. Comp. also my tract : *The Principle of Protestantism*, translated by Dr. Nevin, 1845, p. 174 sqq. It is remarkable, that even a Roman Catholic divine, as I have just found, approaches this truly liberal and Protestant view. Professor J. Ant. Bernh. Lutterbeck, in his learned work *Die N. Testamentischen Lehrbegriffe, oder Untersuchungen über das Zeitalter der Religionswende* (1852), thus speaks of the relations of St. Peter to St. Paul (II. 166 sq.) : "While in the normal condition the pre-eminence of Peter represents the principle of *order*, and the independence of Paul, the principle of *freedom* in the church, we may conceive of abnormities on both sides, in which the supposed order degenerates into petrification" (—is this a conscious or an unconscious play on the word Peter?—), "the supposed freedom into dissolution and evaporation of all the contents of Christianity ; where the former leads to arbitrary tyranny, the latter to rebellion and revolution. History records innumerable instances of such aberrations, from the collision at Antioch (Gal. 2 : 11 sqq.) down to the present time." If similar views should become general in the Roman church, the final reconciliation of Catholicism and Protestantism would not be such an absolute impossibility as it now appears to be

fusion and distraction of the church ; though for some reasons we cannot expect it to meet with much sympathy at the present time.

We start from the general position, which we endeavored more fully to establish in the Introduction,—that the history of the church, in its real central current of motion and life, is in all its parts reasonable and worthy of God ; that it is a continuous self-vindication of Christianity, an unbroken anthem of praise to eternal wisdom and love ; that even in the times comparatively darkest the Lord has literally kept his precious promise to be with his church always, even unto the end of the world. How, otherwise, could that church be described by the inspired apostle as the body of Jesus Christ, the fullness of Him, that filleth all in all ?

In this gradual unfolding of the new creation, of the theanthropic life of Jesus Christ—in this great epic of the world's Redeemer, this triumphal procession of the Saviour through humanity—the apostolic period, “the century of miracles,” occupies a position altogether peculiar.

It is not merely one period among others, but the grounding and pre-formative beginning, the model church, which conditions and governs all subsequent developments ; whose spirit perpetually breathes new life, presenting to every age its particular problem, and imparting the power to solve it. Four thousand years were requisite to prepare the way for the manifestation of the Eternal Life in human flesh, to bring up to the horizon the central Sun of the world's history. For nearly two thousand years that Sun has shone upon humanity to an ever-growing extent, calling forth a series of thoughts, words, deeds, and events, almost beyond comprehension. But everything, which has occurred or is yet to occur, in the church, will be only the expansion of the infinite fullness, which dwelt from the first in Jesus Christ. The church will outwardly and inwardly advance, as heretofore ; but every step will be conditioned by a deeper penetration into the apostolic writings, and into the spirit of the Lord, which breathes in them. In the apostolic church and its sacred records are drawn the outlines of the whole course of history. There are prefigured all future developments ; and that in a far higher sense, than the one, in which Judaism was a shadow of good things to come.

This is precisely what we mean by the *typical* import of the apostolic church. In a rapid, superhuman course that church virtually went through the entire process, which subsequently unfolds itself in larger cycles in a series of centuries. It contained in embryo all succeeding periods, and all the principal phases of doctrine and the various dangerous tendencies, which meet us in later times. When the last age shall close with the visible return of the Lord, we shall be able to say : In the apostolic church was enveloped the church of all subsequent periods ;

church history is developed from the apostolic church : the apostolic church was a prophecy ; church history is its fulfillment.

In the specific application of this principle we must, indeed, use great caution, never forgetting, that history can be perfectly understood only at the end of the process of its development. Only when we look back from the incarnation, can we clearly understand ancient history in its inmost significance, as a preparation—partly negative, partly positive—for the appearance of Christ ; a voice in the wilderness : “ Prepare ye the way of the Lord.” So shall we see church history in a perfect light only when we stand on the mount of Christ’s second coming, and of his triumphant Zion, and look back upon all its toilsome path of conflict and controversy from the beginning to the glorious goal. Yet even in partial knowledge there is great spiritual profit and delight.

The course of church history has thus far evidently lain through the colossal counter-movements of Catholicism and Protestantism ; the chronological turning point being the sixteenth century. In these respectively, we think, may be discerned the essential features of the Jewish and Gentile Christianity, which divided the apostolic period. And thus it is by no means a mere chance, that the Roman church, which has most rigidly carried out the principle of Catholicism, appeals by preference to Peter as the chief of the apostles and rock of the church, and to the epistle of James in particular as the ground of her doctrine of justification ; while the reformers as a body, and especially Luther, adhere closely to Paul, the apostle of the Gentiles, and draw from his epistles to the Roman and the Galatians the main features of their theology, as well as the best weapons of their opposition to papal tyranny.

Like Jewish Christianity, Catholicism views the Christian religion, in close connection with the Old Testament, chiefly under the aspect of legal authority and of objectivity. Hence it is strictly conservative, making great account of consistency with the past, of forms and works, of outward, visible unity and conformity. The partial justness and relative necessity of this view cannot be denied. And it takes the precedence in time, because the law is a schoolmaster to lead to Christ ; maternal authority is the preparation for the freedom and independence of manhood. But as Jewish Christianity was liable to misapprehend and disregard the Christian religion in the other correlative aspect of evangelical freedom, advocated by Paul, and to paralyze Christianity by degrading it into bondage to law—which was actually done in the Judaizing heresy ; so Catholicism contracted a like infirmity, and sank in manifold respects to the level of carnal Judaism. “ The Catholic church—especially as she appears since her union with the Roman imperial power and the reception of all nations into her bosom—what is

she but at once a sublime re-establishment of the Old Testament theocracy on Christian soil—divinely permitted, yet not on that account perpetually authorized—and an attempt to anticipate the future glorious kingdom of Jesus Christ, in which he shall reign over the regenerate earth and sanctified humanity?"¹ We may go further, and ask: Has not the Catholic church, like Peter, often denied her Lord? Has she not, like Peter at Antioch, accommodated herself too much to the prejudices of the weak? As her patron drew the sword against Malchus, has she not likewise, in carnal zeal for the glory of her Lord, drawn the sword against all heretics and schismatics, injurious or harmless; forgetting the word: "My kingdom is not of this world?" and: "All they that take the sword shall perish with the sword." Will she ever, like Peter, in humble consciousness of guilt, go out and weep bitterly, till she find forgiveness at the foot of the cross?

Against this Judaistic extreme, the tyranny, outward legalism, and self-righteousness of the Roman Catholic system, the powerful mind of Paul, after long preparation, re-acted in the Reformation; as formerly in the apostolic council at Jerusalem, in the scene at Antioch, and in his masterly epistles. Besides the whole legal discipline of the Middle Age tended mightily towards this result as the ripe fruit of its conflicts. In like manner the Mosaic law and ceremonial worship pointed to the new dispensation of the spirit; and the parental training looks beyond itself to mature age and self-government. Protestantism, in its purest forms, conceives Christianity as a new creation, as evangelical freedom, as divine sonship, as a direct and personal relation of the soul to Christ. So far as it agrees in this with the Gentile apostle, it is a great advance in the history of the church; and as to its element of positive truth it can never perish. But on the other hand, it has in the main, in the course of its development, fallen over to the opposite extreme of a licentious speculation and endless sectarian division. In its zeal to purge the sanctuary it has demolished many a useful barrier, done manifold injustice to tradition and history, and in the heat of passionate controversy incurred the guilt of ingratitude to the Catholic church, which, say what we will, was its mother, and trained its heroes for reformers. Nay, more. A remarkable analogy may be traced between the old pseudo-Pauline Gnosticism and the fearful power of modern infidelity; especially the blasphemous, destructional systems of Pantheism and Atheism. These systems have attained their most mature, scientific development in the bosom of German Protestantism, and appeal to the Reformation for their right to protest against Christ and his apostles, as formerly Marcion and the Gnostics appealed to Paul. Who, that con-

¹ Thiersch: *Versuch zur Herstellung*, etc. p. 244.

siders the Holy Scriptures and the idea of the one, holy, Catholic apostolic church, will further venture to justify the extreme individualism, the numberless divisions, and conflicting party interests, into which at present even the best positively Christian powers of Protestantism seem to be almost hopelessly rent? Who, in the face of these facts, will deny that the Protestantism of this day is as much one-sided, diseased, and in need of reformation, as was the Catholicism of the sixteenth century?

This reformation, however, we look for, not in return to a position already transcended—for history can never go backwards—but in the final reconciliation of Catholicism and Protestantism, the blending of the truth and virtues of both, without their corresponding errors and defects, in the ideal church of the future,—forming, not a *new* church, but the final perfect product of that of the present and the past. For the type of this third age we have John, the apostle of love and consummation, the disciple, who according to the mysterious words, John 21 : 22, tarries till the Lord returns. And that, which is to introduce this age, is the perfect understanding of John's conception of Christ, the eternal Word manifest in the flesh; and the diffusion of his spirit of love, that surest mark of genuine discipleship (Jno. 13 : 35), that cardinal virtue, which never fails (1 Cor. 13 : 8, 13). The question of the person and work of Christ and the church question are at bottom one. The answer to the latter depends on that given to the former, as certainly as the body on the head, which rules, and the soul, which animates it. For in Jesus Christ, the God-man, the centre of the moral universe, we have the solution of every enigma of history. In Him, and in Him alone, breaks forth the fountain of truth and of life everlasting.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

<i>Years after Christ's Birth.</i>		<i>Cotemporary Roman Emperors.</i>
A. D. 30	Foundation of the Christian Church, by the Outpouring of the Holy Ghost.	
" 30-40	Spread and Persecution of Christianity amongst the Jews. Stephen the first Martyr. 87). The Gospel in Samaria. Conversion of Cornelius. Founding of the Mixed Congregation at Antioch. Barnabas. Preparation of Gentile Missions.	TIBERIUS, A.D. 14-37. CALIGULA, " 37-41
" 37	Conversion of Paul.	
" 40	Paul's first Journey to Jerusalem, after his conversion. Sojourn at Tarsus, and afterwards at Antioch, (Acts 11: 26).	CLAUDIUS, " 41-54
" 44	Persecution of the Church at Jerusalem. Martyrdom of James the Elder. Peter's Imprisonment and Deliverance. He leaves Palestine. (Hypothesis of his first visit to Rome, founded on Acts 12: 17?) Paul's second Journey to Jerusalem, in company with Barnabas, as Delegate of the Congregation at Antioch, to relieve the Famine.	
" 45-49	Paul's First great Missionary Journey, with Barnabas and Mark (Cyprus, Antioch in Pisidia, Iconium, Lystra, Derbe, return to Antioch in Syria.)	
" 50	Apostolic Council at Jerusalem. Conflict between Jewish and Gentile Christianity. Paul's Third Journey to Jerusalem, with Barnabas and Titus. Settlement of the difficulty; agreement between the Jewish and Gentile Apostles. Paul's return to Antioch. His collision with Peter and Barnabas, and temporary separation from the latter.	
" 51	Paul's Second Missionary Journey, from Antioch to Asia Minor (Cilicia, Lycaonia, Galatia, Troas), and Greece, (Philippi, Thessalonica, Berea, Athens and Corinth).	
" 52-53	Paul at Corinth (a year and a half). First and Second Epistles to the Thessalonians.	
" 54	Paul's Fourth Journey to Jerusalem (Spring). Short stay at Antioch. His Third Missionary Tour (Autumn).	NERO, " 54-68
" 54-57	Paul at Ephesus (three years). Epistle to the Galatians, (53). Excursion to Macedonia, Corinth and Crete (not mentioned in the Acts). First Epistle to Timothy (?). Return to Ephesus. First Epistle to the Corinthians (Spring, 57).	
" 57	Paul's departure from Ephesus (Summer) to Macedonia. Second Epistle to the Corinthians.	
" 57-58	Paul's Third sojourn at Corinth (three months). His Epistle to the Romans.	
" 58	Paul's Fifth and Last Journey to Jerusalem (Spring), where he is arrested and sent to Cæsarea.	
" 58-60	Paul's Captivity at Cæsarea. Testimony before Felix, Festus and Agrippa. (The Gospel of Luke and the Acts commenced at Cæsarea, and concluded at Rome.)	
" 60-61	Paul's Voyage to Rome (Autumn). Shipwreck at Malta. Arrival at Rome (Spring, 61).	
" 61-63	Paul's Captivity at Rome. Epistles to the Colossians, Ephesians, Philippians, Philemon. Second Epistle to Timothy. (Hypothesis of a Second Roman Captivity, and Intervening Missionary Journeys to the East and to Spain?)	
" 63-64	Peter's visit to Rome. His First and Second Epistles.	
" 64	Conflagration at Rome (July). Neronian Persecution of the Christians. Martyrdom of Paul and Peter.	
" 64-69	Epistle to the Hebrews (by Paul and Luke?). Martyrdom of James the Just. Epistle of Jude.	
" 70	Destruction of Jerusalem.	
" 70-100	John's Labors in Asia Minor. His Gospel and Epistles. His Exile at Patmos, under the Domitian Persecution (95). The Apocalypse. Return to Ephesus (96), and Death (circa 100).	

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